# IROQUOIS INDIANS:

## A Documentary History of the Diplomacy of the Six Nations and Their League

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# INTRODUCTION

This compilation is like none other in the world. It is an archive of documents made by and concerning a people without scribes, documents recorded by other parties and originally filed away obscurely in repositories devoted to other interests. Because the League of the Iroquois and its constituent Six Nations negotiated diplomatically with the agents of empires, provinces, and nation-states, as well as with other Indian nations, Iroquois treaty documents came to rest in The Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, and in many state and private collections, in all of which the Iroquois documents were secondary to the thousand and one concerns of Europeans and Euro-Americans. Now these many scattered collections have been culled to create the first authentic archive of an indigenous tribal people.

Strictly speaking, an archive consists of the documents generated by an agency or institution, but we may think in terms of an imaginary Iroquois foreign office whose papers were destroyed in an imaginary fire, being preserved only in the copies made for other parties to negotiations. With that fiction in mind, what we have here is a reconstituted archive. Regardless of problems of definition, it is a body of texts exceedingly important to genuinely reconstituting the history of the United States and its predecessor colonies and native peoples.

The Iroquois League was a great military and political power in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its importance was recognized by contemporary statesmen of competing European empires and colonies, who vied with each other to secure Iroquois friendship and alliance. After 1700, the Iroquois policy of neutrality maintained a balance of power between the empires that lasted until the Seven Years War, and the Iroquois nations were wooed by Britain and the United States during the War of the American Revolution. It is not possible to write a valid political history of eastern North America during the era preceding the Revolution without carefully considering Iroquois participation in the most important events of the time; and the basis of the Northwest Ordinances of 1784-87 was the treaty made at Fort Stanwix between the United States and the Iroquois in 1784.

Though the Iroquois League fragmented during the American Revolution and its people are now scattered on Canadian and American reservations, and individually as far as Hawaii, their history after the Revolution became inextricably part of the history of the Great Lakes region and of the vast intersocietal trade that moved westward across the continent. Defying dogmas of the vanishing Indian, more Iroquois are now alive than were previously recorded at any one time.

The major problem in studying Iroquois participation in North American history has been the scattered and unreliable condition of the source materials. A large number were virtually inaccessible. Most have never been validated by critical examination for omissions, variance between copies, or other contradiction by other contemporary documents. In national and state archives, Iroquois treaties are submerged in the general material, their arrangement and cataloging ill-suited to the study of indigenous peoples; and indexes are at best inadequate, often erroneous and misleading. There is continuing attrition of source manuscripts, identifiable by later references to documents that no longer can be found.

Now, however, most of the problems of access have been solved by the archive presented herein; and comparison of documents has been facilitated. The documents included were compiled by a project begun in September 1978 at the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library. Funded for three years by the Research Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and staffed by a historian and three anthropologists with the assistance of many temporary aides, the project initially aimed at compiling less than 3,000 texts, but even the specialists had badly underestimated Iroquois diplomatic activity and its involvements. The documents piled up to three times the original estimate, and the project's actual duration extended past its formal closing for three more years. It has been completed nevertheless, largely owing to the dedicated support of the Newberry Library and donation of labor by the staff. Many generous contributions by individuals and institutions are acknowledged below.

Project staff made no effort to collect original source documents. Instead, it copied them by microphotography or xerography and made paper copies of all documents to be filed in an archive at the Newberry. This publication reproduces that archive. It is open to addition as new documents come to light, and students are solicited to send information about such new documents to the Newberry. The archive's calendar is available on a computer printout at the Newberry, and a card index of names and subjects refers to about one-sixth of the documents on file. Access may be had by qualified students. An indexed document is noted as such by a degree sign after the date of the document on the headnote to the document and in the calendar. Regrettably the index could not be completed because of lack of funds, but it is useful in combination with the calendar. Both are printed in the guide that accompanies this film. A reader may wish to scan the calendar for context before concentrating on particular documents. Calendar and index, especially when used together, are finding aids for the location of particular documents and sets of related documents.

## ABOUT THE TEXTS

### What They Are

The documents presented here include the minutes of treaty conferences, the agreements resulting from formal meetings, and a broad range of background materials useful for interpreting motives, procedures, and effects. The editors' basic standard for selection was relevance to the diplomatic history of Iroquois nations or their league. Other parties involved in the negotiations are also included.

Most of the documents are manuscript or printed texts arranged in chronological order. Often it has been possible to compile copies of the same text from different sources, and sometimes these are variant, sometimes significantly so. All copies are included. Texts in languages other than English are presented but only rarely translated.

Photographs of wampum belts are also included as representing Indian records of negotiations. In almost all instances, it has not been possible to identify a particular belt with a specific written record, and the editors have concluded regretfully that the belts cannot be deciphered by a general code. Nevertheless certain conventional patterns have been observed, so the belts are grouped according to emblematic content, following the last written text at the end of the microfilm publication.

The documents span a period from the earliest surviving sixteenth century texts through the year 1842.

### How They Were Copied

The editors depended on many archives and repositories for exact xerographic copies of original documents in their possession. Their valuable cooperation was unstinted, but the variety of their facilities for copying prevented the adoption of a uniform reduction ratio. Therefore, although the final microfilming at Research

Publications was done at a constant reduction ratio, there is no constant relation between the relative size of documents on our film and the actual dimensions of the originals.

The integrity of the documents was the editors' foremost concern. No document has been altered. Very few extractions were made and they are noted in every case. No marks were made by us on copies received except, in some cases, for bold editorial lines with arrows, to denote the beginning and end of a document. Such indications were also used to note overlapping when a large page had to be copied in sections.

The editors aimed at comprehensiveness. This objective required inclusion of some texts so mutilated or faint in the original as to be minimally legible. These are given nevertheless for whatever information can be extracted from them. Some are more legible in the technically enhanced copies than in the originals.

As in all publications, the originals remain the ultimate source to be consulted when issues of textual validity arise. The location of every document is given in a headnote.

## How They Are Presented

Each entry consists of a headnote with the document's date, a brief description, and the source, followed by the document itself. In a few cases a translation or annotation will follow the document.

Each headnote description reflects the perspective of the document rather than editorial comment about it. As descriptions were often taken from catalogs or notations of source repositories, spelling of names is not standardized. Editorial remarks, if present, appear in parentheses or annotations.

Bracketed dates have been assigned by the editors. Single documents are given with the date when written regardless of the time referred to in their contents. This has been done because documents are products of the time and circumstances when written, and these may seriously affect interpretation of the contents. To preserve textual integrity, some texts have been included as found in collections of documents spanning a period of time which is so dated: e.g., 1645-Sept 1654. Multiple copies of the same document, same date, are distinguished as Document I, Document II, etc., and filed in sequence under their common date.

If a document is dated more than one year from the date of the treaty to which it pertains, it is cross-referenced under the treaty date. Because of the prolonged nature of many treaty negotiations, users should scan the compilation's calendar to find appropriate documents within a year of any event of interest. Although cross-references refer to specific documents, distinguished by Roman numerals in cases in which there is more than one document of the same date, references to other documents in editorial remarks within descriptions of a particular document do not make use of Roman numerals to distinguish between documents of the same date. In these cases, all documents of the date cited should be checked for the reference.

The editors have not tried to reconcile or adjust dates in the Old Style Julian calendar used by the English for many years after the French and Dutch had changed over to the New Style Gregorian calendar. Dates are given herein as they appear on the documents. When the English finally changed over, they often gave both new and old dates on the same text; in such instances the editors opted for the New Style annotation.

The project staff has compiled and edited a printed reference manual to assist in interpreting the texts, and we urge that it be kept handy during research. It is The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984). It is a volume for quick and easy reference, self-contained but especially useful in conjunction with this compilation of documents.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This archive could not have been compiled without the generous contributions of counsel and materials from many persons and agencies. No one is intentionally left out of the following list. Pardon is asked for any inadvertent omission.

Indian people: Early in the project, Richard Powless and Paul Williams of the Union of Ontario Indians provided a list of treaty documents. Seven persons from the Union of Ontario Indians visited the project from 23rd to 29th June 1979 and offered comments and suggestions. Phil Monture, Land Researcher at Six Nations Reserve shared knowledge of locations of source materials. George Abrams, Director of the Seneca Iroquois National Museum on the Allegany Seneca Reservation, and Ramona Charles, Librarian at the Community House on the Tonawanda Seneca Reservation, provided information about the location of materials. Tribal historians from different political persuasions on fellowship at the Center discussed the project with staff members during their residence: Norbert Hill and Sandra Orie came from the Oneida Reservation in Wisconsin, and Douglas George, recommended by the "traditional" Mohawk Nation, came from the St. Regis (Akwesasne) Reservation. Everett White, born and raised at St. Regis (Akwesasne), provided valuable information about documents based on his former experiences as an Indian Health Service employee and his personal interest in the history of his people. Most important information and advice were given on a visit by Cayuga Chief Jacob E. Thomas who represents the Cayuga nation in the Grand Council of the Houdenosaunee and teaches in Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario. On 22nd May 1980, Chief Thomas made a joint presentation with Dr. Michael K. Foster, Iroquoian Ethnologist of the Canadian National Museum of Man. At a colloquium at the Newberry, they showed slides and facsimile artifacts and explained symbols in terms of Iroquois custom. Through the following day, Chief Thomas held nonstop conversation with project staff who took extensive notes and taped his analyses of certain wampum belts. He continued

in correspondence afterward. Informal visitors to the project included Charles Patton and Tyler Hemlock, Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) Mohawks; and Alice Armstrong and Helen Laughing, Mohawks employed in the Demographic Office, Mohawk Tribal Offices, St. Regis Reservation.

When Associate Director Mary A. Druke traveled to Indian communities, she was received hospitably everywhere. Indians of Onondaga, including Oren Lyons, Irving Powless, Jr., and Irving Powless, Sr., though unsympathetic to the project, received her graciously and explained their attitudes. Information about documentary material and oral traditions were provided to her by residents of the following Indian communities: Allegany; Cattaraugus; Caughnawaga (Kahnawake), Onondaga, St. Regis (Akwesasne), Six Nations Reserve; Tonawanda; and Tuscarora.

Project Aides:

Consultants. Charles Gehring, of the New York State Library, Manuscripts, provided notes on Dutch manuscripts in the Livingston Family Papers at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Paul Stevens, a Fellow at the McNickle Center, compiled and annotated source documents of the era of the American Revolution. Another McNickle Center Fellow, Professor Richard Haan, contributed copies of odd documents he had been collecting for ten years. Mary Ann Mayes searched William N. Fenton's files and compiled a list of cited Iroquois documents. Lieutenant Commander C. McD. Stuart, RN, searched uncalendared treaty texts at the Public Record Office of Great Britain and arranged for transmission of copies. Paul Grey, graduate student at the University of London, acted as liaison between the project staff and the Public Record Office in acquiring documents ordered by the staff. Professional indexer Elin Christianson advised on indexing procedures. Major F.E.G. Bageshawe, of Matlock, England, provided photographs of a wampum belt in private hands.

Office employees at various times included Nancy Kovitz; Peter Radke; Polly Strong, University of Chicago graduate student; Andrew Tobin, Bennington College student; Karli Erica White. Wesley Andrews arranged much of the final organization of the archive files. The project was also helped by several students enrolled in undergraduate independent study seminars of the Association of the Colleges of the Midwest and the Great Lakes Colleges Association, whose wages were paid by the associations and the Newberry. David L. Ghere accomplished "last minute" tasks.

Volunteers included Claudette Alm; Jeanette Campanella; Lucy Caples; Herbert Furse; Ted Knutson; Nancy Kovitz; Dorothy Markowitz; Virginia Meyers; Noel O'Reilly; Mary Louise Ramsey; Mrs. Gerald Sivage. They sorted and identified the masses of documents arriving in the mails, and put them in order for editors' review.

Newberry Library staff. Special interest was maintained and special help provided by John Aubrey, Michael Kaplan, Steve Mandel, Terry Sullivan, and Michelene Fixico; and much gratitude is owed for the patience of Richard H. Brown.

Advice and information were exchanged with colleagues of the Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History project: Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Adele Hast, and Jacqueline Peterson. The members of the Conference on Iroquois Research and the American Society for Ethnohistory devoted three successive panel sessions to the project at annual meetings.

Institutions:

Special gratitude is owed to the Public Archives of Canada for its gift of copies of treaties and surrenders in its possession. Thanks must also be expressed to the Rochester [N.Y.] Museum and Science Center for its donation of photographs of its large collection of wampum belts. The University of Chicago made copyflo paper copies of microfilm at a minimal cost far below commercial prices. Research Publications sent a photographer without charge to film documents located at the Albany Institute of History and Art and at the New York State Archives in Albany. Work on the project was greatly facilitated by materials collected in research travel previous to the project and incorporated into project files. The American Philosophical Society made such research fellowship grants to Director Jennings and Associate Director Druke. Through such generous contributions, as well as time and energy given by individuals, the project managed to stay within its budget despite its massive increase in size. When the project could not be finished within its allotted three years, the Newberry Library financed it to completion.

Thanks are due to each repository, publication, or individual source of materials listed below which made available copies of materials in its collections. together they have made this publication possible.

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# The United States in Congreſs aſsembled.

October 15th 1783.

The Committee to whom was referred sundry Letters, and Papers relative to Indian Affairs · Report That they have attentively considered the several papers referred to them, and have conferred thereon with the Commander in Chief — That their Report will be confined to Indian Affairs in the Northern and Middle Departments, as they are defined by the Acts of Congreſs of the 12th of July 1775, and to the settlement of the Western Country, those subjects being in the opinion of the Committee, inseperably connected, and the Committee not being poſseſsed of materials which enable them to extend their views to the Southern Diſtrict.

That it is represented and the Committee believe with truth, that altho' the hostile Tribes of Indians in the Northern and Middle Departments, are seriously disposed to a pacification, yet they are not in a temper to relinquish their territorial claims without further struggles — That if an Indian War should be rekindled repeated victories might produce the retreat of the Indians but could not prevent them from regaining poſseſsion of some part of the distant and extensive territories which appertain to the United States — That while such temporary expulsions could only be of great charge, they could not be improved to the smallest advantage but by maintaining numerous Garrisons and an expensive Peace Establishment — That even if all the Northern and Western Tribes of Indians inhabiting the territories of the United States could be totally expelled, the policy of reducing them to such an extremity is questionable; for in such an event it is obvious that they would find a welcome reception from the British Government in Canada, which by so great an acceſsion of strength would become formidable in case of any future rupt and in Peace by keeping alive the resentment of the Indians for the loſs of their Country, would secure to its own subjects all the benefit of the Fur Trade — That altho' motives of policy as well as Clemency, ought to incline Congreſs to listen to the prayers of the hostile Indians for Peace, yet in the opinion of the Committee, it is just and neceſsary that lines of Property should be ascertained and establi ed between the United States and them which will be convenient to the respective Tribes and commensurate to the public wants, because the faith of the United States stand pledged to grant portions of the uncultivated Lands as a bounty to their Army, and in reward of their courag and fidelity, and the public finances do not admit of an considerable expenditure to extinguish the Indian Claim upon such Lands; because it is become neceſsary by the increase of Domestic population and Emigration from abroad to make speedy provision for extending the settlement of the territories of the United States; and because the public Creditors have been led to believe, and have a right to expect that those territories will be speedi improved into a fund towards the security and payment o the National Debt, nor in the opinion of the Committee can the Indians themselves have any reasonable objection against the establishment recommended. They were as some of them acknowledge, aggreſsors in the War, withou even a pretence of provocation; they violated the Convention of Neutrality made with Congreſs at Albany in 1775, and in return for proffered protection and liberal

Supplies, and to the utter ruin and impoverishment of thousands of families, they wantonly desolated our Villages and Settlements, and destroyed our Citizens — To stop the progreſs of their outrages, the War at a vast expence to the United States was carried into their own Country which they abandoned. Waving then the right of Conquest, and the various precedents which might be quoted in similar instances, a bare recollection of the facts is sufficient to manifest the obligation they are under to make atonement for the enormities which they have perpetrated, by a reasonable compensation for the expences which the United States have incurred by their wanton barbarity, and they poſseſs no other means to do this act of Justice than by a compliance with the proposed boundaries. The Committee are of opinion that in the Negotiation which they recommend, care ought to be taken neither to yield or require too much — to accomodate the Indians as far as the public good will admit — and if they should appear diſsatisfied at the Lines which it may be found neceſsary to establish, rather to give them ~~some~~ compensation for their Claims than to hazard a War, which will be much more expensive. But it is supposed that when they shall be informed of the Estimates of the damages which our Citizens have sustained by their irruptions, and of the expences which the United States have incurred to check their career, it will have a tendency to suppreſs any extravagant demands —

Whereupon

Resolved, That a Convention be held with the Indians, residing in the Northern and Middle Departments, who have taken up Arms against the United States, for the purposes of receiving them into the favour and protection of the United States — and of establishing boundary lines of property, for separating and dividing the settlements of the Citizens from the Indian Villages and Hunting Grounds and thereby extinguishing as far as possible all occasion for future animosities disquiet and contention — That

First, and as a preliminary it shall be required, that all Prisoners of whatever age or sex among these Indians shall be delivered up

Secondly that the Indians be informed, that after a conte of eight years for the sovereignty of this Country, Great Britain ha relinquished to the United States all claim to all the Country within the limits described by the second article of the provision Treaty between the United States and the King of Great Brita on the thirtieth day of November in the year 1782, that is to say fr the North West angle of Nova Scotia, Viz that angle which is form by a line drawn due North from the source of St Croix River to the Highlands, along the said Highlands which divide those Rivers that empty themselves into the River St Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the Northwe ermost head of the River Connecticut, thence down along the middle of that River to the forty fifth degree of North Latitude from thence by a line due West on said Latitude until it strik the River Iroquois or Cataraqui, thence along the middle of sai River into Lake Ontario through the middle of said Lake unti it strikes the communication by water between that Lake and Lake Erie thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Eri through the middle of said Lake until it arrives at the water communication between that Lake and Lake Huron, thence along the middle of said water communication into Lake Huron, thence through the middle of the said Lake to the water communication between that Lake and Lake Superior, thence through Lake Superior Northward of the Isles Royal & Philippeaux, to the Long L thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the Water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods, thence through the said Lake to the most NorthWestern point thereof, and from thence on a due West course to the River Mississippi, thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Miſsisippi until it shall intersect the Northernmost part of the thirty first degree of North Latitude South by a line to be drawn due East from the determination of the line last mentioned in the Latitude of thirty one degrees North of the Equator to the middle of the River Apalachicola or Catahouchi thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River, thence strait to the head of St Mary's River, and thence down along the middle of St Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean; East by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River St Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly North to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, from those which fall into the River St Lawrence, comprehending all Iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States and lying between lines to be drawn due East from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, Excepting such Islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said Province of Nova Scotia —

Thirdly, that as the Indians notwithstanding a solemn Treaty of Neutrality with Congreſs at the commencement of the War — notwithstanding all the advice and admonition given them during its prosecution could not be restrained from acts of hostility and wanton devastation, but were determined to join their arms to those of Great Britain and to share their fortunes, so consequently with a leſs generous people than Americans, they might be compelled to retire beyond the Lakes — But as we prefer clemency to rigour as we perſuade ourselves that their eyes are open to their error, and that they have found by fatal experience that their true interest and safety must depend upon our Friendship as the Country is large enough to contain and support us all, and as we are disposed to be kind to them to supply their wants and to partake of their trade, We from these considerations and from motives of humanity and compaſsion draw a veil over what is past, and will establish a boundary line between them and us, beyond which we will restrain our Citizens from hunting and settling and within which the Indians shall not come but for the purposes of trading treating, or other busineſs equally unexceptionable —

Fourthly that the following lines shall be proposed to be mutually agreed upon and established between the United States and the several Tribes of Indians who shall be affected thereby Beginning at the mouth of the great Miami River, which empties into the Ohio thence along the said River Miami until it enters into its confluence with the Mad River thence by a direct line to the Miami Fort, at the Village of that name on the other Miami River which empties into Lake Erie thence along the last mentioned River to Lake Erie comprehending all the Lands between the abovementioned lines and the State of Pennsylvania on the East, Lake Erie, on the North and the River Ohio on the South East.

Fifthly that the Commiſsioners for the Northern and Middle Departments or such other persons as may be appointed by Congreſs unite together in holding one Convention with the Indians inhabiting the Districts aforesaid and their Allies and Dependants for the purposes aforesaid, and only yield to separate Conventions in case of inevitable neceſsity —

Sixthly, and whereas the Oneida and Tuscarora Tribes have adhered to the cause of America, and joined her Arms in the course of the late War, and Congreſs have frequently aſsured them of peculiar marks of favour and friendship the said Commiſsioners are therefore instructed to re-aſsure the said Tribes of the friendship of the United States, that they may rely that the Lands which they claim as their inheritance will be reserved for their sole use and benefit until they may think it for their own advantage to dispose of the same —

Seventhly that the said Commiſsioners be and they are hereby instructed to obtain a particular account of the French Inhabitants at Detroit, Illinois and other Villages within the Territories of the United States and that they give aſsurances in the name of the United States to thoſe Inhabitants who shall profeſs their allegiance to the United States that they shall be protected in the full enjoyment of their liberty and their just and lawful property —

Eighthly that the said Commiſsioners be and they are hereby instructed not to admit into a Treaty with the said Indians or suffer to be in any manner connected with it any Article Stipulation or Condition whatsoever making or confirming or tending to make or confirm to any Individual or Individuals any grant or grants of land whether real or pretended within the bounds of the United States as before described

Ninthly that the said Commiſsioners be and they are hereby also instructed to obtain information of the numbers and places of residence of the Citizens of the United States who have seated themselves on the Northwest side of the Ohio — to signify to them the displeasure of Congreſs that they have taken this step with which the public interest and repose are so intimately connected without permiſsion or authority and to discourage to the utmoſt of their power all intrusion into any of the Territories of the United States ~~and~~ within their respective Departments —

And whereas the trade with the Indians ought to be regulated and security given by the traders for the punctual observance of such regulations, so that violence fraud and injustice towards the Indians may be guarded against and prevented, and the honour of the Federal Government and the public tranquillity thereby promoted Resolved that a Committee be appointed with instructions to prepare and report an Ordinance to regulate the Indian Trade with a clause therein strictly prohibiting all Civil and Military Officers and particularly all Commiſsioners and Agents for Indian Affairs from trading with the Indians or purchasing or being directly or indirectly concerned in purchasing lands from Indians except only by the expreſs license and authority of the United States in Congreſs aſsembled

March 19th 1784

On the report of a Committee to whom were referred the fourth and fifth of the Instructions of the 15th October 1783 to the Commiſsioners for negotiating Treaties with the Indians

Resolved that the 4th and 5th Articles of the Instructions of the 15th October 1783 to the Commiſsioners for negotiating Treaties with the Indians be and they are hereby repealed and in lieu thereof the following be substituted

Fourthly That a meridian line paſsing through the lowest point of the rapids of Ohio to the Northern boundary of these United States shall be proposed as the line of division between the several Indian Tribes and these States, so that all the lands comprehended between the said boundary on the North the Ohio on the South the said Meridian on the West and Pennsylvania on the East, or so much thereof as the Tribes having title thereto may be induced to part with, shall be ceded to the United States and poſseſsion thereof or of any parts thereof be given to the United States at such times as may be agreed upon in the Treaty

Fifthly The said Commiſsioners are instructed as far as they shall find it convenient to treat with the several Nations at different times and places and where neceſsity shall oblige them to bring two or more Nations together that they still keep their Treaties and Conferences as distinct as may be— That they countenance every disposition in any one of the six Nations to treat and act separately and independently, and that in general they discourage every coalition and consultation which might tend to involve any one Nation in the Wars of the others—

The United States in Congreſs aſsembled

L.S.

To all who shall see these Presents Send Greeting

signed Thomas Mifflin

Whereas we have judged it proper that one or more convention or conventions be held with the Indians residing within the boundaries of the United States of America in the Northern and Middle Departments, comprehending the whole of the Indians known by the name of the Six Nations and all to the Northward and Westward of them and as far South as the Cherokees exclusive, for the purposes of receiving them into the favour and protection of the United States, and of establishing boundary lines of property for separating and dividing the ſettlements of the citizens of the United States of America from the Indian Villages and hunting Grounds and thereby extinguishing as far as possible all occasion of future animosities disquiet and vexation Now therefore Know Ye that we reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity prudence and ability of our trusty and beloved George Rogers Clarke, Oliver Wolcott, Nathaniel Green, Richard

Butler and Stephen Higginson have nominated constituted and appointed them the said George Rogers Clarke Oliver Wolcott Nathaniel Green Richard Butler and Stephen Higginson for our Commiſsioners **giving and granting** to them or to any three of them full power and authority for us and in our name to confer treat agree and conclude with the said Indians or with any Nation or Tribe of Indians within the boundaries of the United States or bordering thereon in the Northern and Middle Departments aforesaid of and concerning the establishment of peace with the said Indians extinguishing their claims and settling boundaries between them and the citizens of the United States, in as ample form and with the same effect as if we were personally present and acted therein, **hereby** promising to hold valid and to fulfill and execute whatever shall be agreed upon concluded and signed by our said Commiſsioners or any three of them — **In testimony** whereof we have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed **Witneſs** His Excellency Thomas Mifflin President of the United States in Congreſs aſsembled this twelfth day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty four and of our Independence the eighth —

## United States in Congreſs aſsembled

June 3d 1784

**Whereas** it is neceſsary to expedite the holding Treaties with the Indian Nations which it appears cannot be done but under the protection of an armed force — therefore

Resolved that the Secretary in the War Office be and he is hereby directed to order three hundred men of the Militia directed to be raised by the Act of this day to be in readiness to march when and to what place or places the Commissioners for negotiating with the Indians or any two of them shall direct And that the commanding Officer of the said Troops give such protection to the Commissioners as they or any two of them shall require And that the said Secretary give order to the different Keepers of the public Stores to furnish to the order of the Commissioners or any two of them such Tents Marquees and other Articles as the said Commissioners shall think proper —

Resolved that Superintendant of Finance take order for purchasing and transmitting the Articles necessary for the Indian Treaties according to a List hereunto annexed to such places as the Commissioners appointed to negotiate with the Indians or any two of them shall direct — that he furnish such additional articles not exceeding four thousand Dollars as the said Commissioners shall order

The following Messages were sent to the different Tribes of Indians known by the name of the Six Nations — one to the Oneida and Tuscarora and the other to the four hostile Tribes — the Mohawks Onondagoes Cayugas and Senekas —

To the Sachems and Warriors of the Oneida and Tuscarora Tribes —

Brethren

The late troubles in which we have been mutually involved being happily ended Congreſs have thought proper to appoint us Commiſsioners to transact all public buſineſs between the United States and our Brethren the Oneidas and Tuscaroras and to settle a general peace with all the Indian Nations from the Ohio River to the great Lakes. —

To the Mohawks Onondagos Cayugas & Senekas.

Sachems & Warriors hearken to our Meſsenger and believe the words which he brings. —

War being at an end and peace concluded between the United States and the King of England, it is the wish of the United States to live in peace with all nations. Congreſs have therefore appointed us Commiſsioners to represent the United States and have directed us to call the different nations of Indians together to their Council fire at such places as may be most convenient and have given us power to transact all public buſineſs, and to negotiate a general peace with the Six Nations and all the nations of Indians from the Ohio River to the great Lakes.

## Fort Stanwix, October 3. 1784

The Commiſsioners met, present Wolcott Butler and Lee as at Albany

Many of the Chiefs and Warriors of the different Nations having arrived the Commiſsioners convened them in the Council place, where the following speech was delivered to them

Sachems & Warriors of the Six Nations present

It is with pleasure that we announce to you that we are Commiſsioners sent by Congreſs who are the great Council of the United

States of America to kindle a council fire at this place where we may smoke the calumet together undisturbed by evil thoughts and renew the chain of alliance with you our friendly Brothers, and give peace and good counsel to thoſe who have been unfortunately led astray by evil advisers. We therefore wish you to put away all evil thoughts and cleanse your hearts and minds that we may begin the good work with ſincerity in which we invoke the great and good God to aſsist us. We expect the Head Men and Warriors of the Western Tribes of the Six Nations will attend in a few days, when we shall speak more fully and go into the busineſs generally.

We know from experience that ill winds blow from every quarter and that birds fly about with evil chirpings in order to distract the minds and understandings of people when convened on such occasions. We therefore warn you against them that you may not hearken to them, nor be led into the evils which they intend. We also tell you that we are fully authorised to transact all business between the United States and You — And that without the authority of Congreſs no busineſs can be valid that may be attempted by particular people or States.

We shall say no more at present but desire you to hearken to the voice of Kayenlaa the Marquis de la Fayette, a great Man among the French — one of the Head Warriors of the great Onondio, and as you all know a General in the American Army and a Head Man among us who comes with his friends to pay you a visit and give you the advice of a father.

(a white string)

To which Kayenthoghke a Chief of the Senekas, replied.

Brothers Commiſsioners from the United States of America.

You have this day aſsembled us at the place appointed for holding a Treaty between the United States and us, and have informed us that you are Commiſsioners appointed by Congreſs who you tell us is the great Council of the United States of America to give peace to all the Indian Nations —

Brothers

We congratulate you on your safe arrival here and are truly glad to see you — Peace, which you mention to be the object of your coming is what we have long and fervently wished for.

We thank you for your good counsel. we know as you obſerved that birds often fly about with evil chirpings, and that ill winds blow from every quarter to trouble and distract the minds of persons when engaged in affairs of so important a nature as the preſent — but we trust that our ears will be shut so as to reject all their evil words — and that nothing will hinder us from happily ending the good work which we have come upon.

Brothers

You informed us that you expected the Chiefs of the Six Nations would be here in a few days — and that then you would enter fully upon the buſineſs. These, Brothers, were your words. We wish that every thing may turn out to the advantage of the present Treaty for truly we are for peace.

Let the ears of the Commiſsioners of the United States be opened to receive the words which we have said. It is our wish that all past offences may be forgotten, and that there may be a general peace between us and our Brothers the Americans.

(A String)

October 8th 1784

The Commissioners met, present as before

Captain Aaron Hill a Chief of the Mohawks having this day arrived with a party of Indians of that Nation and some Shawanese and Delawares the Commissioners assembled them in the Council house where they addressed them thus—

Sachems & Warriors of the party lately arrived

These are the words which we spoke at our first meeting with the Tribes that were assembled at this Council fire—

(The speech of the 3 was delivered to which the following was subjoined)

"We also bid you welcome and desire your ears and understandings may be clear that the dust and sweat be wiped from your bodies and the thorns be extracted from your sides— that good thoughts prevail and your hearts be sincerely disposed to do that which is right in forwarding the good work which we are met upon. We shall endeavour to render you happy while here and expect you will conduct yourselves like men of sense."

A White string)

To which one of the Chiefs replied

"That as they expected more of their Head men would arrive in a few days they would be glad to defer answering the Address of the Commissioners 'till their arrival."

October

## October 12. 1784

The Commissioners met present as before.

Capt. Aaron Hill a Mohawk Chief addressed himself to the Commissioners thus

After having acknowledged the receipt of the invitation of the Commissioners of the United States to come to their Council fire — he said

That the reasons why they had not before attended were that they had been frequently invited by the Governor of the State of New York to come to a Treaty with that State — that they enquired of the messenger whether the Treaty was in behalf of the United States or of the State of New York only — to which he replied that it was not a continental Treaty but a particular one of that State — That they had written to the Governor of New York requesting that it might be a continental Treaty — but that he had never answered their letter which kept them in a state of doubt until they received a message from the Commissioners of the United States when it was so late in the day that it was impossible for such numbers to come as otherwise would have attended. Also that the sickness which universally pervaded their Country was another cause of so small a number being present.

That with respect to the prisoners they were desired to bring with them, it was so late in the day when they received the Message from the Commissioners of the United States, that it was impossible for them to collect them in time — but that Captain Brandt whom he had met on his way hither had promised to have them collected and sent down aſsuring the Commiſsioners) that it was a matter absolutely determined upon that they should be delivered up—

That a number of their Brothers to the Westward the Wiandots in particular had returned home by reason of the advanced season of the year after having come as far as to Niagara, so that there were only present themselves and their Brothers the Shawanese.

(The meſsage belt was returned)

After which the Commiſsioners addreſsed them thus

Sachems & Warriors

When we last met we informed you that we were Commiſsioners appointed by Congreſs the great Council of the United States and authoriſed to transact all buſineſs to be done with the Indian Nations and that the Commiſsioners of the United States and they alone or ſuch other perſons as Congreſs should appoint were competent to perform this Service, and that you ought not therefore to liſten to any overtures made to you by any perſon or body of Men or by any particular State not authorized by Congreſs.

That you may be aſsured of the authority under which we act, we will now publiſh to you our Commiſsion which we have received from the Congreſs of the United States.

(The Commiſsion published with a belt No. 2.)

We have it in charge from Congreſs to inform the Tribes of the Six Nations who were so unfortunate as to be seduced by ill

advisors

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advisers to join the British Army during the late War, that the United States having made peace with the King of Great Britain in a manner intirely agreeable to themſelves and correspondent to their utmoſt wishes — and having settled all differences with all people except the Indian Nations are ready on their part if desired to give peace to thoſe Nations also, upon just and reaſonable terms and to receive them into the friendship favour and protection of the United States —

That the Tribes here present may know upon what terms the United States have made peace with the King of Great Britain we will communicate to you the definitive Treaty of Peace entered into between the United States and him

(The Treaty was then read, and a belt given)

That you may be satisfied that the United States are the sole Sovereigns within the limits just now described to you, in the Treaty with the King of Great Britain and therefore the sole power to whom all the Nations living within thoſe limits are hereafter to look up for protection we shall read to you part of the Treaty of Alliance between the United States and his Most Christian Majesty by which he renounces all claim to the said Country

(The sixth Article of the Treaty was read and a string given)

By the Treaty which has been read between the United States and the King of Great Britain the Indian Nations will perceive that that King renounces and yields to the United States all pretenſions and claims whatſoever to all the Country South and West of the great Northern Rivers and Lakes as far as the Mississippi —

They will also perceive and consider that by the Treaty no mention is made by the King of Great Britain of any Indian nation or tribe whatsoever, but that he has left those tribes to seek for peace with the United States upon such terms as the United States shall think just and reasonable —

Brothers of the Oneida Tuscarora & Coghnewagha Tribes, listen to what we say to those who took up the hatchet against us —

Sachems and Warriors

We informed you in our Message that we should expect you to bring in and deliver up all the prisoners white and black which you took from us during the War — You have told us that it is your determination to deliver them up — that you have sent to collect them and expect they will arrive here daily. We must inform you that delivering up all your prisoners is essential to your obtaining peace and in reliance on what you have promised and in expectation of their soon arriving here we shall now proceed to other matters. But there are John Skanandoe Peter Augus Comkonges and Hans Crevie some of our friendly Indians who we desire may be immediately released from their paroles — ( a Belt )

The United States in making peace with the Tribes here present will expect in order to prevent future difficulties and disputes that you will propose such a boundary line between the United States and you as will be just for you to offer and honourable for the United States to agree to. This salutary measure will entitle such tribes to a participation of that liberality and protection of the United States which we perfectly well know to be their interest to embrace.

As we do not wish to burthen your memory with too great a variety of objects at one time we will say no more at present, but only mention that as the matters which we have mentioned are of the last importance to your peace and happineſs we expect you will take them into your immediate consideration and return us a satisfactory answer.

The Commiſsioners then informed Captain O'Bail a Seneca Chief that they had received a letter from the Head Men of Six Townships whereby he was authorized to act on their part. That they were happy in having busineſs to transact with a person of his wisdom and good name—

To which Captain O'Bail replied

"Let the Commiſsioners, the Representatives of the United States listen

You have this day aſsembled us at the place appointed for holding a Council fire and surely the day was fixed upon by the great Spirit for the purpose. You have opened fully your minds to us and we see the busineſs to be done at this treaty. We ſhall take it into our immediate and most serious consideration and whenever we shall be prepared, you shall hear our voice

October 17th 1784

In consequence of intelligence received by the arrival of nine Senecas of the death of a daughter of Captain O'Bail the Commiſsioners accompanied as usual, met in the Council house where the Indians had aſsembled in order to condole with him on his misfortune And the ceremonies of condolence being over Captain Aaron Hill informed the Commiſsioners that they were ready to answer to their ſpeech of the 12th, and accordingly addreſsed them thus

Brothers Commiſsioners of the United States

The great Spirit has once more brought us together upon the important busineſs which you proposed to us ſome days ago. We shall endeavour to give you as full and satisfactory an answer as may be in our power though should we not be sufficiently precise we must not be blamed as we had not a copy of your speech agreeably to our desire.

You informed us that this great Council fire was kindled for the purpose of settling all differences and disputes between the United States and us - of concluding a general peace - and of confirming that pacific disposition which at present appears mutually to subſist between us.

These you informed us were your intentions. You alſo acquainted us that it remained entirely with us whether there should be peace or not and that it was your wish to eſtabliſh a lasting peace. I see clearly the purport of your speech and beg your attention to the words of the Warriors for there are no Sachems among us.

The words of the Warriors are ſtrong. They are perſons who have travelled through the World and have borne all the difficulties of the War. It is in their power therefore to make a lasting peace. You told that it depended solely on us to make peace—but we apprehend that it is equally dependant on both parties. I speak in the name of the Six Nations and not only in their name but also in the name of all the other tribes. My voice therefore is strong. Our minds are deep and persevering and our wish to obtain peace is great. We are neither haughty nor proud nor is it our diſpoſition ever of ourſelves to commence hostilities. Our adherence to the covenant which we had made with the great King drew us into the late War, and ought to be a proof to the Commiſsioners of our strict ob=ſervance of our ancient covenants with the white people And they will find the same attachment to the covenant about to be made as to that which signalized our conduct during the late War.

Brothers

We are free and independent and at present under no influence. We have hitherto been bound by the great King—but he having broke the chain has left us to ourſelves, so that we are again free. We therefore wish that the Commiſsioners would consider what we say—as of ourselves—and not as being under the influence of any—that as a free and independent people we have a right to treat of peace—which we wish to be so settled that if in future either party should go to War the other may give their aſsiſtance or refuse it as it may pleaſe them.

(A string)

Then taking up the belt of the Commiſsioners which was delivered on reading their Commiſsion, he said)

Brothers

By this belt you informed us that you were authorized by Congreſs to settle a Peace with us, and to prove that your powers were competent you produced your Commiſsion from the Congreſs of the United States. We doubt not but that you are fully competent, and we and our Brothers the Six Nations feel ourselves greatly obliged to you for being so kind as to produce your authority.

You directed us not to attend to what any particular State might say to us on public buſineſs, for that the Commiſsioners of Congreſs alone were adequate to that purpose.

We of the Six Nations are fully sensible of the truth of this and we think that no particular State can have a right to treat separately, but that it belongs only to the United States. In consequence of this when the Governor of New York sent a Meſsage to us, to aſsemble us here in order to treat with that State, we requested that it might be a continental treaty as we conceived that the United States formed one general system or plan.

(then taking up a string, he said)

By this string, Brothers Commiſsioners, you informed us that peace was established between the United States and the King of Great Britain which the great Spirit was called to witneſs, and then you go on to inform us of the boundary line established between the great King and the United States, beginning near Halifax and running thence &c (mentioning the boundary described to them by the Commiſsioners agreeably to the definitive Treaty of Peace) This you aſsured us is your boundary that all the territory within it is the property of the United States, and that all the nations residing therein must look up to them for protection —

You alſo aſsured us that the great King in settling peace with you made no mention of us, but left us to seek for ourselves. Certainly that King did not look up to the great Spirit whom he had called as a witneſs to that Treaty otherwiſe common juſtice would not have ſuffered him to neglect thoſe who had been so juſt and so faithful to him — And we think that our Brothers the United States did not think of the great Spirit, otherwiſe they would have mentioned to the great King thoſe perſons who had been so faithful to him, when they found that he had entirely neglected them —

As the Commiſsioners have informed us of their powers to treat, I shall now inform them that we are the only perſons empowered to treat of and conclude a Peace, not only on the part of the Six Nations, but also on that of the Ottawa Chippewa Hurons Potowatamas Meſsaſaugas Miamis Delawares Cherokees Shawanese Chickaſaws Choctaws and Creeks, whatever conclusion is made at this treaty will be ſtrong, and whatever paſses will be communicated throughout all the different tribes (a string No 2.)

Then taking up the black & white string he said —

Brother, Commiſsioners of the thirteen United States

By this string you acquainted us that the King of France had ceded to the United States all claim and title to any lands within their boundary. We have only to thank the great Spirit for putting it into the mind of the King of France to make this ceſsion as it is well known that he is extremely saving of his lands, and that the United States are in great want of them (black & white string)

then taking up a belt he laid it down and taking another in his hand, said )

Brothers Commiſsioners of the thirteen United States

By the belt which I hold in my hand to which this is a reply you informed us that it was indiſpensibly eſsential to the making of Peace that all the priſoners should be delivered up, and that nothing could be finally done therein till that ſhould be the case.

We would propoſe to the Commiſsioners that for this purpoſe they should depute perſons of their own nation to go and collect them lest if it should reſt with us the Commiſsioners might apprehend the were not all brought in and we will give them for this purpose all th aſsiſtance in our power.

As the day is at present so far advanced, we will defer the oth matter till to morrow, when we will anſwer to your last requisitio (a belt)

The Commiſsioners then requested that they would aſsemble as early in the morning as poſsible — and thereupon retired from the Council house.

October 18.$^{12}$ 1784

Agreeably to their appointment of yesterday the Indians

aſsembled

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aſsembled in the Council houſe in order to anſwer fully to the requisition of the Commiſsioners respecting a boundary line, and having informed them of their convention the Commiſsioners accompanied as usual attended in the Council houſe

Capt. O'Bail spoke

Brothers Commiſsioners of the thirteen United States and all present of the Six nations attend!

Yesterday at your Council fire many things were replied to, but one principal matter was deferred 'till to day when we informed you that we would anſwer you fully—

Brothers

You addreſsed yourselves to us of the Six Nations and requested that we should propoſe a boundary line between you and us—which might be honourable and satiſfactory to you, and might afford peace to our own minds—

We, who are here present of one mind, thank you for your propoſal; we conceive that the great Spirit has prompted you to it that our minds may be guided—

Brothers

Compose your minds—the day is almoſt too short for an answer to so important a question—and we hope that it will give you no uneaſineſs that we have not yet anſwered to it, for we Indians love our lands. We have deliberated long upon this subject, becauſe when we have once made a line of division between us the lands which are granted will be no longer ours—One matter of great importance to the Seneca Nation should be brought to your view before we make any final determination. We have long been in poſseſsion of our territory — there are many here who know it, who know that it extended far, and that we had great love to it.

We Senecas are not of difficult minds — we have poſseſsed our territory a long time, and managed our own affairs — while the United States and the King of Great Britain were friends. and during the whole time of the wars to the Southward we never called upon any for aſsiſtance —

While the wars were carried on among the Indians, we heard the voice of the great King speaking to the Mohawks — this was his language — "Why do you of one blood fight thus one against another?"

We were then exhorted by the Mohawks to drop the hatchet and to carry it no longer to the Weſtward — We complied with their exhortations and carried War no longer among those tribes. When peace was thus settled among ourselves — the voice of war was heard between the United States and the King of Great Britain. At this time the King's Superintendant removed the Council fire that was kindled this way and our Brothers the Mohawks followed it from one place to another. This person was Col. Guy Johnston who continued to remove the Council fire, from place to place until he at laſt kindled it at Oſwego and sowed the seeds of confusion into our minds —

The King's Superintendent then called us to the Council fire which he had kindled in Canada among the seven Tribes that were then present when he took out what diſtracted our minds — he gave us even the hatchet which when given the seven tribes of Canada received with great eagerneſs.

When we Senecas received the hatchet we returned to our Country and convened at the Council fire of the Onondagoes that they might alſo deliberate with us upon the matter. In our deliberations at that Council fire, we agreed to return the hatchet and to deliver it up to General Schuyler —

We have now related to you the manner in which the hatchet was taken up. It came from the seven Nations in Canada who prevailed upon us to take it up — for which reason we did not sufficiently attend to your voice, when it called upon us to remain neutral. We must again declare that the hatchet was put into our hand by those seven tribes of Canada for we Indians love our own blood —

Brothers

As we proposed to relate to you the truth respecting the cauſe of our entering into the war with the United States — we hope that the relation which we have given may not prove disagreeable to you — It is our wish that we may never be again in the like ſituation — for we are sincerely diſpoſed to peace and friendship the great buſineſs of the present Treaty.

Brothers Representatives of the thirteen United States.

You have allotted to me the task of running a line between us to your satiſfaction — I feel the weight of it — I feel for many of my Brothers who will be left destitute of any lands and have therefore taken care in my deliberations to mark out that line which will give peace to both our minds— I hope that in our negotiations nothing but friendship will prevail, and I am fully certain that you will never conduct yourselves towards us as the King of Great Britain has done in throwing us away—

Brothers Commiſsioners of the thirteen States, liſten!

When we shall have drawn the line between us whatever shall remain within the boundary allotted to us ſhall be our own— it ſhall continue as the Sun which rolls over from day to day.

Brothers.

Let us go on in this important buſineſs with tenderneſs and caution. Should what I say to you not meet with a kind reception into your breaſts, it would greatly diſtreſs me— for I who stand before you am a Warrior— Should it not, inform me whilst I am here.

Brothers

I have several times repeated my request that we should proceed tenderly in this buſineſs— for I regard future generations and to them I attend, while engaged in making peace with you—

Our lines will be at a conſiderable diſtance from each other when I come to describe the boundary between us. This will tend to our mutual peace— I think Brother that we Warriors should have a large Country to range in, as our ſubſiſtence will depend on our having much hunting ground— and as it will alſo bring in more to you, it will tend to our mutual advantage— Now Brothers I

am

in about to draw the line. This we Senecas do of ourselves as the Land belongs solely to us— Let it begin at Tioga and run thence by a straight line inclining a little to the North to Otiga and when it ſtrikes the River Ohio let it go down its ſtream to the old boundary on the Cherokee River— As to the territory Weſtward of that you muſt talk respecting it with the Weſtern Nations towards the setting of the Sun— They muſt consult of what part they muſt cede to the United States—

Brothers

Should you approve of this boundary, you will direct your people not to treſpaſs upon our territory or paſs over the line— And should any of our nations attempt to paſs over or intrude upon your lands— let us know it— and we will take care to reprimand them and prevent it.

Brothers

By this belt you now see my mind. If what I have mentioned be approved of by you lay it along the Tioga as I have said— if not I again request you to inform me.

Brothers Commiſsioners of the thirteen United States.

I now introduce to you Thathneghthonhare a chief man of our nation, who should you approve of the boundary which I have described will attend your Surveyor—

The Commiſsioners then informed them that they had heard what they had said and would take into their consideration, and should they not approve of it when they were prepared to give them an anſwer they would let them know

October 20th 1784. a.m.

The Commiſsioners met. Present as before

Resolved

That a Council be held with the Indians at one o'clock this day, and that notice thereof be given them

1 o'clock — p.m.

Agreeably to their resolution of this day the Commiſsioners accompanied as usual, met in the Council house where the Indians having convened the following speech was delivered

Sachems & Warriors

We are now going to reply to the anſwer you made to our speech, therefore open your ears and hear!

You informed us that your words were not the words of the Six nations only, but that you were empowered to ſpeak for all the Indian nations from the North to the South. This surprizes us. We summoned the Six Nations only to this Treaty. That nations not called should send their voices hither is extraordinary. But you have not ſhewn us any authority either in writing or by belts for your speaking in their names. Without shewing such authority your words will paſs away like the winds of yeſterday that are heard no more.

You have complained that we have refuſed you a copy of our Speech which might lead you into errors —

When we refuſed it, we gave you our reason which was this — that having explained our minds publicly and clearly to you all and given you belts and ſtrings to remind you of every propoſition we did not chuſe you to be deceived and our meaning to be misrepresented by the few perſons among you who understood English and might have explained our ſpeech if we gave a copy of it as they pleased. We knew there were such perſons among you who wiſhed to deceive you and under the direction of thoſe who led you into the War against us were planning to mislead you again for their own purposes. We did not wish to put you into the power of such persons but to clear your eyes and your understandings — we explained at your own desire over and over again our speech to you, and the ſtrings and belts which accompanied every part of it.--

You next excused your having taken up arms against us by alledging you were drawn into it by your ancient covenant with the King of England. Where was your sense of covenants when after solemnly covenanting with us in 1775 and again as solemnly in 1776 receiving our presents to cover you to comfort and to strengthen you — immediately you took up the hatchet against us and struck us with all your might. Could you have so ſoon forgotten your recent engagements with us — and yet be influenced by thoſe long past with the King of England.

We asked you — we exhorted you, for your own sakes to remain neuter — tho' as living on the same ground with us we had a right to expect your aſſiſtance against all invaders. You twice solemnly covenanted not to join in the War against us, and without the smallest provocation on our part you violated your covenants and spilt our blood. We should not have called to mind this conduct had you not attempted to justify it. You must not deceive yourselves nor hope to deceive us. To justify errors may lead to a recommission of them - and it will be more safe and honourable to repent of than to palliate a conduct which tho' mischievous to us has been fatal to you and has left you at our mercy.

Again you are mistaken in supposing that having been excluded from the treaty between the United States and the King of England you are become a free and independent nation and may make what terms you please. It is not so. You are a subdued people. You have been overcome in a War which you entered into with us, not only without provocation but in violation of the most sacred obligations. The great Spirit who is at the same time the judge and avenger of perfidy hath given us victory over all our Enemies. We are at peace with all but you. You stand alone against our whole force.

When we offer you peace upon moderate terms, we do it in magnanimity and mercy. If you do not accept it now, you are not to expect a repetition of such offers. Consider well therefore your situation and ours. Do not suffer yourselves again to be deceived, so as to raise our arm against you. You feel the sad effects of having refused this counsel before. Beware how you do it again.

Compassionating your situation we endeavoured to make the terms on which you were to be admitted into the peace and protection of the United States appear to spring from your own contrition, and not from a necessity imposed by us. We therefore proposed to you to deliver up the prisoners and to propose a boundary line such as it became the United States to agree to.

On neither of these points have you given us the smalleſt satisfaction. You propoſe that we should depute people of our own nation to go and collect the prisoners. This you know from experience is impracticable that it would only provoke insult and perhaps the murder of such deputies by the perſons who hold our fellow citizens in bondage. You only can collect them you only ought to collect them—you must collect them and deliver them up. Our words are strong and we mean you should feel them. With regard to the boundary line you have proposed, the lands to the North West of it have almost all been sold already to Onas—And all the land South West of it to the Cherokee River, was sold by you in the year 1768 and is all granted and settled by the white people.

We shall now therefore declare to you the conditions on which alone you can be received into the peace and protection of the United States. [Theſe conditions are those contained in the treaty of peace with the Six Nations which was concluded Oct. 22. 1784.]

We shall now make a few remarks on these articles though the moderation and equity of them are manifest.

1st It is more than six months since you were informed by General Schuyler in the name of Congreſs that you must deliver up all the prisoners before peace could be granted you. Our 3 Meſsage gave you the same information, yet you have not delivered them up. As the delivery of them is indispensible so you have rendred hoſtages neceſsary by your delay.

2d It does not become the United States to forget theſe nations who preserved their faith to them and adhered to their cause; these therefore must be secured in the full and free enjoyment of their possessions.

3d. The line proposed leaves as extensive a Country to the remaining four nations as they can in reason desire, and more than from their conduct in the War they could expect. The King of Great Britain ceded to the United States *the whole*. By the right of conquest they might claim *the whole*, yet they have taken but a small part compared with their numbers and their wants. Their warriors must be provided for. Compensations must be made for the blood and treasure which they have expended in the War. The great increase of their people renders more lands essential to their subsistence. It is therefore necessary that such a boundary line should be settled, as will make effectual provision for these demands and prevent any futu cause of difference and dispute.

4th. It ought to be felt by you as a signal proof of the magnanimity of the United States that tho' the distresses of most of the Six Nations have been incurred by their own fault in fighting against them yet they have determined to administer such relief to them, as at present is in their power —

These are the terms on which you may obtain perpetual peace with the United States and enjoy their protection. You must be sensible that these are blessings which cannot be purchased at too high a price. Be wise and answer us accordingly.

To which Capt. O Bail replied

Brothers Commissioners of the thirteen United States.

You have this day declared your minds to us fully and without diſguiſe. We thank you for it. This is acting like men for thus men speak. We will take what you have said into our most serious consideration, and when we shall have prepared our=selves to anſwer to what you have proposed. you shall hear our voice.

October 21st 1784

The Indians having aſsembled in the Council houſe, in=formed the Commiſsioners that they were prepared to anſwer to what they had proposed in their Speech of the 20th, whereupon the Com=miſsioners accompanied as usual met in the Council houſe.

Captain Aaron Hill addreſsed them thus

Brothers, Commiſsioners of the thirteen United States attend!

You yesterday replied to the last speech which we made to you in answer to certain matters which you proposed for our consider=ation. We are surprized that you misunderstood what we said for the speech of our Brothers plainly shews that they did not under=stand our meaning. I will now therefore relate the eight principal articles which were contained in our speech.

Brothers

Upon your informing us that this council fire was kindled for the purpose of making peace — We replied that we loved peace — that our minds were thick firm and determined — that we were resolved that the peace then to be made should be so strongly founded that no person should ever have it in their power to demolish it. —

We likewise aſsured you that we were not trifling— that we were relieved from our covenant with the great King and consequently could establish peace on a firm basis— that we would not be wavering that our minds were long and persevering and that in caſe a war should break out between you and the King of Great Britain, we should have it in our power to aſsist you or not if we were aſked and even if not called upon we should still be able, for that as free and independent people we might act in that caſe as we should think proper— and further that if a war should again break out between the United States and the King of Great Britain, if you desired we would sit still and remain neuter— that the Treaty now to be made should be held up for ever before us and should conduct us in future.

You likewise informed us that as we did not produce any belts or written proofs for our speaking in the name of thoſe Western Tribes, our words would paſs away without effect.— We did not bring any proofs with us but left them at the Council fire which is now burning with our brothers the Shawaneſe on the River Sandusky.

Brothers

At this place you may obtain the proofs we have mentioned. Our brother the Cognawaga sits here by virtue of the powers given to him at that council fire.

One of the prisoners of the Oneida Tribe among the hoſtile nations called Good Peter addreſsed the Commiſsioners in the name of the Six Nations as follows

After repeating the boundary line described by the Commissioners in their speech of the 20th he said

Brothers Commissioners of the thirteen United States, attend to our voice!

We have considered what you proposed to us — as to the boundary let it be as you say.* We will make peace with the United States upon the terms they have laid down, but Brothers let the peace be firm and unchangeable, let the great Spirit be a witness to it, and let us endeavour to fix it on so lasting a foundation that the evil Spirit who is always endeavouring to do harm, may not be able to hinder its continuance.

Brothers

There is one thing more which we request — that is that our Warriors may have the liberty of hunting upon your grounds — for as we shall give our furs in exchange for your goods that will tend equally to the advantage of both parties.

(The belt given by the Commissioners on proposing the boundary was returned)

He then informed the hostile tribes of what he had said, and again addressed the Commissioners in the name of these four tribes thus

Brothers

We are all agreed to give the number of hostages which you demand to remain in the possession of the United States 'till all your prisoners shall be delivered up —

He then informed the Commissioners of the reason for which an Oneida spake instead of one of the late hostile Indians — which was that the Interpreters understood that language more perfectly than any of the other languages — And in the name of the four hostile tribes, he again addressed the Commissioners, and said

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* The boundary proposed was the same that is described in the treaty with the Six Nations.

Brothers

It appears by your speech that you expect we should discover some signs of repentance for our conduct during the late War. We do repent — We assured you that we were a free and independent people and as such we make this acknowledgment.

Brothers

As you may suppose that our minds are ruffled at what has taken place we assure you that they are not — Our minds are composed and we heartily rejoice at the present peace.

To which the Commissioners replied

Sachems & Warriors

The Commissioners have attended to what you have now delivered in answer to their speech of yesterday. They thank the great Spirit that he has inspired you with wisdom to act as you have done a conduct which will establish a lasting friendship between the United States and the Six Nations. The Commissioners will consider what you have said and you shall hear from them to morrow —

October 22d. 1784.

The Commissioners met. present as before

The Articles of the Treaty being prepared for signing and sealing the Indians were called upon to sign and seal them which was done — The day being too far spent at the request of the Indians the acknowledging and delivering the said Articles and the other matters of the Council were postponed till to morrow.

October 23d 1784

The Commiſsioners met — present as before

Agreeably to the appointment of yesterday, the Indians being aſsembled, the Commiſsioners accompanied by thoſe of Pennsylvania and the Officers of the Garrison met in the Council house where the Articles signed and sealed yesterday, and mentioned in the speech of the Commiſsioners of the 20th inst. were read agreed to acknowledged and exchanged. Upon which the following speech was made to them

Chiefs & Warriors of the Seneca Mohawk Onondago
and Cayuga Tribes —

We have now laid the foundation of the great and bleſsed work of peace. Let it be your study to compleat what we have so happily begun — Let it in future be your glory to stand to your engagements firm and immoveable. We have buried the hatchet, not only between the United States and you, but also between our friendly Indians the Oneidas Tuscaroras Mohickans and Coghnewaghas and yourselves. Let the great mountains cover it that it may never more be taken up — pursue the beasts of the forest — The great spirit has made them for the use of man — but let the blood of man be sacred —

(a belt)

We now open with you again the path of Trade. Our traders shall furnish what you want in return for your furs — and it shall be the constant care of Congreſs that they supply you with all poſsible justice and good faith and it will be the endeavour of Congreſs to prevent those impositions that were formerly practised. As you see it has been our study to keep you sober during the treaty, that what you did might be done with open eyes and clear understandings, that no advantage might be taken of you, nor anything stipulated but what should appear to your sober judgment to be really for your interests.

We have given you peace, and now receive you into the protection of the United States. (the path belt given)

Brothers of the Oneida & Tuscarora Tribes —

The immoveable firmneſs with which you have preserved your faith to Congreſs and attached yourselves to the fortunes of America has justly raised your glory among the nations. It is a glory that will last as long as any memory of these times shall remain. Congreſs has not forgot your fidelity and attachment. They would not have made peace with the hostile tribes, without securing your interests but such a peace is now concluded with them as is perfectly agreeable to you. Now you may embrace the late hostile tribes as your Brothers who have come home to you again after a long and anxious absence. Give them welcome with your whole heart. And may the great and good spirit so look upon you and so forgive you your treſpaſses as you forgive your Brothers.

(a belt)

Brothers of the Six Nations

We have now planted the tree of peace. May the waters from all the nations of the Earth nourish its roots. May they sink deep in the earth and last forever. May its top reach the skies, that it may drink the purest dews of heaven, and be great and flourishing above all trees. May its branches spread far and wide that nations may repose under its shade. Let it be your constant care and let it be taught to your Children above all things to cultivate this tree as the greatest of all bleſsings. Beware of blaſts from the north which may chill its growth and nip its buds. Such blaſts may come — watch them well and shield this tree from the injury they are intended to do it.

We exhort [illegible] wherever dispersed to return to you, to cleave to you, and enjoy with you under the protection of Congreſs, prosperity, peace, and happineſs.

If you persevere in the path we have marked out to you, the path of peace and friendship, the work of this day will be like the everlasting Sun which holds his course through the heavens giving light and life to all.

Congreſs is now your only protector. They have provided liberally in the goods which we shall give you, for your women, your children and your old men. So long as you conduct yourselves like good children so long you may all rely on the parental protection of the United States. (a grand belt)

The Commiſsioners required that they should point out at that time the people who were to be detained as hostages, which was instantly complied with. And captain Aaron Hill, Chandalighton, Thathnenthaie, Thayagonentagetitha, Thonaute and Oaseuhaloani were ordered to riſe up and were declared to be the persons –

The Indians having testified their happineſs at the establiſhment of peace once more joined themselves in friendship – And having observed all the ceremonies customarily used on ſuch occaſions, the Council fire was finally covered up and the Commiſsioners retired from the Council house.

# Weſtern Treaties.

December 3d. 1784.

The Commiſsioners met at Pittsburgh, where were present,

The Hon.ble
G. R. Clark
R. Butler &
Arthur Lee, Esquires.

A Speech from the Indian Chiefs of several villages aſsembled at Caijahoga dated the 20th of November was read, of which the following is a copy –

Brothers

We are very glad to hear the speech you sent to us and appointed us to meet you here in thirty six days at the fire you had kindled at Cayahoga, where we have waited for you ten or twelve days –

Brothers

Your Brothers the Delawares are all come – likewise your Brothers the Wiandots and the other nations you have called are encamped near hand in different places in woods waiting for your coming.

Brothers

Our request to you is to let us hear from you in sixteen days without fail. The speech you sent to Tuscaraways overtook us here at this place where you appointed us to meet at. We do not fully understand it as it has been translated into writing at Tuscaraways. It seems a speech to the Shawanese as we have never ſent you any speech since our friend Lowry was with us. In case anything has happened that you cannot come let us know and we will wait your coming if you are coming or intend to come. We desire what we may depend on for a certainty.

Brother

In your speech we understand you are sending a man to encourage us and make us strong, which we desire may be done immediately.

According to your desire we arrived here rather before the time you appointed, expecting to meet you here, and brought with us our Wives and Children, and but little provisions with us therefore our Wives and Children are suffering. Therefore we desire you would forward to us as quick as poſsible about ten Horſe loads of Goods with two kegs powder, Lead and Tobacco and Salt.

Brother

We are weary waiting. If you could send us a little Rum, it would chear our hearts.

Brothers

We hope you will not think hard at our request, as our hearts are good; but neceſsity requires us to request you to send us some neceſsaries as quick as poſsible.

Our young men will set out this day to all the Indian Camps and order them all to be at this place in ſixteen days, when we expect to take you by the hand as Brothers.

We remain your friends

(Signed) Capt. Pipe Chf. of Pipestown
Willandathan of white River
Telopacashon of Coshocky
John Dowdy Dowdy's town

## December 4th 1784

The Commiſsioners met, present as before.

Resolved

That Mr Lowrey be immediately dispatched with a ſpeech to the different tribes at and in the vicinity of Cayahoga, requesting them to meet the Commiſsioners at Fort McIntosh where every thing neceſsary will be prepared for holding the Treaty. The expences and difficulties of moving the Goods Stores and Troops to Cayahoga at this ſeason rendering it neceſsary to propose a change in the place of meeting.

Resolved

That the ſpeech be as follows—

Sachems and Warriors of the Wiandot,* Ottawa, Chippewa, Tweightwe, Potowatama, & Shawanee Nations —

We informed you by the bearer our Messenger & Brother Alexander Lowrey Esqr. that we should meet you at Cayahoga on the 20th of November last. This we should have been punctual in, had the Chiefs of the Six Nations with whom we have treated and made peace been punctual to our appointment with them.

We find that the advanced season of the year and the difficulty of carrying provisions and a large quantity of Goods so great that we have thought proper to send Mr Lowrey that he may inform you that we are this far on our way and have sent all our provisions and goods to Fort McIntosh where we wish you to meet us. We are in every respect ready to treat with you there and wish you to remove as speedily as possible.

We will send provisions and a little Rum to Kiskuskin and Mahoning in order that you may be happy on your way.

We expect you as speedily as possible

(Signed)
G. R. Clark
R. Butler
A. Lee

[At Fort McIntosh]

## January 9th 1786.

The Commissioners met agreeably to adjournment present as before.

Conformably to their Resolution of yesterday the Commissioners accompanied by those of Pennsylvania and the Officers of the

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* The Delawares are omitted - probably by the copyist.

Garriſon met in the Council houſe where were preſent of the Indians the Wiandot Delaware Ottawa and Chippewa Nations —

The Half King of the Wiandot Nation requesting to ſpeak first, addreſsed the Commiſsioners thus

Brothers

Some time ago our friends (meaning the Meſsengers who were sent to convene the western nations of Indians) came to us and said Brothers We now come to take you by the hand and lead you to the Council fire which is to be kindled at Cayahoga. We were all glad to hear it and thought it was good news. In conſequence of which we immediately set off to Cayahoga, where when we arrived we found no ſmoke. At this we were a little uneasy nevertheleſs our hearts still remained good. Whilst we were in that ſituation our friends came to us again and told us that the weather was so extremely hard that you could not poſsibly get to us. I considered what they said and moved on to Kuskuskin. When I arrived at that place I found nobody there, and thinking that it was a mistake I kept on to this place. Neither did we think hard of proceeding on as we believed what our Brothers had said to us.

Brothers

Believe what I have now said to you. It comes from my heart and not from my lips only —

(The Meſsage and Meſsage belt sent by the Commiſsioners was produced on the part of all the nations present.)

After which the Commiſsioners addreſsed them as follows —

Sachems

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Sachems and Warriors of the Wiandot Delaware
Ottawa and Chippewa Nations —

We have called you together at this place to make known to you the will and pleasure of the United States and we are happy to see you in health after your journey. ( a white string )

We now shew you this our Commiſsion, under the great Seal of the United States. by which we are empowered to act at this Treaty.
( a black & white string )

The war which the King of Great Britain waged against us and in which you aſsisted him, is now terminated between the United States and him by the Treaty which we here exhibit to you, in which he has ceded to the United States all the Country South and southwest of a line running thro' the middle of the Lakes to the Lake of the Woods and from thence to the head of the Miſsisippi —
( The definitive Treaty of peace was exhibited and explained )

By this Treaty which we now shew to you the King of France has renounced forever any claim to the country ceded to the United States by the King of Great Britain
( a black & white string )

You have now before you the proofs that the United States are the sole Sovereigns within the limits that have been mentioned to you, that the King of Great Britain in his Treaty with the United States has not stipulated any thing in favour of you, and of the other Indian nations who joined him in the war against
us

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us. You are therefore left to obtain peace from the United States, and to be received under their government and protection upon such conditions as seem proper to Congreſs, the great Council of the United States.

By their authority we have already given peace to those of the Six Nations who were joined with the King of Great Britain in the war against us, and allotted to them all, lands to live and to hunt on, within the limits, and under the protection of the United States.

This is the Treaty which records and testifies those transactions.

(The Treaty with the six Nations was read and explained to them, and a white string given)

Having now acquainted you with what has been transacted between the United States and other nations, shewing that the United States are at peace with all but you, and a few of the more western tribes; we will at present leave these things to your consideration, and when you are ready we shall inform you of the pleasure of the great Council and of the terms on which they will give you peace and receive you into their protection—

January 12th. 1786.

The Indians met in the Council house and requested the attendance of the Commiſsioners, who accompanied, as usual, attended accordingly.

The Half King) spoke thus

Brothers

The great Spirit to whom we all look up, and who is the master of all has appointed this day for the Council fire and has permitted us to see each other again.

Brothers,

We now offer you our hand. We wipe your eyes that you may see and open your ears that you may hear as clearly as usual.

(Col. Henry Kilbuck a friendly Delaware, took the string and proceeded thus —)

Brothers

Three days ago you informed us in what manner you had established peace and friendship with our Uncles the Six Nations.

Brothers

By reason of the many different nations among us, we did not until yesterday fully understand what you had said to us. We are glad that the great power above has allowed us to see each other. Therefore listen

Brothers

I take a cloth of the finest and softest kind and with it wipe your eyes that you may see your Brothers born upon the same Island with you. I open your ears which have been for a long time shut that you may hear what they have to say to you. I also cleanse your hearts of all bad things or ill impressions which may have been heaped upon them, that our words may gain admittance

Brothers

When I behold you I feel something weighty on my heart because I perceive you to be stained with the blood which thro' the instigation of some bad spirit we have been tempted to shed. I wipe it away and now meet you in that peace and friendship in which our Grandfathers met.

Brothers

When you shall have returned to the old people, the great Council of the United States they will rejoice to see you return clean and unpolluted.

Brothers

Should you not fully understand what I have now said to you demand of me and I will repeat and explain it.

(a belt Nº.2.)

This is all we have to say at present, but to-morrow morning you shall hear our voice and our sentiments on the rest that you said to us. I speak in the name of the whole present—

(a string Nº.3.)

January 13th 1785

The Indians having aſsembled in the Council house, informed the Commiſsioners that they were prepared to proceed with their anſwer, and requested their attendance. The Commiſsioners accordingly attended and being seated were addreſsed thus by the Council Door, a Chief of the Delawares—

Brothers

We are glad to see you all met and thank the great Spirit who has permitted us to see each other.

Brothers

p.165 stop

Brothers

Last fall we heard from you that you were about to kindle a Council fire at Cayahoga at which we were very glad. You desired us to bring with us to that place your people whom we had taken from among you during the War. The great hurry in which we were to meet you at the place you had appointed prevented us from collecting them. But that muſt not disturb our Councils. They must go on regularly and without interruption, and as ſoon as the Treaty shall be over you may rely on seeing your Children. I will aſsiſt in getting them in.

Brothers.

You also mentioned some black people who were among us belonging to you, who you desired should be brought in and delivered up. If there be any in my nation they shall be brought in with the rest.

Brothers

I again repeat that all the nations present are happy and rejoice at seeing you.

Brothers.

I am glad to ſee and to hear what my Uncles the Six Nations have done. I am glad that my uncles and you have settled peace and friendship, and that they have given up to you a part of their Country.

In the first place Brothers I will inform you that my uncle (the Six Nations) first spoke to me at Attiga from whence he removed the fire to Venango where he kindled it again. At this place and at this fire, he made me a present of the lands from Venango up French Creek to the Lake and to this place, which Country until this da I always conceived to be mine.

Brothers

I think as the old men in former times did. They were old I am young. Nevertheless I think as they thought

Brothers

My uncle gave me Beaver Creek to the Lake to hunt upon and support my Women and Children.

Brothers

I only tell you now what my uncles the Six Nations did. My uncle (meaning the Half King of the Wiandot nation) who sits here and who knows the truth of what I say gave me the lands from Muskingum to Sandusky.

Brothers

I am young still I think that the grant was good and that the Country is mine. And as our Children grow up we tell them that the Country is ours - that our Uncle gave it to us -

At present Brothers this is all we have to say on what you said to us four nights ago. (a belt No. 4.)

The Half King then rose and spoke thus

Brothers

The great Spirit above has permitted us to spea together to day. Attend to what my nephew (the Delawa has said to you: Believe him for he has spoke the truth

9 6

I gave him a tract of land beginning at the mouth above Tuscaraways and running from thence up along the Lakes. I set him down on this land. The rest belongs to the Wiandots.

Brothers

You wish to know our line. We will inform you of it. It begins at the Little Miami, and runs from thence across to the great Miami. Farther than this our line does not extend, the lands beyond it belong to the different nations. (a String No. 5)

A Chippewa Chief then produced the pipe of peace, and the ceremony of smoaking was observed. After which the Commissioners desired that the Ottawa and Chippewa nations who had not yet spoke might declare what were their sentiments and that if they had any thing to propose they might hear it.

Interpreters to those nations being wanting the Half King by their consent and direction spoke thus for the Ottawas.

Brothers

We are happy to see and to hear you. We have only to mention that our Brother the Wiandots gave us permission to hunt, and to fish along the shores from point to point from Cayahoga to Bald Eagle Creek. He gave it to us because he knew we were fond of the fish and fowl, which were to be had from the waters. This, Brothers is all that we have to say. (a string ditto)

The "Council-door" then spoke thus for the Chippewas.

Brothers

We are happy to see you, and are glad to hear you and the Delawares our Grandfathers speak together and coming upon a good understanding.

Brothers

All that we have to say is that our Grandfathers and we aſsist each other in counselling: and that we are as one people. Whatever therefore our Grandfathers say is also said by us.

(a string Nº 8.)

The "Council-door" again proceeded

Brothers

As we wish to shew you that we and our Grandfathers are as one, and are happy to hear your talks; we present to you this pipe that as often as you shall smoke it you may remember that the Delawares and Chippewas are one people.

(the grand calumet of peace was presented)

To which the Commiſsioners replied

Sachems & Warriors of the Ottawa and Chippewa Nations

The Commiſsioners have received what you have said as an instance of your good sense and the pipe which you have presented to them, they will preserve as a testimony of your friend disposition towards the United States.

Sachems & Warriors of the Wiandot & Delaware Nations

We have attended to what you have said in answer to our speech of the 9th, and when we shall be prepared, we will call you together in order to inform you fully of what we would wish you to know.

January 15. 1785.

The Commiſsioners having ordered that the Indians should be aſsembled, accompanied as usual attended in the Council house where all the Indians being present the following Speech was delivered

Sachems & Warriors

We have considered what you said to us two days ago, and we find you do not fully comprehend what we said to you before. We have therefore called you together to clear your understandings on thoſe points in which you appear to have been most mistaken.

You told us that you were in so great a hurry to come to the Treaty upon receiving our meſsage, that you had not time to collect our people whom you keep prisoners among you. But you ought to have remembered that the same meſsage told you that the bringing in and delivering up thoſe prisoners was an indispensible preliminary to your obtaining Peace. You ought to have been sensible that neither the dignity nor feelings of the United States would allow them to suffer their citizens of any description to be detained prisoners by you.

You next expreſs your gladneſs that the Six Nations your Uncles have *given us* a part of *their* Country. But it is quite the contrary. We have given the hoſtile part of the Six Nations some of the Country which we conquered from them, and we have secured their lands to thoſe who were friendly. Our friends have experienced our good faith. Our Enemies have felt our bounty and forgiveneſs. We hope this will be a lasting example to them, to you, and to all other nations of the lenity and virtue of the United States.

You have been particular in describing to us the claim and title of each particular tribe, to the lands from Venango towards the sun rising to the Miami towards the sun setting and between the Ohio and the Lake Erie. The detail of these claims and titles may appear to be of consequence among yourselves. But to us and to the business of the Council fire to which we have called you they have no relation because we claim the Country by conquest, and are to give not to receive. It is of this that it behoves you to have a clear and distinct comprehension. When the King of Great Britai invaded our Country, the great Council of the United States did not ask you to take the hatchet for them. They advised you to sit stil and not to meddle in the war between the two peoples, but to remai quiet spectators of the contest, that you might not suffer in the war nor by its consequences. This advice was full of wisdom and of goodness. In a treaty at Fort Pitt you solemnly engaged your fait to us that you would remain neuter. Yet when the mighty fleet and armies of Great Britain pressed hard upon us - in our utmo difficulty and distress you violated your faith. You joined our Enemies. You lifted the hatchet high against us. You smote our naked borders with all your might. You burnt our Dwel ings, and carried our Women and our Children into captivity. But the great Spirit who sees and avenges violence and perfidy gave u victory over all our enemies. The wings of his providence covered u and his right arm fought for us. Two mighty armies of the Kin of Great Britain were obliged to surrender themselves prisone and he was compelled to yield up to us all the Country described in the Treaty. You were driven from your towns, and from the country now in question. Had we been conquered, our lands would have been subject to the King of Great Britain and to you. By the same law you being conquered, your lands must be at our disposal. As you would have expected to share with the King of Great Britain in his victory, so you must suffer with him in his defeat. He has made his peace with us upon our own terms. You stand alone against our whole force a force which if provoked to fall upon you, would fall like the mighty oak that cruſhes the ſhrub beneath it. After having thus violated your faith you pledged to us – after having waged a war upon us cruel and unprovoked – from the justice of the United States you can expect nothing – from their magnanimity and mercy you may expect much. perhaps as much as thoſe of the Six Nations, your Uncles, who though they sinned like you, have received from the great Council forgiveneſs peace and protection – Cloaths to cover and to comfort them with Lands to live and to hunt on.

These things we have thought neceſsary to preſs upon your minds, previous to our communicating to you the ultimate will of the United States which we shall do in a few days. In the mean time we expect that a due consideration of what we have said will remove the mistakes you were under, clear your understandings, and convince you of the justice and benignity of what we shall propoſe to you.

(a String)

January 19. 1785.

The Commissioners having ordered that the Indians should be assembled at 12 oclock proceeded to the Council, where all the Indians being present, the following speech was delivered

Sachems & Warriors,

Having already stated to you your situation with regard to the United States, it remains for us to inform you on what terms peace will be granted to you. You will now listen to the Articles which you are to sign

[The Articles of the treaty exhibited.]

Sachems & Warriors

In allotting you Lands to live and to hunt on we have endeavoured to shew the United States as generous to you, as they have already been to your Brothers and Uncles the Six Nations, and while the game is plenty on the branches of the Rivers running into the Ohio we will allow you to hunt upon those branches, provided you do no injury to any surveyor, settler, hunter or any other white person whom you may meet on the said hunting ground.

In answer to which the Council Door, the boundaries and conditions of the treaty being fully explained spoke thus for the Delaware Nation

Brothers

We have attended to what you have said. We have already considered it, and find it to be good. We agree to the boundaries which you have proposed, and the conditions on which we are to have peace.

The Wiandot Nation informed the Commiſsioners that they would take the night for the purpoſe of considering what they had propoſed to them, and that early in the morning they should hear their voice.

January 20th. 1785.

The Indians this morning met in the Council houſe, and informed the Commiſsioners that they were ready to give their final anſwer whereupon the Commiſsioners attended, and being all present, Wingenund a chief warrior of the Delawares addreſsed them thus.

Great Men

I am a warrior, the chief warrior of my nation. I have lately heard of your talks, and am now going to speak to you. I have but lately come, but I have understood fully all that you said before my arrival, I heard your good talk yeſterday, and thank you for it.

Brothers

You mentioned that for a security we should give you hostages to remain in your hands, till all your priſoners should be delivered up.

(then speaking to the Delawares, three of them roſe up)

Observe Brothers the men who are to collect and bring in your prisoners.

(then again addreſsing them, two of their Chiefs rose up)

Brothers

In compliance with your demand of hostages, we have appointed theſe two men, who will continue with you, till all your

Children who are now prisoners among us shall be restored to you. Consider me as ſpeaking only for the Delaware Nation.

Having now Brothers laid my hands to the work upon which we have met, I shall be zealous in your favour, I shall be as earnest in my endeavours for you as I have hitherto been in my acts against you.

Brothers

You may depend on seeing your flesh and blood, who may be among us, as ſoon as it shall be poſsible for us to collect them.

Brothers

All that you have said to us is true. We know it from experience. Being deceived and cheated we have fought against you. But peace has again returned and we hope that it may continue.

Brothers,

I have now ſpoken to you as a Warrior. Do not conceive that I am ſcolding at you; for such is the manner in which Warriors ſpeak. This day the men whom I have choſen to collect your priſoners will set out from hence for that purpoſe. As the weather is extremely cold, if you will give them a little cloathing they will receive it and depart immediately, and will not be ſeen by you again till they shall be seen with your priſoners.

Brothers

When we shall have brought in your priſoners you may conceive that some of them still remain among us.

Brothers

I aſsure you that I will attend to the collection of them and that none of them be left.

( A string No )

To which the Commissioners replied

Warriors

We have heard and are well pleased with what you have said. The Hostages you have delivered to us, shall be well treated. As we are sensible of the rigor of the season in which those you have appointed are to collect our flesh and blood, we should without your mentioning it have provided for them properly. The sooner you bring in the prisoners the more satisfactory will it be to us. We desire that you would direct your peoples to take all possible care of them especially of the Women and Children.

The "Council Door" then addressed the Commissioners, thus

Brothers Representatives of the thirteen States

You have heard what the chief Warrior has said to you — he spoke what belonged to him to say. If you have anything further to say to me as a Chief, I am ready to receive it.

You as chief men have delivered fully your sentiments to us. We thank you for your good talks, and are well pleased with what you have declared to us. In future it shall be our endeavour to give each other mutual assistance.

The "Half King" of the Wiandot nation, spoke next and said

Brothers

You order us to give hostages for the delivery of the prisoners we have among us. We will obey - and altho' you desire only one from my nation, we will give you two. My Son there shall stay with you till all your flesh and blood that are among us white and black shall be broug in, and that shall be very soon. I hope you will uſe them well that the may be no complaint.

To which the Commiſsioners anſwered

That they accept the hoſtages and are well ſatisfied with the perſons, as a proof of their ſincerity in their promise in bringing in the priſoners. That the hoſtages would be taken good care of while they are with us, and if they behave well that they would give orders for presents to be made to them when diſmiſsed. That the treaties would be ready here for signing about this time to morrow — That it would be expected that they would attend at that time, and would bring the hoſtages with them — And that they would alſo do well in fixing upon such Headmen and Warriors as were to sign the Treaty in behalf of the rest.

The Warriors then obſerved that the weather made the water very cold, and requested something to warm it, which being granted to them and the cuſtomary ceremonies being over the Council broke up for the day and the Commiſsioners retired.

January 21st. 1785.

The Commiſsioners ordered the Indians to be called together, and being informed that they had met at ten o'clock accompanied by the Commiſsioners of Pennsylvania, the Officers of the Garrison and ſeveral other Gentlemen — they proceeded to the Council house, where when they had met, and the Indians had all convened the Treaties were produced, read, assented to, signed, witnessed, and exchanged, a separate Article being first added and agreed to

After which the Commissioners spoke thus

Sachems & Warriors of the Wiandot Delaware Ottawa and Chippewa nations.

In the name and by the authority of the United States we now take the hatchet out of your head, give you peace and receive you into their protection. (a belt to the Wiandot & Delaware nations and one to the Ottawa & Chippewas)

Brothers of the Wiandot and Delaware nations we open the Road between the United States and you; and make clear the path of trade between our people and yours. (a road belt)

Brothers of the Ottawa and Chippewa nations.

We open the road and clear the path of trade between the people of the United States and you. (a road belt)

Brothers of the Wiandot Delaware Ottawa & Chippewa nations.

We have now established peace and opened trade between the Citizens of the United States and you. May the great Spirit bless the work. We have taken the hatchet out of each others head, and buried it deep. May it never be taken up again to break the chain of friendship between us. By the mildness with which the United States have used the advantages which they obtained over you; By the peace they have given you and the generous provisions in lands they have made for your people, you must be convinced of their magnanimity and moderation. Let it be your study by your future conduct to shew that you are sensible of it; and that you are worthy of it. If the evil Spirit should ever tempt you again to be ungrateful to break your promise now solemnly made, and to return injury for the benefits you have now received, remember what we now tell you - that to offend again would be to offend past all forgiveness and must end in your utter ruin.

We have endeavoured to explain everything so fully that you could not be mistaken. We have endeavoured to keep you sober that your understandings might be clear and your judgments undeceived. Therefore what you have done has been with your eyes and ears open, and your minds perfectly informed. You cannot then in future have the smallest excuse for not keeping the promises you have made. We recommend to you to treat our Traders well, and we shall endeavour so to regulate them that they shall not impose upon you - for which reason we desire you will not trade with any white man, but what shews you a Licence from us. We exhort you and your young men to turn your thoughts to hunting, and to abstain from shedding human blood, for the great Spirit above hath said "he who sheddeth the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed.

Brothers

Let what we have said to you and the advice we have given you, govern your future conduct. Think of it often among yourselves and teach it to your Children. So shall you live in peace and prosperity - So shall you deserve and receive the fatherly protection of the United States.

(a grand belt)

The Commissioners then desired that they would take the hatchet from out of the heads of the friendly Indians, which ceremony was immediately performed — After which (having received information of the conduct of some Cherokees who reside among the Shawanese) the Commissioners informed the Indians that they had heard of those people committing hostile acts upon some of our Citizens, and that they would do well in finding them out, and bringing them to an account for them — for that if in future they should repeat those crimes the nation in which they were committed would be held answerable for them.

To which they replied — That they would endeavour to discover them, or to drive them out of their Country or punish them provided they should attempt anything of the kind in future.

The Chippewas and Ottawas requested to speak.

The "Half King" speaking for them, said

Brothers

We are glad to hear your good speeches. We thank you for them. We thank you for having taken pity on us. We hope that peace may last between us and that our young ones and yours may live in friendship. (a string)

The "Council Door" for the Ottawas said

Brothers

We are glad to hear your words, because they are good.

We are glad to hear you and our Brothers the Wiandots an
lawares speak together on such terms. We rejoice at the p
peace and hope for a continuance of it. ...... (a string

The "Council Door" on the part of his nation the D
proceeded ......

Brothers

Altho' some of our people whom you m
tioned and out of whose heads we have already taken the
have continued with you during the war, nevertheless th
will operate against them now.) We have no harm to
them. They are of our own nation, our own flesh and
As they know your customs they may probably wish
with you, but if they should wish to continue with us.
is open to them, and our country is ready to receive them

Brothers

Every thing which I have heard from you
It has sunk into my heart and is lodged there.

Brothers hearken!

At different times of the War the hatchet
to me by the British. I three days refused it, but being
was at length prevailed upon to take it up. The same hatchet I
my hand, but now I lay it down.

Brothers

As I informed you that by reason of my
deceived I had taken up the hatchet, and have just

so now I bury it that none of our Children may in future know hing ever was. (a belt.)

The "Half King" of the Wiandot nation said

Brothers of the thirteen United States listen to what your Brothers the Wiandots are about to say to you!

As I am the oldest I speak in the name of all the nations. I take the hatchet out of your heads, and bury it deep in th that the waters may carry it away and lodge it beneath of a mighty tree; so that it may never more be found or p. (a string)

We give thanks to our Brothers of the thirteen United nd are truly glad that peace is established between them and

rothers

I hope you will tell your Warriors and great Men what and we will spread it thro' our nations that it may be strong sting. For the great Spirit who is now looking upon us, and s all that we do, will punish those who deviate from it.

Brothers, once more attend!

We have now made peace and taken each other by the rever. As to the trade we wish it may be easier upon us than hitherto been, for times are really very hard with us. We hope u will send persons to trade with us, who will not deceive us, pose upon us. (a string)

The Commissioners then told them that they would have their goods distributed to them the next day.

The Ceremonies usual on ſuch occaſions being over the Council was finally broken up, and the Commiſsioners retired from the Council house.

The Meſsengers made the following return of the number of Indians present at the Treaty.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wiandots | 82 | |
| Senecas | 28 | |
| Delawares | 25 | |
| Ottawas | 24 | |
| Chippewas | 32 | |
| Munseys | 51 | |
| Shawaneses | 2 | The Grenadier Squaw and her Daughter |

## Fort Pitt January 27th 1785.

The Commiſsioners met: present as at Fort McIntosh.

Resolved

That the following letter be addreſsed to his Excellency the President of Congreſs.

"We have the honor of incloſing to your Excellency, the Treaty concluded at Fort McIntosh the 21st of this month with such of the Western nations as attended at that place. Their profeſsions of satisfaction and promiſes of good behaviour in future have been as ample as poſsible. But we must take the liberty of offering it as our opinion that thoſe will be but feeble restraints compared with Posts properly garrisoned: A sense of superiority has infinitely more influence on an Indian mind, than that of benefits bestowed or faith engaged.

Your Excellency will observe that within the allottments to the Wiandot and Delaware Tribes reservations are made on the mouth of the Omi on the Sandusky Lake, on the great Miami, and on the lower rapids of the Sandusky River. This was done for the establishment of Posts at those places, which we conceive will secure the people of these Rivers, the observance of the Treaty on the part of the Savages, and the execution of such orders as Congreſs may please to make for the regulation of the Traders. This Treaty has compleated the extinguishment of all claims as far West as the great Miami on the Ohio River and the Miami or Omi River which empties into the Lake Erie. Beyond that the Six Nations and the Tribes now treated with have no claim. Therefore if Congreſs should think proper to have the claims farther Westward extinguished it must be done by another Treaty or Treaties, with the Pottowatama, Piankeshaw Twightwee, Illinois and other Wabash Indians, which we conceive will be requisite to ensure peace to the frontier settlements on the Ohio &c. In contemplation of this, we thought proper to distribute one half only of the Goods purchased for this Treaty to the Indians, and have left the other half in store at Fort McIntosh in the care of the Commandant. The disposal therefore of the whole of the Goods purchased for these Treaties has been thus: To the Six Nations one third — To the Wiandot Delaware Ottawa and Chippewa tribes one third — In store at Fort McIntosh subject to the orders of Congreſs, or the Commiſsioners one third.

P.S. We have the honor of informing your Excellency that since the signing the Treaty, the Chiefs of the Delaware nation delivered to the Commiſsioners four medals of the King of England which had been presented them during the war, and promised that they would deliver up six more. This they accompanied with a speech renouncing that King for ever. The six medals to be delivered up are all that remain in the nation.

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## In Congreſs. march 18. 1785.

Resolved

That in order to give greater security to the frontier settlement, and establish a boundary line between the United States and the Potowatama Twightwees & Piankishaw and other western nations, a treaty be held with the said Indians at Post Vincent on the Wabash River on the 20th day of June 1785, or at such other time or place as the Commiſsioners may find more convenient.

That 18429 pounds weight of beef 21047 pounds of Flour and salt in proportion in addition to the rations now in store at Fort McIntosh will be neceſsary for the said treaty; and that the Commiſsioners of the Treasury take order to furnish the same by Contract.

That the Commiſsioners for holding the aforesaid treaty purchase and cause to be transported such goods as they may judge neceſsary in addition to the goods in store at Fort McIntosh, to an amount not exceeding three thousand Dollars, and that they be empowered to draw out of the public magazines, if they think proper such a quantity of powder as they may find neceſsary for the purpoſes of the treaty.

trea That the Commiſsioners of the treaty take order to advance to the Commiſsioners aforesaid the sum of three thousand Dollars for which they are to account in addition to the amount of the goods to be purchased as aforesaid.

That the Troops at the western poſts or ſo many of them as may be required, be subject to the order of the aforesaid Commiſsioners for holding the treaty, during the time of the said treaty.

## Proceedings of the Commiſsioners for Indian Affairs commencing the 17th day of June 1785.

## Western Treaty

New York June 17th 1785.

The Honorable George Rogers Clark, Oliver Wolcott and Richard Butler Esquires met and entered into the following resolutions—

Resolved

That Alexander Campbell be and he is hereby appointed a Secretary to the Commiſsioners for negotiating Treaties with the Western Indians — and that he be allowed three Dollars per day.

The following resolutions of Congreſs were received & read

By the United States in Congreſs aſsembled.

June 15th 1785.

Resolved,

That the Commiſsioners instructed to hold a Treaty under the resolutions of the 18th of March last with the western tribes of Indians for the purpoſe of obtaining from them a ceſsion of lands be and they are hereby authorized and directed to make such ceſsion as extenſive and liberal as poſsible.

2. That the Board of Treasury take order for the purchase of goods in addition to thoſe on hand at Fort McIntoſh and thoſe ordered to be purchased by the resolutions of the 18th of March last for the purpoſe of carrying the said treaty fully into effect, to an amount not exceeding three thousand Dollars —

That the Secretary at War be and he is hereby directed to order the troops in the service of the United States to be in readineſs to march at such time and to such place or places as the said Commiſsioners or any two of them shall direct —

In order to carry the aforesaid reſolutions fully into effect and to anſwer all the ends proposed thereby, it was

Resolved, That the Secretary at War order 300 troops in the service of the United States to be ready at Fort McIntosh as soon as poſsible to be subject to such orders as the Commiſsioners for negotiating Treaties with the Western Indians may think proper for protecting the Treaties &c And that the Secretary transmit a copy of this Resolution to the Secretary at War

June the 30th 1785

The Commiſsioners met present as before

In consequence of the Resolutions of Congreſs of yesterday, directing the Commiſsioners for Indian Affairs to hold their Treaty with the Western nations either at the Rapids of the Ohio, or at the mouth of the Big Miami on the North western Banks of the said River, it was

Resolved

That the said Treaty be held at the mouth of the Big Miami, and that the following letter be addreſsed to the Secretary at War

"New York, June 30. 1785.

"Sir

"You will perceive by the Resolutions of Congreſs of yesterday that one company of the troops of the United States, are to attend the treaty which we are to hold with the Western nations instead of thoſe heretofore ordered.

You will therefore please instead of the troops heretofore directed to be detached for this service to order one full company to be at Fort McIntosh in the month of August to be subject to the orders of the Commissioners to negotiate treaties with the Western nations. We have the honor to be

Sir &c

(Signed) Geo. R. Clark
Oliver Wolcott
Richard Butler

The Honorable
The Secretary at War

## July 1. 1785

The Commissioners met: present as before

Resolved

That the most effectual measures be taken to send Messengers to the Western tribes of Indians, viz.t The Miamis and Shawanees on the waters of the Miami and Omi Rivers and the adjacent countries wherein these or any other tribes dwell. The Potowatamas and other Tribes that inhabit the Country on the East side and South end of Lake Michigan, and on the branches of the Illinois River, as far down the same as the confluence of the Kiakia and Plain branches thereof, also such of the Tweightwee nation as live on and near the Wabash River as far down the same as the Wia or Waightino Towns, and that this be considered the North Western District with Messages inviting the abovementioned Tribes, and all others residing within the said District to attend a general Treaty to be held at the mouth of the Big Miami River on the West bank of the Ohio on the first day of October next. That John Boggs and James Rinken or such other persons as the Commissioners may judge most fit to perform this business be employed as principal Messengers to the abovementioned District with such attendants and Horses as shall be necessary and that General Butler be requested to undertake the forwarding the abovementioned Gentlemen or such other fit persons as he may think most proper to carry the Messages to the nations and tribes within this District.

That Col.s Cox Logan and Boone of Kentucke, major Bosron Col. Legras and Mr Moses Henry of Post St Vincent, or such of them or other persons as the Commissioners may judge most capable of performing the business committed to them, be employed as principal Messengers to the Tribes of Indians living upon the Wabash and its branches as high up the same as the Wia or Wiaghtina Town thence West to those called the Meadow Indians (or Prairies) on all the waters of the Illinois River as high as the confluence of the Kakika and Plain branches thereof thence down the said River to its confluence with the Missisippi including such Indians as reside on the Northwest branches of the said Illinois River, and the waters of Lake Michigan as far North as the Menomonees, Puans, Sakes &c also the Kaskaskias and other Indian tribes that reside on the Missisippi River and within the limits aforesaid; and that this be considered the Western District — That as Genl. Clark is acquainted with the best characters in that Country, he be requested to undertake the forwarding such of the abovenamed Gentlemen or other fit persons as he may think most proper to carry the

Messages to the nations and tribes within the said Western District

Carlisle in Pennsylvania July 28th 1785.

On their way to the westward the Commissioners met at this place, where were present Honble George Rogers Clark and Richard Butler Esquires.

Resolved

That Messages be sent to the following nations viz.t The Shawanoes, Tweightwees, Miamis, Waghtinos, Picts Kickapoos, Piankeshaws and all other nations or tribes of Indians residing on the waters on the East and South sides of Lake Michigan and on the Miami or Omi, Wabash, Illinois and Mississippi Rivers inviting them to attend a general treaty to be held at the mouth of the Big Miami River on the North western side of the Ohio, and that John Boggs Esqr be appointed principal Messenger to such of them as reside within the North western District —

July 29th

The Commissioners met — present as before.

Resolved,

That the following be the form of the Messages to the different nations of Indians mentioned in the resolution of yesterday

To the Shawanoes,

Sachems & Warriors of the Shawanoe Nation. We desire you to hearken to our Meſsenger and Brother John Boggs Esq.r and believe the words which he shall deliver to you from us. War being at an end, and peace concluded between the King of Great Britain and the United States — between the United States and the Indians of the Six Nations at a treaty held at Fort Stanwix in October last, and the Wiandots Delawares Chippewas and Ottawas at a treaty held at Fort McIntosh in January last — at which place we expected to have seen you as you promised our meſsenger Alexander Lowrey Esq.r that you would attend, we a second time inform you that the Congreſs of the United States are desirous of living in peace with all nations, and that notwithstanding you neglected to accept their friendship and protection when they offered it to you, they have directed us their Commiſsioners for negotiating treaties with all the Indian nations from the great Lakes southward to the Miſsiſsippi and Ohio rivers to call you to the mouth of the Big Miami where they have authorised and directed us to give you peace, receive you into their protection, and settle other matters of great importance between them and you, and all the Indian nations.

For the purpose of accomodating all the different nations of Indians as much as poſsible, we have determined to meet them and you at the mouth of the said Miami river on the Ohio on the first day of October next, at which time we expect that you will punc=tually attend at that place, with hearts disposed to wipe away all past errors, and determined like men to do that which is right.

We were informed that you were advised by some evil-minded perſons not to attend the treaty which we held in January last, with the Wiandot and Delaware nations. We would caution you against the evils into which the Councils of theſe perſons are intended to lead you. If you do not guard yourſelves against their ill designs they will carry you astray and leave you as they have done before. It is now in your power to conſult for yourſelves and to be at peace with the United States. Be punctual therefore in attending our treaty, as your future happineſs will in a great measure depend on it.

We expect that you will treat our Meſsengers with friendship, and that you will aſsiſt them in forwarding the Meſsages with which they are charged to the different nations, and that you will protect them from insult or injury while in your towns.

We desire that you will collect and bring with you all the prisoners white and black which have been taken by you or people who reside among you through the late War. These perſons must be restored to us as a proof of your ſincerity and desire of peace, protection and friendship from the Congreſs of the United States.

The Meſsages to the Twightwee, Miami, Waughtine Pet, Kickapoo and Piankeshaw nations were the same with that to the Shawanese nation, the following paragraph being prefixed thereto.

(a) Sachems &c We sent you an invitation last fall by Alexander Lowrey Eſqr which he delivered to a young man of the Tweightwee nation in the Shawanese Towns, inviting all your tribes to a general treaty to be held at the mouth of Cayahoga, but not having heard from you ſince, we again inform you &c

The Meſsage to the Potowatama nation was the same with thoſe to the Shawanees & Tweightwees & the paragraph (a) prefixed to the Meſsages to the Tweightwees Miami and other nations being omitted, and the following inserted in its stead.

Sachems & Warriors of the Potowatama nation — We sent you an invitation last fall by one William Wilson to meet us at the mouth of Cayahoga to which place we had invited many other nations to negotiate a treaty of peace with the United States. As you did not attend, and as we have not heard from you ſince, we suppose that he did not deliver it to you. We therefore send you this by our Meſsengers and Brothers — and desire that you will hearken to them and believe the words which they shall deliver to you from us —

It was then Resolved

That Mr James Rinkin and Major Samuel Montgomery be employed as Aſsiſtant Meſsengers under John Boggs Eſqr the principal Meſsenger to the Indians within the North western Diſtrict —

That Mr John Boggs the principal receive for his services while employed in this buſineſs three Dollars and sixty ninetieths of a Dollar per day and for his Riding Horſe twenty four ninetieths of a Dollar, per day — and

That each of the Aſsistant Meſsengers be allowed for his ſervices while employed in this buſineſs two Dollars and sixty ninetieths of a Dollar, per day, and for a riding Horſe, twenty four ninetieths of a Dollar per day.

To prevent impediments which might arise to the Meſsengers from a want of guides &c while travelling through the Indian Country it was Resolved, that a Meſsage in the following words, be addreſsed to the Wiandot & Delaware nations —

Brothers

Peace being concluded between the United States and the Six Nations, Wiandots Delawares Ottawas & Chippewas, by Treaties held with them in October and January last — and boundaries being established between thoſe nations and us to which as well as to all other stipulations contained in thoſe treaties, we are resolved that the most strict adherence shall be had; we pray that the great Spirit may render the work strong and durable, and that he may preserve peace and a good understanding between us and you, and our Children and your Children and their posterity for ever.

Congreſs still desirous of extending their friendship to, and of being at peace with all nations have directed us their Commiſsioners to call the nations West and South West of you to the mouth of the mouth of the Miami River on the Ohio, the first day of October next for the purpoſe of negotiating a general peace, so that all the nations of this great Country may live in happineſs and friendship with each other.

Should any of your Head Men chuse to attend we shall be glad to see them, and to bid them welcome.

As John Boggs Esqr our principal Meſsenger is well known to your nations, we desire that as our friends you will furnish him with such of your young men as he may require to attend him and the other Gentlemen as Guides and Companions thro' the different Tribes and Nations of Indians to whom he is going with our Meſsages.

The different speeches to the several nations of Indians, to whom they are respectively addreſsed being read and approved were signed by

Geo R Clark &
Richard Butler } Commiſsrs of Indian affairs.

and put into the charge of Major John Boggs the principal Meſsenger to whom the following Instructions and Commiſsion were given—

The Commiſsion was in the following words.

By the authority of the United States in Congreſs aſsembled

We the Commiſsioners of the United States for Indian affairs in the northern and middle Diſtricts, repoſing special confidence in your prudence, judgment and integrity, as well as in your zeal for the interest of the United States and your knowledge of the Indian nations within the District allotted to your care, have appointed you our principal Meſsenger to the nations within the said Diſtrict — that is to say — The Potowatamas and other Tribes which inhabit the Country on the Eaſt side and South end of Lake Michigan and on the branches of the Illinois river as far down the same as the Kickika or Plain branches thereof, and such of the Twightwee nation as live on and near the Wabash river, and have committed it to you to have the Meſsages wherewith we have charged you diffused among the different nations and tribes to whom they are respectively addreſsed, inviting them to a treaty at the great Miami on the first day of October next.

You will have as a Colleague Daniel Elliott and as Aſsistants Major Samuel Montgomery and Mr James Rinkin who will be subject to your orders during the time in which you shall be employed in transacting this busineſs —

Given at Carlisle in the State of Pennsylvania this twenty ninth day of July A.D. 1785.

(Signed)
G. R. Clark
Richard Butler

Alex Campbell
Secretary

Commiſsions were granted to each of the Aſsistants, rendering them subject to the orders of Major John Boggs the principal in the execution of their busineſs.

Charged with the Meſsages before mentioned and investi with the authority contained in his Instructions and Commission Major Boggs departed for the Indian Country, together with the Gentlemen his Assistants, for the purpose of inviting the different nations and tribes to a treaty with the United States at the time and place mentioned in his Commission. After which the following Resolutions were deemed necessary to be entered into—

The Hon^ble Geo. R. Clark & Rich^d Butler Esq^rs being present.

Resolved

That Messages of a similar tenor with those sent to the Indian nations in the North Western District be sent to the nations and tribes within the Western District assigned to General Clark agreeably to a resolution of the Commissioners entered into at New York the 1st of July ultimo and that they be lodged in the hands of General Clark who will take measures for the communicating them to the Indian nations within the said District conformably to the said Resolution.

In conformity to the above Resolution, Messages were drawn up and delivered to General Clark for the Indian nations inhabiting the Country near the Wabash River and its branches as high up the same as the Wia or Waughtino Town—the Meadow Indians living on all the waters of the Illinois River as high as the Kiakika and Plain branches thereof—the tribes inhabiting the Country thence (down the said River) to its confluence with the Mississippi including such Indians as reside on the North West branches of the said Illinois River and the waters of Lake Michigan as far North as the

Menomonees

Menominies Piano Foxes &c.— and the Kaskaskias and other Indian Tribes, that reside on the Mississippi River, and within the limits aforesaid.

# Miami.

ON the 22d of October General Butler arrived here and was joined by General Clark—

October 23. 1785.

The Commissioners for Indian Affairs considering the delay of the Indian nations in not sending answers to the messages sent to invite them to a treaty at this place has an unfriendly appearance— and that it behoves them to provide for the safety of the troops and the security of the public property committed to their charge for the purpose of holding a treaty with the Indian nations, therefore

Resolved, That Captain Finney be directed to build a Stockade Fort, with proper Block houses and Stores for the safety of the Troops and security of the public Stores with as much expedition as possible, having proper regard to the health of the troops.

The Messengers having by their report given reason to the Commissioners to believe that a backwardness existed on the part of the Indians in attending the Treaty, and that they appeared irresolute and undecided in the matter, the Commissioners on the

28th dispatched two of their Meſsengers with the following Meſsage to the Chiefs of the Western Indians.

Chiefs &c.

We send James Rankin and Daniel Elliott two of our Meſsengers to let you know that we are now at the mouth of the Big Miami River, the place at which you have been informed the Commiſsioners for negotiating with the Western Indians would meet them for the purpose of concluding a general treaty of Peace, and of settling other matters of importance between them and those nations.

By these Gentlemen, we expect answers to the Meſsages which they have delivered, and the determination of your nations and tribes respectively.— The sooner those nations who think proper to attend the treaty shall arrive the better, as the winter approaches fast and the difficulty of returning encreases. Should any of the nations or tribes who have been invited be so imprudent as to decline attending the treaty, and the offer of peace and protection which is now made to them by the United States *who alone* can protect them, we shall give ourselves no farther trouble concerning them but on our return to Congreſs shall report to them the refusal of such nation or tribe, to accept the peace and protection which have been proffered to them.

What Congreſs on such information may think of their conduct, we cannot positively say, but we are of opinion that they will not think favourably of it.

We are surprized at the treatment which our Meſsengers received at the Miami Town. We expect that the Wisemen of that nation will seriously consider it, and have reparation made in time. It is the first instance of Meſsengers of peace being ill-treated by the nations of this Country, and cannot be paſsed over unregarded. We suppose it to have been done through the influence of some evil minded perſons, to whoſe counsel, inſtead of consulting the good of their nation, thoſe people too much attend. Those perſons have once misled them, and unleſs they be very cautious, will mislead them again, and have them to make their own peace with the United States, when it may be much more difficult for them to obtain it than it is at present.

(Signed) G. R. Clark
R. Butler.

On the day after the departure of the Meſsengers one of the Shawanoe Nation arrived and informed the Commiſsioners that his nation were ready to come and would be with them in a few days. Matters rested thus till the 24th of November when the Meſsengers arrived — In the mean time it was resolved that the following Letter should be addreſsed to His Excellency the President of Congreſs —

Miami Novembr 10th 1785.

Sir

We have the honor to inform your Excellency, that after surmounting the many difficulties and disappointments attendant on so long a journey, and buſineſs of this kind, we met at this place on the 22d of October without having ſustained any injury or loſs.

Having found on our arrival that the Indian nations in general had not received our invitations to treat with that cordiality, which we expected — and that the Miami nation in particular had taken the horſes of our Meſsengers and treated themselves in a manner never before known or practised among the nations of the West — that no answers had been given to our Meſsages — and that everything remained in a state of suspense — We conceived that it would by no means be conſiſtent with our duty to relinquish the buſineſs in its then doubtful situation, but that it was our duty to remain until we should be able fully to determine whether they intended Peace or War. We therefore concluded to ſend two of our Meſsengers with two Indians to inform the nations of our arrival at the place of treaty, and to demand immediate anſwers to our Meſsengers. We recommended it to the Chiefs of the Miamis to make reparation for the insult which they had offered to the United States in their ill treatment of their Meſsengers, aſsuring them that ſuch conduct would not be paſsed over in silence — That their answers would either determine us to stay and treat — or to return and make report to Congreſs of the conduct of thoſe who should refuſe to attend.

This being done we conceived from the advanced season of the year, and the time which it must neceſsarily take up, either to await the anſwers which we had required — Or to go through the buſineſs of a treaty, should the Indians agree to attend, that it would be impracticable for the troops to return even to Muskingum, this winter — And as this place is one pointed out by Congreſs to which Col. Harmar was authorized to extend his Poſts, for the purpoſe of keeping off illegal ſettlers from the territory of the United States, we directed Major Finney to proceed to building a place of security and comfort, for the troops and ſtores which might anſwer all the purpoſes which Congreſs had in view as well as protect the Treaty.

This work he began on the 25th day of October and by his own industry seconded by that of all his Officers, whoſe exertions do them great honor, hath now perfectly secured the Poſt, and got the troops into very comfortable Block houſes for the winter. The work is a Quadrangle with a strong Block houſe at each corner, forming a defence for each face of the work. The curtains are strong picketts well set in the ground, and in the center of two of the curtains, fronting each other and forming a part of the curtain are a guard houſe and proviſion ſtore, under the same roof – and oppoſite to it an excellent ſtore for the Goods designed for the Treaty.

A few days since one of the Shawanoes arrived here, who was ſent by the Chiefs of his nation to inform us that they are ready to come and will be with us in a ſhort time. Since his arrival a Wiandot hath arrived, who informs us that the whole of the western tribes will attend – and that the horſes taken from the Meſsengers will be restored by the Miamis. We find by the frequent murders and robberies committed on the Inhabitants on the ſouth side of the river, that some decision is really neceſsary, the people being able to bear such treatment no longer. Many are deprived of every horſe, and left with large families to labour out their subsiſtence with the hoe. This poſt we hope will afford them some temporary safety and may probably answer future good purpoſes should the Indians require correction. The Miami is found to be boatable in the spring and the early part of summer about eighty miles up to the portage between it and the Omi or Miami river which runs into Lake Erie. The ground at the confluence of this and the Ohio rivers is very low, and is covered by every fresh which obliged us to fix one mile above the mouth of the Miami, on the north bank of the Ohio, it being the first land which we could find suitable to the purpose. Not having heard from our last meſsengers, we have nothing farther to communicate but that your Excellency may be aſsured that no exertions shall be wanting on our part to bring matters to a happy and honorable iſsue with the Indians for the interest of the United States.

We have the honor to be
with the greatest respect
Sir
Your most obed.t Ser.ts
(Signed) G. R. Clark
R. Butler

His Excellency
The President of Congreſs.

On the 14th of November the Commiſsioners met, present The Honorable George R. Clark and Richard Butler Esq.rs

Samuel H. Parsons Esq.r produced his Credentials, by which it appeared that Congreſs had appointed him one of their Commiſsioners for negotiating with the Western Indians.

November 24th

This day the Meſsengers who had been dispatched on the 28th of October with a Meſsage to the Western Indians returned with two Chiefs of the Wiandot, two of the Delaware and two of the Shawanee nation by whom the Commiſsioners were informed that some of the young Men of the Wiandot and Delaware nations were on their way and would soon arrive. It appeared that the Shawanoe nation rendered doubtful by the numerous fallacies which the Emiſsaries of the British had circulated among them concerning the intention of the Commiſsioners in coming to the Miami, had ſent two of their Chiefs to certify themselves of the intentions of the Commiſsioners, and to discover whether the reports which had been spread among them were well or ill founded. In consequence of this the Commiſsioners on the 25th aſsembled thoſe Chiefs and addreſsing themselves to the Wiandots and Delawares, thus said

Brothers

We bid you welcome to our Council fire, and are happy to find by your readineſs in coming, that you are determined to adhere to the engagements into which we have mutually entered. Everything shall be done to render you comfortable while here, and we therefore desire you to sit down quietly with us and rest yourselves from the fatigues of your journey.

(a string)

To which the "Half King" of the Wiandots replied, That he was happy in meeting his Brothers the Commiſsioners of the thirteen fires, and was fully satisfied with the engagements into which he had entered with them — That he had used every endeavour in his power to bring the other nations to the Council fire, and together with the Delawares for whom he also spoke, should always be happy in remaining in friendship with the United States.

The Commiſsioners then told the two Shawanoe Chiefs that they were glad to find that their nation had sent two perſons of such good ſenſe to examine into the state of affairs so intimately regarding their nation — and that they doubted not but that they would return home fully convinced of the good intentions of the United States, and of the falshoods which had been spread among them. They told them that it was the wish of the United States to be at peace with all the Indian nations, to give them lands to live upon under their patronage and protection — That as they had come to that place for the expreſs purpose of granting peace to the Indians, and of executing other liberal views of Congreſs towards them, they would await the poſitive anſwer of their nation to the invitation which they had given them, and requested that they would limit a time, when they might expect it.

Captain Johnny one of the Shawanoe Chiefs replied — That he was happy in finding that the reports of the British were without foundation, and that the thirteen fires instead of being hoſtile, were amicably diſposed towards the Indian nations. That he would immediately return to his people, and in fifteen days after his departure, would inform the Commissioners of their determination which he doubted not would be to attend the Treaty.

Upon which the Commissioners adjourned.

November 28th

A party of the Wiandots and Delawares who were mentioned on the 24th to have been on their way, arrived at the garrison, this morning. In the Evening the Commissioners assembled them in the Council house where their Chiefs and the two Chiefs of the Shawanoe nation being present they addressed them thus,

Brothers the Wiandots & Delawares

We are glad to see you the first at the Council fire of the United States. It is a proof of your good intentions and designs to hold fast the chain of friendship which binds the United States and your nations together. We are glad to find by the report of our Messengers that you have given them assistance and advised the other Western Nations to join in the same way of thinking with yourselves. We wish that it may have that effect and that they will consult their interest and listen to the voice of proffere peace. We advise you to continue in the good work.

We have ordered Provisions to be issued for your support while here, and every thing will be done to render you happy. As our Brothers we bid you welcome.

We are pleased at seeing the Shawanoes, and expect that they will return to their people, fully convinced of the falshoods propagated among them by people who are inimical both to them and us and that they will now see that the United States will grant them peace, on honourable terms, if they chuse to accept it, and have opened their arms to receive them into protection.

To which speech the "Half King" replied thus—

Brothers

We are happy in having given you what you consider as a proof of our sincerity. We aſsure you that we are sincere. I myself have exerted my endeavours to promote the buſineſs of this treaty. I have come to your Council fire, but many obstacles and impediments were thrown in my road. Those I have however happily surmounted, and am now glad to take you by the hand as Brothers—

The "Half King" spoke for himself and the Delawares.

## December 23d. 1785.

The Commiſsioners met—present as before

The Wiandots and Delawares having expreſsed some uneaſineſs at their long stay, it was

Resolved that the following speech be delivered to them this day—

Brothers

We have called you together to day to converſe with you freely on some matters respecting the buſineſs on which we have met.

It is a long time since our meſsages paſsed through your nations to the Weſtern tribes, inviting them to this Council fire. With the purport of these meſsages you were made acquainted.

You therefore know that it is the desire of the thirteen United States to make a general peace with all the Indian nations, within the Country ceded to them by the King of England. When you arrived at this Council fire, you told us that you had sent the "Council Door" one of your Chiefs, to hasten the Western people — that "the Big Cat" another Chief was left to bring on the account of their determination and that you expected that they would attend the treaty — but we have heard nothing farther of either of thoſe two Chiefs.

The Shawanoes have sent us word that they will attend as soon as poſsible, and that they will send to haſten on the Weſtern people. Our Meſsengers Meſs.rs Elliott and Rinkin also inform us that the Shawanoes told them that they had sent two young men with our last speech to the Miami and other Western Nations, but we have had no account of their return.

We expect that as good men it will give you pleasure to see peace established with all the nations around you, that your young men may attend to their hunting, and your women and children tend their corn fields in peace. We also expect that you will not think the time tedious, which must be employed in this good work. We see the difficulty which attends it, and we wish to ſtrengthen your minds to continue to haſten it on. We have yet much to say to you in caſe these nations refuse to come in and treat with us, which we cannot ſay 'till that is determined. We therefore desire that you will not be uneasy, but sit ſtill and ſmoak with us, 'till it ſhall be fully known what we have to expect from the western nations. You see the great expence and trouble which we have incurred in attending this treaty, and should we go away without finiſhing the busineſs it is uncertain whether another treaty will be offered them by Congreſs.

Brothers

All these things it is proper you should know before we part – We therefore tell you again that you must not think the time long, but pity the people of your own colour and help to make their peace with the United States. (a string)

To which the "Half King" of the Wiandots replied

That he and the Delawares were glad to hear their Brother's ſpeech – that they thought it good, and would comply with the requisition which it contained by staying till the good work for the purpose of effecting which they had met there, should be fully accomplished.

December 27th 1785.

In the morning of this day Captain Pipe a Chief, and Wingenum a Captain of the Delaware nation waited on the Commiſsioners, and desired permiſsion to speak to them. To which the Commiſsioners having aſsented, Captain Pipe spoke thus

Since the delivery of your ſpeech to us four days ago, I have been employed in considering what you then said to us. I am exceedingly glad that you told us your thoughts so plainly. I have underſtood you, and have now come to inform you of my determination in consequence thereof –

Brother,

You told us that you had heard nothing farther relative to the "Council Door" or the "Big Cat" whom we informed you had been sent by us to learn the determination of the Western nations as to their acceptance or refusal of your invitation to attend this Councilfire, and to hasten them on. We did send them. If they have not executed their business and have failed to comply with their promise, the fault is theirs not ours —

You told us that we should have pity on the people of our own colour. We do pity them, and we will use every endeavour in our power to assist them. I have had great wished for their welfare, and after I heard and understood your last speech to us, I thought it behoved us to take some steps to bring them to this Councilfire, where you offer them peace. Upon this consideration I looked around upon my young men, who are here, to see if there were any of them fit to undertake this business. I have fixed upon Captain Wingenum who is now present to perform the good work, and for that purpose he will set out to morrow morning. His return will be in sixteen days, when we shall have some certainty concerning what it is for which we wait — I should be glad that one of your people might go along with him. The weather beginning to be cold it is necessary that he should have some cloaths to keep him warm. These, Brothers, we hope you will grant him.

(a black & white string)

To which the Commiſsioners replied

That they were glad to see so good and proper a disposition in the Delawares, and that they would do their endeavour to aſsiſt them in the good work which they were about to undertake. That Mr Rankin one of their Meſsengers would attend Wingenum, whom they conceived to be a very proper perſon to send on such buſineſs. That in the morning all things should be prepared for their departure.

The Commiſsioners farther told them, that as they had come to this place for the purpose of doing the work of peace, they would chuſe rather to stay somewhat longer than they intended than by returning without having accomplished it, to renew in all probability the effusion of blood. That if therefore it should be rendered certain, that the western Indians would attend, they would await still longer their arrival.

In consequence of the request of Captain Pipe, the following speech was prepared and ſent to the western Indian nations.

Chiefs & Warriors of all the Indian nations between the great Lakes and the Ohio and Miſsisippi Rivers — hearken to this speech!

We sent Meſsengers last year inviting you to treaties which Congreſs authorized us to hold for the purpoſe of giving peace and protection to all the nations of Indians in this great Country. We also ſent Meſsengers last fall with Speeches, inviting all the nations & tribes of Indians within our reach to a Council fire which we have kindled at the mouth of the Big Miami on the bank of the Ohio, for the eaſe and convenience of the western nations, where if they chuſe to attend they may hear what the Commiſsioners of the United States have to say to them.

Our Meſsengers had orders to go to the Potowatamas, Ottawas and Upper Chippewas, and to all the nations on the Wabash and White rivers, but were prevented by the folly and insolence of some of the people of the Miami Town, who deprived them of their horſes, and thereby obliged them to put the Meſsages with which they were charged into the hands of a Wiandot Chief, who delivered them to a Chief of the Miami nation, whoſe duty it then became to have thoſe Meſsages delivered to the nations to whom they were directed. But having received no anſwer thereto we are at a loſs to know whether that Chief delivered them or not. The Wiandots and Delawares with whom we have concluded a peace informed us that a Chief called the "Council Door" had gone to the White river to bring on his own party with such other tribes or nations in that quarter as might incline to attend the treaty, and that another Chief called the "Big Cat" had been left to bring on the Wabash, St. Joseph, Michigan, and other Indians of that quarter, but we have heard nothing more from either of those Chiefs since. We have waited here two months in daily expectation of your arrival, or of hearing that you had determined not to come. Should the latter really be the case we shall conclude that you prefer War to Peace, and are still deluded by the evil counsels to which you have too long attended.

Although you have been fully informed that when the King of England made peace with the United States, he made no peace for you, nor even mentioned you in the treaty, you still continue blinded to your interest by the advice of bad people who come among you from Detroit, and who have no other view, but to mislead your understandings and profit of your folly by preventing you from attending the treaty of the United States, and judging for yourselves.

We were preparing to return home and inform Congreſs that you had shut your ears to peace, and choſe rather to continue the War— But our Brothers the Delawares, who are friends to you, and friends to peace, who pity the people of their own colour, and foresee the diſtreſs which must fall upon them in caſe the United States should turn their arms against them, have requested us to remain here until they send Wingenum, a good man and one of their own warriors to obtain your anſwer, with which he is to return in sixteen days.

By their importunity we are induced to remain here those sixteen days at the expiration of which, Wingenum is to return. If we should hear nothing from you by him, we shall return to the great Council, and cannot aſsure you of any offer of peace hereafter.— This however we can with certainty tell you, that if you should in future desire peace, you will be obliged to make your way to Congreſs to ask it— And after all your trouble, you will find it extremely difficult to obtain it on such equitable and advantageous terms as those on which it is now offered to you. The choice is before you, and it now rests with you, whether you will consult the interest of your nations, or involve your women and children in the calamities of War, which must unavoidably fall upon you, if you continue to hearken to ill advice, and to reject the offers of the United States.

Should you wisely determine to follow the advice which we have given you, and to attend the treaty, you must bring with you all the prisoners whom you have taken from among the Citizens of the United States, during the late war. The restoration of them is a preliminary to your obtaining peace.

Should they be scattered in the woods at your hunting camps, so that they cannot be immediatly collected, you must leave behind you some careful perſons who will treat them kindly, and bring them on as fast as poſsible.

To convince you that it is not the deſire of the United States to enter into a war with the Indian nations, or to spill their blood, should you determine to attend the treaty, let us know at what time you will certainly attend and we will await your arrival.

We know that there are many evil advisers among you, to whom you should not liſten, but as your greatest enemies, should drive them out of your towns. They have long misled you — and their sole aim now is to ruin you. Hearken to our words! — If our hearts were bad we should not advise you thus — Be men! pity your women and your children, and while it is in your power, make their peace with the United States who alone can give them protection in this land.

In company with Wingenum, we send Captain Doyle and Mr James Rinkin one of our Messengers. These Gentlemen we expect you will treat with care and kindness, and will suffer no injury to happen to them or the horses they ride. It will give us pleasure to receive on their return favourable accounts of your conduct towards them —

(Accompanied with a belt)

On the 12th January 1786 Captain Doyle and Mr James Rinkin returned, having met the Shawanoes on their way hither.

## January 13th 1786.

A Runner from the Shawanoes arrived in the evening, and informed the Commissioners that the nation were encamped near the Miami, and would arrive at the garrison the next morning.

## January 14th

The Shawanoes by a Runner notified the Commissioners of their progress to the Council house, where the Commissioners attended by their Officers and those of the Garrison assembled to receive them.

The

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The usual salutations and ceremonies being over Kakawipilathy a Chief of the nation addreſsed the Commiſsioners as follows

Brothers

In consequence of your invitation we have come to this Councilfire, fully diſposed to attend to the good work of peace and are glad to meet you.

In pursuance of your advice we have shut our ears to ill reports, and hope that you on your part will throw aside every disagreeable thought which may arise from a reflection on paſt circumstances, and that you will proceed undisturbed in the buſineſs upon which we have met—

(a string)

The Commiſsioners then by General Butler addreſsed them, thus

Chiefs & Warriors of the Shawanoes—

Congreſs who are the great Council of the United States, having concluded a peace with the King of Great Britain and established boundary lines between his ſubjects and the citizens of the United States on terms the moſt honorable and satisfactory to them—and having given peace to the six Northern Indian nations, by a Treaty concluded at Fort Stanwix in 1784—and to the Wiandot and Delaware nations by a Treaty concluded at Fort McIntosh in January 1785, and having received thoſe nations into the protection of the United States, aſsigned to them lands to live and hunt on, opened a trade and established boundary lines between the United States and them — over which lines neither party are to paſs but on lawful buſineſs or to settle, but by proper authority — and being willing to extend their friendship and protection, and to give peace on just and honorable terms to all the nations who live within the limits and on the territory of the United States and who are desirous of receiving and enjoying thoſe bleſsings, have authorized us their Commiſsioners for Indian Affairs from the great Lakes on the North, to the Miſsiſsippi on the west, the Ohio on the South and Canada on the East, to hold treaties with ſuch Indian nations as have not been treated with, at such times, and such places as we may judge moſt proper.

We have considered the difficulty which you and the other more westerly nations must have experienced, had we called you to the places where treaties have formerly been held, and at great expence and trouble have come to meet you at this place, where in obedience to the orders of Congreſs we have lighted a Council fire, the brightneſs of which we wish to be seen by all the Western Indian nations. — To this Council fire we bid you welcome — We have brought with us clean pipes and pleasant Tobacco, which we desire you to sit down and smoak in safety and friendship, that your understandings may be clear, and your hearts disposed to go on with the good work of peace. We have long waited for your arrival and that of the other Western nations, and are surprized at the delay which hath existed both on your part & their's — But could we be certain of their coming we should think our time well spent in waiting for them — since we should thereby in all probability prevent the effusion of human blood, which may take place if they should refuſe to attend our Treaty.

We have been informed that deputies from the western and northern nations, were on their way to this Councilfire, but that at the Shawanoe Town they found the road stopped by some evil advice from Detroit and were there turned back. We wish to know what that advice was, and if you have opened the road by letting thoſe nations know, that you had determined on coming to this place, and by advising them to haſten on.

We recommend it to you to encamp at a small diſtance from our troops — that great care be taken not to injure or disturb any person who may attend the treaty — and that you advise your young people not to be troublesome.

You will inform John Boggs Esqr of your respective numbers. Him we have directed to supply you with proviſions — We shall now close the buſineſs of this day, and at our next meeting will open to you the buſineſs of our miſsion more fully.

January 19th

Captain Pipe a Delaware Chief waited on the Commiſsioners and informed them that he had heard from Wingenum who was on his way with Bochongehelas their Head Warrior and requested that the Commiſsioners would ſend them some neceſsaries to aſsiſt them in their journey; with which request the Commiſsioners complied.

& Bochongehelas headed a party of Delawares, who with himself had refused to attend the treaty at Fort Mc. Intosh.

January 20th

In the morning of this day Pipe again waited on the Commissioners and desired permission to speak to them – to which the Commissioners having assented he said

Brothers

I am happy in announcing to you the arrival of Wingenum with a party of Delawares headed by Bochongehelas our Head Warrior. I am happy to find that we are going to throw away hostile thoughts – to be as if no war had ever existed between us. It is a pleasing circumstance, and this morning on which I communicate it to you must surely be an happy one.

In former times our old people, your fathers and mine, when they met to counsel upon affairs of peace used to cleanse themselves of evil thoughts – to wipe away the stains of blood from their bodies, that no traces of war might remain – that their ears and eyes might be uncovered, so that they could see and hear and be able to judge rightly – I now do the same – With a fine cloth I wipe away the blood from your bodies, and open your eyes and ears that you may be clean and may see with clearness, and listen well to whatever may be said at this Council fire –

(a white string)

Some time after the delivery of the above speech, Bochongehelas arrived – the usual ceremonies passed – and the Commissioners attended by their Officers, and thoſe of the garrison proceeded to the Council house, where were present on the part of the Commiſsioners

The Hon.ble George R Clark
Richard Butler, &
Samuel H Parsons, Esq.rs

and on the part of the Indians the Chiefs and Warriors of the Wiandot, and thoſe of the Delaware nation, who had last arrived

Bochongehelas saluted General Clarke and addreſsed him as follows—

Not as a King, but as a Warrior, I Bochongehelas addreſs you. You are a Head Warrior of your nation, as I am of mine. To the great Spirit I give thanks for having preserved us 'till this day, when we have an opportunity of speaking together. Three years are gone since I resigned the hatchet into the hands of my Kings since that time I have ceased to war, and have now come to this Councilfire with my Chiefs, our Women and Children to promote the work of Peace. At this Council fire I am happy to see you, becauſe I hope, you will aſsist your great men, as I will mine to settle every matter which is to be tranſacted at present,

(a black and white string)

To which General Clark replied

That he was glad to see Bochongehelas, and his party, and that his endeavours should not be wanting to promote and end the good work which was begun.

After which the Commiſsioners by General Butler, thus

addreſses

addreſsed them

Brothers of the Delawares,

We are glad to see you and bid you welcome to our Council fire — we suppose that your Kings have informed you of what was done last year at Fort McIntosh. If they have not, we are ready to explain to you everything which was done at the Councilfire, at that place. We have awaited your arrival a longtime, together with that of the weſtern nations, to whom we were informed that you had sent the Big Cat with another Chief to learn their determination with respect to their attendance here. If thoſe nations are coming we shall sit still until we shall have fully completed the work upon which we have come. If they are not coming we shall begin our buſineſs with those who are here in a day or two. After this information therefore we shall know in what manner to proceed.

(a white ſtring)

The "Big Cat" then addreſsed the Commiſsioners — thus

Brothers

The reason why those nations the Tweightwees &c. whom you called to a treaty did not attend is, that coming to the Mohickan Town in their way hither, they were stopped by the Mohickans, who gave them a tomahawk, which they had received from the Shawanoes and desired them to make uſe of it inſtead of going to a Treaty. That a Chief of the Mohickans called "Hairy thighs" after the Tweightwees had received the tomahawk, asked them how they could be such fools as to accept it, when they knew that their Grandfathers the

Delawares had gone to the Council fire of the United States – and by the advice of that Chief they dropped it and proceeded on as far as the Mequicheeki (a Shawanoe) Town, where they received reports and advice which turned them back and since that I have heard nothing farther of them.

The cause of the conduct of the Shawanoes in putting the tomahawk into the hands of the nations who were coming to the treaty, and in diſsuading them from attending it, proceeded from advice from the British Agent at Detroit. Everything was quiet, among the nations whom I visited and a disposition to be at peace seemed generally to prevail among them. I have now, Brothers, nothing farther to communicate.

One of the Chiefs of Bochongehelas's party arose and said

Brothers,

I am glad to see you. Before I met your people (meaning Wingenum and the Gentlemen who had been sent to obtain the final answer of the western Indians) I could not see plainly the road which led me to you. But after I heard your meſsage by them I came on with certainty and cheerfulneſs. The belts which Wingenum delivered from you to our care, we have brought back and return to you. We did not leave any of our great men at home, and therefore did not think it safe to leave the belts. You will now judge whether they ought to be sent on or not. If you think that they ought, we four nations who are now aſsembled will use our endeavours for that end!

(the belts were delivered)

Pipe then spoke

Well Brothers! Wingenum has returned — and you see that he brings truth with him. what we do is not by words only — we add a little action to what we say.

The Commissioners then thanked the "Big Cat" for his industry, and the candour which he had used in his relation. They told him that it shewed the regard which he had for the interest of his people, and evinced his honesty.

(a white string)

## January 24th
## In Council.

The Commissioners met; present as before

The Commissioners informed the Chiefs of the Wiandots and Delawares that they had called them together to explain to them and to those of the Delaware nation who had last arrived, what measures had been entered into between the United States and the different nations of Indians at treaties held at Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh, and for this purpose they explained to them the treaties between His Britannick Majesty and the King of France and the United States, and read over to them the Treaty with the Six nations at Fort Stanwix, and that with the Wiandots &c at Fort McIntosh. They then advised those Indians with whom the United States had formed treaties to collect themselves together within the limits assigned to them by the respective treaties, and to live in peace on their own Lands in the poſseſsion of which the United States woul for ever protect them. That in the spring the Surveyors of Congreſs would come out to survey the lands of the United States, and probably to run the boundaries between the said States, and the Indian nations, and that they would give notice thereof to the Chiefs who might attend if they should think proper or send some sensible young men to ſee that busineſs done. That in a day or two busineſs would commence with the Shawanoes — that they would notify the Wiandots and Delawares of the time, and desired that they would attend, so that every transaction between the United States and the Indian nations or any of them might be open and unconcealed.

That no reflections might be cast on the conduct of thoſe of their Chiefs who had signed and entered into the Treaty at Fort McIntosh, that Treaty was read and particularly explained to them. The Commiſsioners told them that instead of blaming their Chiefs for entering into that Treaty with the United States, and thereb relieving them from the distreſses into which their situation must have involved them had not that Treaty taken place, they should consider them as wise men and well wiſhers to their Country, and should cast all the reflection upon themselves and thoſe perſons who had led them into that situation, from which they were now by the wisdom of thoſe Chiefs happily extricated.

The Council broke up

January 25th 1786.

The commencement of a treaty with the Shawanoes bein conceived neceſsary as speedily as poſsible, the Commiſsioners took into consideration the method of carrying on the same – whereupon they having concluded on ſeveral matters relative thereto, it was

Resolved, That an addreſs containing the intention of the Treaty, and informing the Indians of the present situation of the United States with respect to them and other nations should be prepared, and delivered to them in Council to morrow.

Resolved, That General Butler be requested to prepare the said addreſs.

January 26. 1786.

## In Council.

The Commiſsioners having agreed to an addreſs, prepared by General Butler agreeably to the resolution of yesterday, this morning met for the purpoſe of delivering the same. The Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanoes, and thoſe of the Wiandot and Delaware nations being present. General Butler in the name of the Board arose, and addreſsed them in the following manner

Chiefs & Warriors of the Shawanoes,

It hath pleased the great God above to bring us together from different parts of this great country, to transact busineſs of the highest importance between your nation and the United States. This busineſs we have now introduced, and we hope that our hearts will be mutually diſposed to carry it on with propriety and to conclude it justly. We know that clouds of ignorance have for a long time overspread you – but we hope that thoſe clouds are now diſsipated – that your ears are open and your hearts disposed to attend to the goodwork of peace in which we invoke the great Spirit to aſsist us.

After a war, bloody and expensive which the King of Great Britain waged and carried on against the Citizens of the United States of North America it hath pleased the great God to prosper their arms so as to compel that King to make peace with the United States, on terms the most honourable and satiſfactory to them. It hath also pleased him to diſpose the hearts of Congreſs to peace with every people, and to offer to the hoſtile and other Indian nations who live within their territories, peace friendship and protection.

At our last meeting we informed you that when we should again call you together, we would open to you the buſineſs which Congreſs hath directed us to transact with the Indian nations. That you may be aſsured that we come properly authorized we here produce to you our Commiſsion under the great seal of the United States. (The Commiſsions read)

By this Commiſsion, you observe that no other person or persons have a right to transact public buſineſs with you or any other nation or tribe of Indians within the District aſsigned to our care, without the expreſs permiſsion of Congreſs, and that whatever treaty we have concluded or may hereafter conclude with any of the Indian nations shall be binding on the Citizens of the United States, as fully and in the same manner as if the same had been done by Congreſs.

We now let you know that we have concluded a treaty of peace with the Six Nations in October 1784 and with the Wiandots Delawares Ottawas and Chippewas in January 1785 on terms honorable and satisfactory to the United States and to thoſe nations — that we have by thoſe treaties aſsigned to them lands for their residence and hunting — have fixed lines of partition between their people and our citizens which neither party is to tranſgreſs — and have received them into the friendship and protection of the United States. We also tell you that it is the wish of Congreſs and that we are ready to grant peace on proper terms to your nation also, and to all the other Indian nations who live within the boundaries of the United States.

We ſuppoſe you are not ignorant that the King of Great Britain hath concluded a peace with the United States for himſelf and his own ſubjects, in which he hath neglected you and all the other Indian nations who joined his arms and consequently his fortunes in the war which he unjuſtly waged and carried on against us — that after having led you to break the old chain of friendship which had remained sound and bright for many years between our forefathers, as well as the more recent treaties of neutrality concluded between the United States and your nation at Fort Pitt and other places in 1775 and 1776, wherein you engaged to be quiet and let us fight our own battles — in consequence of which engagements we had turned our faces towards his warriors — after having perſuaded you to violate your engagements, and when we thought ourselves secure, basely to strike us behind our backs — to shed the blood of our citizens and lead our women and our children into captivity — after having induced you to spill your own blood in a war in which you had no interest — he hath ungratefully cast you from him and left you without a friend to lift you up. Notwithstanding this treatment you have shewn a reluctance to peace with us, and contrary to your interest suffer the people of that King to remain among you. Under the fallacious appearance of friendship they delude you with lies, and endeavour to keep you at variance with the United States by filling your ears with evil advice which if you pursue it must end in your ruin. We are sorry to observe that instead of driving thoſe persons from your towns as your greatest enemies, you keep them in your boſoms as your closest friends.

The United States could without the least injustice avail themselves of the advantages which arms and treaty have given them. But the Congreſs of the United States whoſe hearts are generous and charitable, and whoſe acts are great and just could they be convinced that you are sincere in your profeſsions, and that you are resolved to live in peace for the future, wish instead of punishing you to draw a veil over your past errors, and to include you among their friends.

We wish to forget the diſtreſs which you have brought on our frontier, by joining your barbarous hatchet to the arms of the British King. That King we have conquered. We have gained from him our Independence, with the right and sovereignty of all the territory from the middle of the great lakes on the north to the Miſsiſsippi on the West, the Sea on the South and Canada on the East; and have obliged him to withdraw from our country his troops and Ships of War.

It gives us pain to think that the blood of many of our friends lies yet uncovered on the ground – that our flesh and blood have been so long detained prisoners in your towns and treated with the indignity of Slaves. That your own people and thoſe of other nations harboured among you, have not only continued to plunder our houſes – steal our horſes and sell them to evil minded perſons, from Detroit; since the concluſion of the peace between Great Britain and the United States; but have dared to continue a war on our country, and even through the last summer while our belts and invitations to a treaty were in your towns, killed some of our people and carried others into captivity. The forbearance of Congreſs in not sending an army to destroy your towns, which must have driven your women and children to perish for want of food and cloaths, must convince you, that they pitied your folly more than they studied revenge – otherwise, you had more right to expect the ſword of war, than the white belt of peace which we bring in our hand and offer to your nation.

Chiefs & Warriors, we desire you to listen to our words!

We are friends to our Country – we are friends to peace and to you. You breathe the same air. You are warmed by the same sun, shaded by the same trees, and watered by the same springs. You live on the same land with us, and God hath made it large enough for us all. Then why should we be at war. It is your interest to be at peace, with the United States. They alone can supply your wants and make your nations happy.

You see that we have taken great pains to bring you and the other nations to that line of conduct, which alone can entitle you to the friendship of Congreſs. We have twice sent our Meſsengers with belts and invitations to you and them to come to our Council fire, which we at great expence and trouble have kindled at this place in order to render the attendance of the western Nations more easy and general than it could have been at the places where Treaties formerly were held. But to our surprize and contrary to the custom of all civilized as well as Indian nations to Meſsengers who carry the white flag or belt of peace, they have been plundered of their horſes and other property at your's and the Miami Town and were thereby rendered incapable of executing the good work on which they were sent, and compelled to return without having obtained any knowledge of the intentions of the more westerly nations. At the Miami Town they were obliged to give the belts and speeches with which they were charged to a Chief of that nation whom they charged to have them ſent on to the nations and tribes to whom they were respectively addreſsed. This he promised to have done on the return of their principal man who happened to be then at Detroit. But we are unable to tell whether he has complied with his promise or not. Such indignities offered to the United States in the perſons of their meſsengers will not be paſsed over by Congreſs unleſs the nations who have had the presumption to offer them make such conceſsions as shall be sufficient to palliate the offence.

We have been informed that deputies from several nations were on their way to this Councilfire, and were by you turned back. Our information appears to be so good that we think it true. we therefore expect to be clearly informed by you of that matter. Our long continuance at this place must convince you that we feel for your situation, and wish to open your eyes to your own good. It is our zealous wish to stop the further effusion of human blood, by concluding a peace with the Indian nations, which shall flourish like a green tree and last undisturbed for ever.

We desire that you consider every matter which may occur in the course of this great work with attention, and like men speak your minds freely. We will hear you with patience, and do that which is just. We recommend it to you to consider everything which may tend to the future happineſs of your nation, that everything may be clearly understood and settled to our mutual satisfaction. We expect that you will shew a ready and chearful disposition to comply with the terms on which we will grant you peace. Those terms will be founded on honorable and liberal principles, and your acquiescence with them altho' it cannot restore to us the blood which we have lost, may help to ease the great expence of the war and convince Congreſs of the friendlineſs of your intentions.

We expect you have attended to the speeches sent by our meſsengers directing you to collect and bring with you all the prisoners white and black whom you have taken thro' the late war, and detained in your nation, and that you are ready to deliver them up to us that they may be restored to their relations and Owners — This is a preliminary to a peace and can only be dispensed with on certain proper principles. If you desire peace now is your time to obtain it. If you refuse to accept it when offered to you, whatever diſtreſs may hereafter fall on your nation will be chargeable to yourselves only. And should the Western Tribes suffer by following the advice of thoſe who prevented their coming to this Councilfire, no blame can be laid to our charge, but their resentment may fall with justice on thoſe evil Counsellors who have kept them away — We do not know that Congreſs will give them another opportunity of treating. They have already done more than justice required, and have incurred a heavy expence by their endeavours to give peace to the Indian nations within their territory.

Should you still be so unfortunate as to prefer contrarily to the welfare of your nation, a war with the United States instead of the peace and protection which they offer you, and to hearken to evil counsel, you shall depart unmolested — You shall even have proviſions for your journey, but you may rest aſsured that the United States will take speedy and effectual meaſures to protect their Citizens from savage depredation, and to reduce you to such terms, as may cauſe you to regret the loſs of so advantageous a peace as it is now in your power to conclude.

It is our desire that you lay down the destructive hatchet— Let it be buried so deep in the earth, that it shall never more be seen— Let no future bloodshed stain our lands, nor barbarities disturb their peace, lest you draw down the resentment of the United States on your own heads and the heads of your children who are yet innocent. For altho' it is the wish of the United States to live in peace with all nations, yet their arms are bright and good, and their warriors are ready to step forth and chastise any nation or tribe of Indians who may disturb their peace or strike them unjustly.

We shall expect your anſwer so soon as you have considered theſe points. We wish it to be founded on justice and good sense. If so, it will be advantageous to your nation. It will give your children cause to bleſs you— they will look up to you as wise men and good counsellors and to the United States as their fathers, benefactors and friends.—

The Shawanoes promised to consider what the Commiſsioners had said, and so soon as they should be ready, to give them their anſwer.

Council broke up.

January 28th 1786.

In Council.

present The Commiſsioners as before— and on the part of the Indians, the Chiefs and Warriors of the Wiandot Delaware and

Shawanoe nations.

Tatabocksheka a Chief of the Delawares addressed the Commissioners as follows—

Brothers

It is now one year since we met together in Council at Fort McIntosh, and I am glad to see every thing as it was shewn to us there. We are particularly happy that this is the time when you are going to carry on the work of peace. I am well content with what was done between us last year, and I am determined strictly to adhere to it. I am glad to see that you keep the chain of friendship bright, and that you hold it fast. We will do the same. (four strings)

Then addressing himself to the Shawanoes

Be strong in carrying on the good work which is begun. You observe that we are well satisfied with the part which we have taken, and now Bochongehelas our chief Captain having also agreed, every thing is happily completed between our Brothers the thirteen fires and our nation.

Then to Bochongehelas

Chief Captain

You hear what I have said to my Brothers of the thirteen fires, and what I have promised them. Be it your study to effect what I have undertaken! Have a watch over your young men, and prevent them from doing anything contrary to our engagements.

And again to the Commiſsioners

Brothers

You have heard the charge which I have given to our Chief Captain. I again aſsure you that I will hold fast the chain of friendship, which we have made, and I have no doubt of your doing the same.

To which the Commiſsioners replied

Brothers of the Wiandot & Delaware nations.

We thank the great Spirit for having brought us together in this Council house, where we are engaged in carrying on the work of peace. It gives us pleasure that you have so just and proper a recollection of what was transacted between us last year, and we feel an additional satisfaction in seeing you here at this period, because the busineſs wherein we are employed must more thoroughly convince you of the wish of Congreſs to extend their peace and friendship to all the Indian nations who reside within the boundaries of this vast country.

The Council broke up.

January 29th 1786.

In Council, present as before.

The Shawanoes having informed the Commiſsioners, that they were ready to give their answer to their speech of the 26th proceeded to addreſs them in the following manner.

Kakawipilathy a Chief and Warrior, spoke

Wiandots and Delawares listen to what we say to our Brothers of the thirteen fires!

Brothers

What you said to us at our last meeting we perceive to be true. The Warriors are the persons who have brought all these misfortunes upon us. Let us now bury the hatchet – Let it be covered deep in the earth, that it may never more be taken up.

You advised us to have a regard to the situation of our women and children. We have. – Our young men the Warriors perceive the justice of your advice, and are resolved to follow it.

Brothers

You demand your flesh and blood to be restored to you – They shall be. Every evil hath sprung from the Warriors, and it is their busineſs to make reparation for the injury they have done. Theſe three men (pointing to three warriors) will go to collect your prisoners, and bring them in. The warriors of whom I am one, have taken them from you, and it is their busineſs to restore them. Let past things be forgotten, and let us proceed with good minds upon our present busineſs. The three prisoners whom we have brought with us we will take back to our towns that all the rest of your flesh and blood may be collected to them, and brought in together.

(a string)

Brothers,

Your explanation to us of our situation, and the conduct of the British towards us, we and our warriors have attended to and perceive to be strictly true.

Brothers

Let your words be sincere – let them come from your hearts for what we say shall not come merely from the lips, but shall shew you our real thoughts. The great God above overlooks us – he hears what you say and listens also to us – Let our words then be true, so that that, which shall be done between us may be lasting as the sun which shines upon us.

(a string)

Capt. Johnny a Chief of the Shawanoes proceeded.

Brothers of the thirteen fires listen!

You have invited us to this place and have told us that you came for the purpose of doing good. Be strong, and persevere without deviation in what you have told us. You informed us of the friendship which subsisted in former times between our fathers and yours. Let that be renewed and be as it was then. You have heard what our warriors have said – they have buried the tomahawk deep that it may never be seen again. We do the same and hope that it may leave none of its evils behind, but carry death with it into the ground. Remember the old chain of friendship, which your forefathers and ours held, and let the remembrance of that induce you to form a similar one between us now.

(a string)

(Then shewing two belts delivered by Col. Morgan at a Council on the part of the States - he said)

Brothers

We shew you these belts which we received from the thirteen fires. We still retain them in our possession; One of them is a road belt: we have made it clean, and are determined to hold it fast.

To which the Commissioners replied

That they had attended to what the Shawanoes had said and would let them know their determination thereon the next day.

The Council then broke up.

January 30th

In private Council.

present the Commissioners as before - and the Chiefs of the Shawanoe nation

Articles upon which a treaty should be concluded with the Shawanoe nation being prepared, the Commissioners called together the Chiefs of that nation, in order to explain to them fully before they should make them known in public Council. The speech which was to accompany them, and the articles, were accordingly read, and are as follow

Chiefs and Warriors, of the Shawanoe nation.

We have listened with attention to what you said to us yesterday, and have carefully considered every part of it. We are pleased with your profeſsions sincerely to concur with us in restoring peace between the United States and your nations, and do heartily join you in moſt ardent wishes, that whatever is said by either party on this occasion may not be from the lips only but that we may proceed with honest hearts in the good work we have begun — You say and we believe that the great God above sees what we are about, and knows our thoughts, and he is a witneſs of the uprightneſs of our intentions. We are happy to find you have opened your eyes to ſee your true interest, and that you are now sensible who they are who have led you into errors, plunged you into diſtreſs and left you without a friend to lift you up — and that you are determined to liſten no more to their evil counſels.

You told us that the evils of the war sprung from the warriors, and that it was their buſineſs to make reparation — That you have appointed three of your warriors to collect our prisoners and bring them in — It gives us pleasure to find you diſpoſed to set about this work with chearfulneſs. It is a good mark of your ſincerity. We hope the thoughts of all past injuries will be forgotten, and that whatever terms of peace are now concluded, will be ſtrictly observed by our nations for ever — that our intereſts may be one, and we may each become a great and happy people. Nothing will tend more to effect this than a chearful willingneſs on your part to restore to our citizens their children and their friends who are still held prisoners by you. This will wipe the tears from our mother's eyes and appease the anger of our men. But we cannot consent to your taking back to your towns the prisoners you have brought here. Theſe must be now restored to us, and means taken to bring into this poſt all other prisoners white and black taken by your nation in the late war.

Chiefs & Warriors

We have already explained to you your own situation in respect to the United States. You tell us that you have fully understood us, and are sensible of the truth and juſtice of all we have said to you. It now remains for us to inform you of the terms on which peace will be granted to you, and your nation be received into the friendship and protection of the United States.

After the foregoing speech and the articles were read and explained to the Chiefs, the Commiſsioners informed them that when they were ready to have them communicated to their nation in public they would attend.

## In council, eodem die.

The Commiſsioners being informed by the Indians of their aſsemblage, proceeded to the Council house.

present — as before of the Commiſsioners, and of the

Indians the Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanoes, and the Chiefs of the Wiandot and Delaware nations.

Kakawipilathy a Chief of the Shawanoe nation arose and addreſsing himself to the Chiefs and Warriors of that nation repeated to them the Speech and the terms of Peace read to the Chiefs this morning in a private conference – after which he addreſsed the Commiſsioners thus.

Brothers

You yesterday told us that you wished every thing past to be forgotten: To day you renew your demands and tell us more. You demand hostages. It is not agreeable to our custom to give any. We are Shawanoes. You may depend on what we say, but we cannot agree to give you hoſtages. You next mention a division of lands. God gave us a country to live upon in common, and we do not understand the parcelling it out to different

As to the Goods we do not wish to receive them, you had better keep them and give them to some of the other nations who may come in, perhaps they may give you up their lands for them.

Brothers

As we become more penitent for our conduct, you rise in your demands upon us. You seem to wish to crow over us, because you have thrown down the King of England. You need not doubt the truth of what we promise. We told you that we had appointed three good men of our nation to go and collect your flesh and blood. This shall be done. But as we have never yet given hoſtages we cannot comply with your demand in that instance.

(a black string)

The Commissioners having considered the foregoing speech resolved that they would not recede from the proposals which they had made as they conceived them to be liberal and just.

Whereupon General Butler in the name of the Board arose and said

Shawanoes

You have addressed us with great warmth, and have not only made in return for our generous proposals and our good advice a very unwise and ungrateful answer, but in vindication of such conduct have dared to assert the most glaring falsehoods. You tell us that you cannot give hostages because the measure is contrary to your usages. Do you suppose that we are ignorant of the fallacy of this assertion? Do you not remember that to Colonel Bouquet and to Lord Dunmore you gave hostages for the restoration of prisoners — and that even under that circumstance you so little regarded the faith you had pledged, that it was at the risque of their lives that some of our citizens went into your country to collect the prisoners whom you had promised to deliver up. Possessed of a knowledge of these circumstances with many others now against you, can you expect a reliance on your promises? We neither can, nor will we believe you. Are the burning our towns — the ravaging our frontiers — the repeated violations of the moſt sacred treaties - and the wanton barbarities you have committed on our citizens, marks of your fidelity or indications of your desire of enjoying in common with us, those bleſsings which Heaven hath bestowed? - You joined the arms, and of course the fortunes of the British King. Him we have conquered. He has given up to us all the Country which we have described to you. Congreſs wish you to enjoy a part of it in quietneſs and to receive you into their friendship and protection. We have told you the terms upon which these will be granted to you. These terms are liberal and just, and we will not depart from one of them. If therefore you have been so unwise as to determine not to agree to them, you may depart hence in peace and you shall not be molested for eight days but after the expiration of that term, be aſsured that the United States will take effectual measures to prevent you from injuring their Citizens.

It rests with you to close the buſineſs in its present situation or to accede to our propoſals. If you chuſe the former, we will give you a sufficiency of proviſions to carry you home, and you may go in peace.

Had you considered what we said to you as you ought, you would have considered us as your friends, and have followed our counsel. We plainly tell you that this Country belongs to the United States. They have defended it with the loſs of their blood. They claim the sovereignty of it, and will forever protect it. You must therefore consider their propoſals to you, as benign and generous -

flowing from their goodneſs, and not from your merits. Instead therefore of acting as you have, a recollection of your repeated perfidy ought to have made you thankful to them for their kindneſs, and should have induced you to have made some other return for their clemency and forgiveneſs than what this string imports. We shall now leave you to determine as you may think proper.

(a black and white string)

The Commiſsioners left the Council house.

Eadem die p.m.

The Shawanoes sent a Meſsenger to request the attendance of the Commiſsioners in the Council house. The Commiſsioners accordingly attended. present as before.

Kakawipilathy arose and said

Brothers

We are ſorry that through a mistake you were angry with what we said to you this morning. You muſt have misunderstood us. We told you yeſterday that three of our men should go to collect your flesh and blood. We had also appointed perſons of our nation to remain with you till all the priſoners shall be delivered up. They are here and will stay with you.

Brothers

Our young men know the truth of what you say. We all perceive that you have every thing in your power— that every thing belongs to you. We therefore request you to pity our

Women and Children.

We then proceeded to give the assent of the nation generally to the propositions made by the Commissioners this morning, and delivered a white string.

The Commissioners then told them that they were glad that the mistake was cleared up, and that their nation was about to act with that prudence, which tended to their interest.

(a white string)

The "Half King" of the Wiandots then rose and said

That he was glad to see the difference which had arose in Council settled, and he hoped that peace would last for ever, between the United States and the Shawanse nation.

(a string)

Council broke up

January 31st 1786

In Council

present The Honorable
George Rogers Clark
Richard Butler &
Samuel H. Parsons, Esqrs

Alexander Campbell, Secretary

and of the Indians

The Chiefs Warriors and Women of the Shawanees, and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Wiandot and Delaware nations.

The Treaty being ready for signing, General Butler spoke

Chiefs & Warriors, Women and Children of the Shawanoe nation - hearken to our words -

We have shewn you our Commiſsion, by which you see we are properly authorized to transact buſineſs with you. We aſsure you that no other person or persons have a right to speak with you in the name of the United States, but by the expreſs direction of Congreſs, and that whatever engagement we make or enter into with you, or any other Indian nation, Congreſs have promised to confirm and perform. You see we do not attempt to deceive you. We shew you every matter clearly - we will do that which is juſt, and will tell you nothing but truth. There is no other power on this side the great Sea who can give you lands peace and protection.

Brothers

We are now in the presence of God: He sees what we are about - he knows our hearts - we request his aid in closing this good work, and in keeping us firm to our engagements. We are alſo in the presence of men of your own colour, the Wiandots and Delawares with whom we are at peace, and in cloſe bonds of friendship. They see what we now do, and are witneſses of our engagements. Be strong! Look forward with satisfaction and consider that what you do this day is not for yourselves only, but for your children, and your children's children. Peace with the United States will make you happy - War must make you miserable. Brothers, You told us that you had brought with you three of our people. Let them come forward that we may receive them. (Here the prisoners were delivered) Let us see the young men who are to remain with us till all our people are brought in and given up. We will shew them to our Officers that they may know them and take them by the hand. They will be treated as friends provided you are punctual to this article of the Treaty.

(a white string)

The blood of both your relations and ours has been needlessly spilled on the ground. Let us now cover it over with a white cloth. Let us remember it only with regret and sorrow but never more with anger.

Chiefs & Warriors

We will now bury the destructive tomahawk – May it sink deep into the earth. May the waters flow over it, that it may never more be found. Let the war dance be forgotten – and the death hollow be heard no more! – Hold sacred the blood of man! – Let your hunters pursue the beasts of the wood – and your women tend their cornfields in peace. Let gladness fill your hearts, and abound in your towns – let a remembrance of our good counsel and of the goodness of the United States keep you peaceable and quiet, so shall your young people dance the dance of pleasure and your old people in safety look on with joy.

We will now sign the articles of peace – Let them be sacred – Let your Children grow up with a knowledge of them, and your young people be taught by your advice and example to keep them firmly.

If any perſons advise you to deviate from the path which we have marked out to you to walk in, be aſsured they are not your friends. Turn all evil counsellors from among you. They have done you much wrong and still mean to keep you blind. Let the persons and property of the citizens of the United States be sacred. They are your friends, your protectors and benefactors. Look up to them as your fathers.

Here the Articles of the Treaty as read to the Chiefs in a private council yesterday morning and again explained to them in public, were read and explained to them a third time. Having expreſsed their full aſsent to them on the part of the nation, the Chiefs of the Shawanoes roſe, and in conjunction with the Commiſsioners signed and sealed the same.

After the signing and witneſsing the Treaty the Commiſsioners by General Butler proceeded thus—

Brothers,

This is a road belt—You tell us that you have swept the road clean between your town's and our's—We desire you to keep it clean on your part. We on our side will suffer no obſtacle to remain in it, but will so far as it depends on us, keep it open and clean. Hold this belt fast that a friendly intercourse may continue between our Citizens and your nation. Then will our traders go to you with satisfaction, and will supply you with goods on cheaper and better terms than heretofore. We charge

you to protect them when they come properly authorized by Congreſs
Congreſs will permit good men to go among you, and it is your interest to keep all others away.

(The road belt given)

Brothers

This is the belt of peace. It is emblematic of the union of the thirteen States of America, who are represented holding one great Council and protecting the Indian nations with whom they have made peace. Let your Chiefs, your War Captains, your young men and your Women take hold of it with us – Let us look up to God and request him to strengthen us to hold it fast, that it may never be broken. We now take you by the hand as Brothers. We will protect you against your enemies, and will treat you as friends. While the United States stand as a people and you adhere to this Treaty, you will be a people also. They will never treat you as the King of Great Britain has treated you, nor will they leave you as his Agents did after they had led you astray. A breach on your part must deprive you of all those bleſsings. We therefore advise you to hold this belt fast, and not to let it slip thro' your hands.

Should any misfortune happen, and bad people should attempt to break the engagements which we have now made, we advise you to put them away from your towns, that the innocent may not suffer with the guilty, for altho' the United States wish to be at peace with all nations they will certainly chastize their enemies.

Brothers.

We now speak to you the voice of our Country — we include you among the friends of the United States — hold fast the chain which unites us — suffer it not to be broken on your part, lest you not only loſe the bleſsings which it is in your power to enjoy, but alſo entail misery on your children and perhaps their children forever.

We are told that there are a number of Cherokees and ungoverned persons of different nations residing in your towns who will not hearken to the advice of your old men, and that they frequently rob our Citizens of their property, and sometimes murder them. These persons we advise you to put away from among you, that ſo you may live in peace one with another and in friendship with the United States.

(The grand belt of peace delivered)

The foregoing speech being made to the Shawanoes, the Commiſsioners addreſsed the Wyandots & Delawares, as follows

Brothers.

The United States at their treaty at Fort McIntosh last year aſsigned lands for the Wyandots and Delawares to live and hunt on, and by the present treaty have allotted lands to the Shawanoe nation.

It will be best that the lines dividing thoſe lands from the lands reserved by the United States should be run and the boundaries marked that there may be no cause of complaint hereafter. The surveyors will be sent out by Congreſs next Spring to survey and lay out their lands. We request you to aſsiſt them in a friendly manner, and to appoint some sober wise men to go with them when they mark the lines between your lands and those of the United States — to see that no miſtake be made which may occaſion a future misunderstanding between the United States and your people. You will let us know the men whom you may appoint for that purpoſe and they shall be paid fully for their ſervices.

Council broke up after the usual ceremonies of shaking hands and ſmoaking.

## In a private conference

February 5th 1786

present with the Commiſsioners the Chiefs of the Wiandot and Delaware nations —

Capt. Pipe of the Delawares spoke

My uncle the Wiandots and I the Delawares, speak with one voice. We come to condole with you for the bad which has been done since our treaty at Fort McIntosh: some of our people have spilt your blood.* I come to wipe it away — to cover it over with leaves that it may not remain in your sight. The persons who did

those

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Note.

* The injury to which Capt Pipe alludes, is a murder which some Wiandot and Delaware Indians committed on a trader at Cuyahoga — The Half King in his speech has an allusion to the same.

thoſe miſchiefs are bad people, and act without the conſent or knowledge of our nations — for we are determined to hold faſt the chain of friendſhip which we have made.

The "Half King" of the Wiandotts next spoke

Brothers

This is the day appointed by the Great Spirit for us to speak together on a few subjects which lay before us. Since we met at Fort Mc Intoſh, some of our people thro' the instigation of the bad spirit have been led to do you an injury. This hath raised a cloud between us. But we still hold faſt the chain of friendſhip which we made at Fort Mc Intoſh, and hope that you will do the same.

Brothers liſten!

Last year, you told us that the King of England had given up to you all the lands of this country, and of thoſe lands you gave us a part to live on. To a part of what you said to us at that time I did not give you an answer. You said to me and my Nephew the Delawares "we give you lands lying within certain boundaries" which you then described.

Brothers

Let us be strong and hold firmly the chain of friendſhip which now unites us! I and my Nephew don't think that you have given us lands eno' — That Country which you allotted to us is almoſt deſtitute of game. The Ottawas and Chippewas live on one part of it and have destroyed almoſt the whole of the game that used to range there. We therefore request and hope that you will grant

us the country from the mouth of Beaver Creek to this place.
(a belt)

The Commiſsioners informed them that they had nothing farther to say to them concerning the buſineſs which was transacted with them last year at Fort McIntoſh — that everything had been amicably and firmly settled between the United States and their nations by a treaty which they had then signed, and that neither party could recede from the engagements into which they had then entered — That an unchangeable faith would be preserved by Congreſs towards all the Indian nations with whom they should form treaties, and that a similar punctuality would be expected on the part of the Indians — They again told them that in the summer the Surveyors of Congreſs would come into this country to survey the lands of the United States, and to run the lines of diviſion between the lands of the said States and thoſe of the Indian nations and requested that they would attend thoſe Surveyors, so that no injuſtice might be done to their nations, but that they might be convinced of the faith and good intentions of Congreſs by seeing their lands laid off to them agreeably to the treaty. They told the Chiefs that they would give them notice of the coming of the Surveyors and expected that some of their sensible men would meet and attend them.

Captain Pipe said

That he and Talaxackakheku, and Captain Wingenum (chiefs of the Delawares) would attend the Surveyors of the United

States whensoever the Commiſsioners should notify them of their coming.

He then took a medal of the King of England, and delivered it to the Commiſsioners in token of his having renounced that King.

The "Half King" of the Wiandots said that he would appoint men to attend the Surveyors of Congreſs, when they should come into this country to ſurvey the lands.

The Pipe further told the Commiſsioners, that some medium of intercourse between the Commiſsioners and them would be neceſsary, and therefore requested that the Commiſsioners would appoint some perſon who might write the letters of the Chiefs for them.

The Commiſsioners told him that they accepted his medal as a proof of his ſincerity, and would consider what he had said.

The conference ended.

## In council, eodem die

At the request of the Shawanees the Commiſsioners having aſsembled, Kakiwipilathy a Chief addreſsed them thus—

Brothers of the thirteen fires listen!

Four nights ago, you told us the conditions upon which a peace was to be concluded between us. We agreed to what you proposed. We have since thought of it, and are well pleased with what we have done. Peace is now made between us and it shall endure for ever. In conformity to your advice we have pitied our Women and Children, and the engagements which we have entered into, shall be adhered to on our parts so long as the Sun shall shine or the Waters run.

Brothers

Do you in like manner hold fast the peace on your part that it may never be broken.

We now shew you a road belt which ſhall keep open a free and friendly intercourse between your people and ours — What we have done at this Council fire shall be communicated to all the Indian nations. We will shew them your belt of peace that they may know what hath been tranſacted between the United States and us —

Brothers

We wiſh all evil to be buried, and that peace may be spread among all the people of our colour, therefore hope that you will be ſtrong in your endeavours to settle all differences, and to give peace to all the other nations. (a road belt)

The women begged permiſsion to speak — and said

Brothers,

We are glad that peace is now settled and that we are in friendship with each other — We thank you for having had pity on us and our children, and we hope that no future differences will diſturb us —

Then addreſsing themselves to the Chiefs & Warriors, they said

Chiefs & Warriors

We have borne you. You sprung from us. God sent us here for that purpoſe, and it is your duty to pity us — We are Women — We are weak and cowardly — but we have raiſed you and we are tired of nurſing our children only to be deſtroyed in fruitleſs or useleſs wars, therefore hope that you will liſten to our advice and follow it. Hold faſt the peace which is now made, and do not let it slip. Be ſtrong and ſtand to your engagements. (a white ſtring)

To which the Commiſsioners replied

That they were happy in discovering such fit ſentiments in the Chiefs and Warriors and the Women of the Shawanoe nation — that it should be their ſtudy to perform their engagements, and that they sincerely joined them in wiſhing that the peace now concluded might laſt forever.

A Mingoe fellow then delivered up a priſoner belonging to the Mingoes which he said he did by the advice of the Six Nations who had recommended it to all their people reſiding in this country to live in friendſhip with the thirteen fires.

The Commiſsioners told the Shawanoe Chiefs that they would now deliver to them the preſents which Congreſs had been so liberal as to send them, to cover their old people and their Women and Children. Perſons were appointed to receive them and they were accordingly delivered.

All buſineſs of a public nature being concluded with the Shawanoes the Council fire was finally covered up, and the Commiſsioners retired.

In the Quarters of the Commiſsioners
February 5th 1786.

The Delaware and Wiandot Chiefs came to take their leave of the Commiſsioners. The "Pipe" of the Delawares aſsured the Commiſsioners that he and his people were well pleased with what had been done between the United States and them, and that they were determined to adhere to it — And thereupon took his leave.

The "Half King" afterwards said

Brothers,

I come to take my leave of you and to condole with you on the unhappy accident which befel you since our treaty at Beaver Creek, through the badneſs of some of our people. I hope Brothers that it will be paſsed over, and that you will consider it the act of some bad people and not of the nation — He hoped that the peace would continue firm and unbroken between the thirteen fires and his nation.

(a string)

To which the Commiſsioners answered.

That it was not in their power to declare what Congreſs might think of the circumſtance to which he alludes (viz. the murder of the Traders at Tuſcaraways) but that they would represent what he said to Congreſs whoſe answer he would probably obtain in the Spring.

They then proceeded to inform him that he was the perſon who had acted as Chief at the treaty at Fort McIntoſh, and that they should consider him the only one responsible for the conduct of the people whom he commanded. They advised him to keep his faith with the United States, since they would always be ready to protect and aſsiſt them in their wants — altho' equally ready to chastize thoſe who should be unfriendly and should presume to injure their people.

With all this he promised to comply and he took his leave.

February 6th

The Shawanee Chiefs, Malunthy, Aweecony, Kakawitilathy, and Meanymsecah, came to take their leave of the Commiſsioners — They in a very pathetic manner aſsured them that they were perfectly satisfied with what had been transacted at this place, and that they should go home contented. They earnestly begged that all past injuries might be forgotten; and that the peace now concluded might be steadily and firmly kept. That their Headmen would not fail to use their utmoſt endeavours to prevent their young men from falling into any further errors, and therefore hoped that no future diſsentions would take place between the thirteen fires and them.

The Commiſsioners told them that our people would probably determine to chastize the Wabash Indians who were supposed to have committed the murders at the Falls, and therefore advised them to withdraw their people from that quarter, and remain in their towns or hunt above the Miami River, that they might not be injured. — They thanked the Commiſsioners for their advice, told them that they would set out for their towns to morrow and wished them a safe and happy journey. The Commiſsioners took their leave of them, recommending it to them to keep their faith with the United States, and to behave quietly and peaceably, that they might live in happineſs.

## Extracts from the Commiſsioners Letter to the President of Congreſs — of February 8. 1786

"From the local situation of the Shawanoes and the ascendancy which they have over the other Indian nations, it is our opinion that their friendship is of more importance to the weal of the Citizens of the United States than that of any other nation or tribe of Indians in the western Territory."

"The Indians with whom we have made peace give us the strongest aſsurances of their pacific dispoſition and full determination to observe strictly the articles of Treaty. But so great are the jealousies of Savages, and such their fickleneſs that we have little confidence in the permanency of the present peace, unleſs they are fully convinced of the strength of the United

States, and of their diſpoſition to do them juſtice."

"We find the British Agent at Detroit hath been aſsiduous in his endeavours to prevent a treaty with the Indian nations. Emiſsaries are employed and paid by him to reside in their towns, to awaken their jealousies, and prompt them to acts of hoſtility — and the property of Citizens of the United States, plundered from them by the Indians finds a ready and sure sale at a great price to thoſe Emiſsaries. British traders are eſtabliſhed in the Indian towns, and the Weſtern territory of the United States, divided into Diſtricts by the British Agent and commanding Officer, for commercial and other purpoſes; and we have reason to believe that too many of our own citizens on the frontier, are as little diſpoſed to peace with the Indians as our neighbours are anxiously endeavouring to prevent it, and that many of the Inhabitants of the United States are connected with British traders in the Indian Country, and under their patronage are suffered to derive the benefits which it is the sole right of the United States to grant."

"We think it our duty to inform your Excellency that the Inhabitants of the Diſtrict of Kentuckey have given us great trouble, and occasioned great public expence. It hath been with great difficulty we have restrained them from acts of violence on the perſons of the Indians while attending the treaty. In sundry inſtances they have plundered them of their horſes, and in their ſettlements publicly avow with impunity the propriety of such conduct. Some few horſes have been returned through the vigilance and activity of Colonel Boone— But so great was the opposition to his meaſures among thoſe people, that he was obliged to deſiſt from further purſuit—and we conceived it beſt to put up with the loſs of the rest, not thinking ourselves warranted to use force for the obtaining our property in a Country where the Inhabitants say, the Laws are sufficient, to protect the rights of the citizens, and friends of the United States. Unfortunately the honest part of the people of that Country are too few to restrain the licentiouſneſs of their neighbours.

The People who had intruded and settled on the lands of the United States, Northwest of the Ohio have been removed according to the orders of Congreſs. Many of them have again returned and others are daily going over, rebuilding their houses and clearing the fields for Spring Crops—

The settlements on the Country of the Illinois and on the Wabush are numerous and very rapidly increasing. They continue to grant lands to all settlers who arrive there, and the Inhabitants are in great confusion no regular government being established among them.—

The foregoing are true Extracts, from the Journal of the Commiſsioners of Indian Affairs, for the Northern and Middle Departments deposited in the War-Office of the United States.

Jno. Stagg Junr.

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Ch. [illegible]

F.

# Minutes

of the

# Treaty of Fort Harmar.

Commencing 12th December 1788.

And

Ending 9th January

1789.

# Minutes of a Treaty with the Wyandot, Delaware Chippewa, Ottawa Pattiwatima and Sac nations, and with the Six nations of Indians begun at Fort Harmar, on the Muskingum December 13th 1788 and ended January 11th 1789.

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Saturday, 13th December 1788.

This day a number of Indians arrived in the neighbourhood and sent word that the Chiefs would come in and take us by the hand — About three o'clock they were aſsembled in the Council house, vizt — The Five nations except the Mohawks the Senekas the Wyandots, the Delawares, the Ottawas the Chippewas, the Pattiwatimas and the Sacs. The governor attended by the commiſsioners of Pennsylvania, Brigadier generals Butler and Gibson, and General Harmar and the officers of the garrison, and a number of gentlemen proceeded to the Council house, and being seated; Dewintot, a chief of the Wyandots rose and addreſsed the governor in the name of all the nations present, to the following purport:

That they rejoiced that the great spirit had enabled them to come to this place to meet their brothers of the United States — it gave them much satisfaction to see them in a friendly manner — that the hearts of the Indians were good, as they hoped theirs were: and that every thing that was done at this meeting would be for mutual benefit, which was the wish of all the nations — that they had more to say to their brothers, but as the day was nearly spent, they would defer it until another opportunity; for the present, they would only take them by the hand in token of friendship.--

A string of white wampum.

The Governor then rose and addressed them thus

Brothers!

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This is a meeting that was desired by yourselves: I have been waiting anxiously for your coming, a very long time: I am glad to see you now; I heartily bid you welcome, and take you by the hand.

A string of white wampum.-

Cayasutha, a Seneka chief, who had come to Muskingum soon after the governor came down, then rose and spoke to them much in the same terms as the governor had done.-- The Council fire was then raked up, and the meeting broke up after tobacco had been distributed and provisions ordered for them.

Note: The Cornplanter and Halftown, Seneka men, would not enter the Council house, nor take any of the Indians by the hand, until the governor had set them the example - they also had been here for a long time.

In Council ——— 14th December 1788.

Present as yesterday.

Dewintot, a Wyandot chief, rose.

Brothers.

I am thankful to the Great Spirit, that has allowed us to meet together again this morning, and am very happy to meet our brothers here: The meeting

held

head yesterday was to ſalute them, and to ſee what order the Council fire was in; and to morrow I will have ſomething more to say — I hope the grand buſineſs will go on, and that our minds are the ſame.

Brothers of the Thirteen United States.

Listen to your brothers that are aſsembled at this present Council.— It is true it appears to be dark where you are at present, and the fire does not burn clear; but now we shall clear it all that is in our power; and likewise clear the clouds from the heavens above, that every thing may go on regular.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers. We now make every thing clear and look up towards heaven and ſee that the clouds are driven from the sky. It is the Great Spirit above who will shew you the way to establish friendship between us — it is not you alone, that will be ſhewn how to make this good work we are at — he will help us likewise.

A string of black and white wampum.

Brothers of the Thirteen United States. Listen to what we are going to ſay to you. Your eyes were ſo full of tears that you could not see — we now wipe away all the tears from your eyes — and likewise your throat we shall clear, and your heart we shall set it strait — and your ears we shall open that you may hear every thing we shall say unto you, and that what we say may all enter into your ears without any impediment, as it is of great importance to us both.

A string of black and white wampum.

Brothers! Listen to us now, what we have to say. I will now put on good wood to kindle our fire — it belongs to us all on this Island we are in — I put on good wood that will burn clear, and will make the young men blow the fire, and the light of it shall touch the heavens above, and be seen by all the nations. As this fire which we now kindle will be for the good work we shall make, it is for all nations that are here in this Island.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers of the Thirteen United States! Listen now to what they all say, we have now made a good fire and have swept round about it for a considerable distance and have left nothing in our way, no, not even a hair that we may come and sit round it, without any thing to hinder us. I shall come on one side of the fire and you on the other.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers! Listen to us again, what we chiefs shall say to you — we are looking towards you — You have a great head of hair — our people have been plucking at your head this great while we now wipe your head down, and take away the blood that remained on it; and likewise we wipe off the drops of blood that dropped upon your body, and let the Great Spirit above teach you and us, only good things hereafter and let every thing remain in friendship between you and us.

A belt of black and white wampum

Brothers! Listen again to what we chiefs of the Indian nations are saying — we left the fire which was

kind

kindled up this river, and you have left the bones of your people there: and we likewise have left the bones of ours. Who was the aggressor in this mischief? It was people that had no sense.

Brothers! "We request of you to listen to what we said just now. We say that you have left the bones of your people there, and we have likewise left the bones of our people there with yours: As these people had no ſense, we now take your bones and ours and shall bury them together. We now dig a very deep grave which reaches the waters underneath, and hereafter we shall consider all these things over, and think no more of it, as the current of the waters shall wash it away.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers! We have now buried the bones of your relations with our own under ground very deep — we now put the earth over them, and likewise strew the leaves, that have fallen from the trees, on the top of them, that hereafter our people may paſs over it, and see nothing of it; and that they may go and come, every where about without even thinking of it.

A belt of wampum.

Brothers of the United States! We hope now you will draw back your brethern of the Five nations, which have returned, as it is not their wishes to do any thing of the kind. We request of you to have pity on them as they are innocent of what our brother, the Five nations, have done, and what he has done is of no effect — there is no truth in any thing he has said — it was his fault, that you and I could not meet ſooner to do the good work we are about at present; it is our brother the Five nations wishes to hav things contrary to our minds — it is he that puts ill in the people, you will not think it is us, as it is far from our inclinations; perhaps, unknown to us both, if any mischief should happen to us, it is the Five Nations, that have urged it on — it is he alone, that has detained this treaty and not any one else. [This alludes to Jo: Brandt preventing some of the Six nations, and others from coming forward to Muskingum.]

A string of white wampum.

Brothers of the United States! Hearken to what we say now, us Indians that are assembled here do not know what to think of the Five nations turning back; we cannot conceive what the meaning of it is — We think strange of it — It is because he has been the occasion of turning a large number of people back, is the reason we think strange of it.

Brothers! Listen to us chiefs again we said that the Five nations has been the occasion of turning a number of men back from coming here — we hope you will not lay the blame to us, as we are quite innocent of it: The Five nations has always been a grea deceiver of ours, and there is nothing true that he say to us. Brethren listen to us! This is what we think the Five nations returning — we think it is the Mohawks alone, that is doing all this contrary work

A string of black, with a little white, wampum

Brothers! We have now settled every thing so fa as we think proper for the present, the only reque that we have to make of you is, as you have ſome of our people tied, and they have ſuffered much, we now wish you to let them loose, that nothing may be in our way to begin the good work. We beg it of you in a particular manner not to refuse this request; and let every thing be clear before us. The reason we wish you not to refuse us this request, is, to let the Great Spirit above see nothing would be refused that tended to ſet our minds at ease; and that every thing may go on regular and right to our minds.

A large belt of wampum.

Brothers! You will still hearken to what we say — we have now finished our buſineſs with you for this day; as we said before we had but a few words to say to you — we now leave you to consider when we shall have the good work to begin — you will appoint a day yourself. We the chiefs of the Wyandots are not all arrived as yet, and likewise our nephews, the Delawares, they are all on their way, and will be here as soon as poſſible.

Dewintot, 15th December 1788. —

Brothers!

We wish to inform you this morning, what we omitted yesterday at our meeting; it is this, one of the principal chiefs of the Mohawks named the Flying Sun, one of those who returned back, has a considerable number of the Six nations, with whom we suppose he has very nearly completed his intentions towards you; that is, he must have committed hostilities ſome where about Fort Pitt — We would be very happy if you would send immediate intelligence to your people — then you will know who was the people that did this mischief.

Brothers! Another circumstance we have to acquaint you with — in these people just now mentioned to you with the principal chief of the Mohawks, has divided into two parties. the one party will strike this place where we are at present. There is the Delawares living with the Miamis and Shawanese wish to join the Five nations in their bad designs, and they have pointed at this place.

Brothers! This is our reasons for informing you with the intentions of our brothers the Five nations — it is far from our inclinations — it is our wishes to make peace with you, that we may pass backwards and forwards without any danger.

In Council —————— 15th December 1788

The Governor's answer.

Brothers!

I have considered what you said to me yesterday, and am now to give you an answer on my part and in the name of the United States.

Brothers. You told me that you were very happy to see me here and thankful to the great Spirit who had at length allowed us to me at this place — I also Brothers give thanks to the great God who has brought us together, and am happy that we see the faces of each other in peace. It is my wish

us

as it is yours, that we may proceed upon the great busineſs, with as little loſs of time as poſsible — there our minds are the ſame.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers! You say that it appears dark where I am, and that the fire does not burn clear, but that you will do all in your power to remove the darkneſs, and to make the fire burn bright, and will remove the clouds that have overcast the heavens, that every thing may go right.

Brothers! With this string I now help you to make every thing clear; and with you look up towards heaven, to ſee that the clouds which intercepted the light of the ſun are retiring. It is indeed, the Great Spirit above, that can alone shew us the way to establish a firm friendship with each other. Let us both go in earnest about it, and rely for aſsistance on him, and the good work will ſoon be completed.

A string of white and black wampum.

Brothers! You have wiped the tears from my eyes, that I might see clear, you have ſcoured my throat and cleanſed my heart, and ſet it ſtraight; You have opened my Ears, that every thing you may say to me may enter freely, and sink into my heart — I now likewise Brothers, wipe away the tears from your eyes, I scour your throat, and cleanse your heart and ſet it straight, and I open your ears, that you may hear distinctly every thing, that I shall say to you, and that it may sink deep into your hearts, and make a lasting impression upon them; - it is of great importance to us both.

A string of black and white wampum

Brothers! I kindled a fire, and you have now put on good wood to make it burn - and it is a fire for all the people in this country. I will now help you to put on more good wood; and our young men and yours, shall blow the fire together, until the flame of it reaches the heavens; and the nations shall see it and rejoice in it, because this fire has been made for the good work amongst all the people of this land; and now that it is swept round about, and nothing left in the way to hinder us, we will sit down together, one on the one side, and the other on the other side of it, like friends.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers! You say, that when you left the fire that was kindled up the river, the bones of our people and of your people were left there; - that mischief was done by people that had no sense; - and that you will dig a very deep grave and bury the bones of our relations and yours together - Brothers what should we do with the bones, but bury them?

Brothers! Now, that you have buried the bones of our relations and of yours together very deep, with this string I will help you to put the earth over them likewise the leaves, that are fallen from the trees cover the place on the top, that hereafter we may sit there without thinking of them.

A belt of wampum -

Brothers! I am sorry that any of the Five nations has gone back after coming so near us, and taken ſo many men with him, because as our brothers had desired it, I hoped to have ſeen them altogether — But Brothers, this is no new thing for that man of the Five nations: He did just so at Fort Stanwix in the year 1784 — I do not blame you, that are here for their going back; — the Evil Spirit is always at work with ſome one, or other, to prevent the good work of peace; but be strong and of a good mind, and we can do well enough without them. You need have no apprehensions, that any mischief will unexpectedly fall upon you on account of the Five nations returning — The meeting has been long delayed, but we know it was occasioned by him, and it will not be resented against you — I give you my word, that you have nothing to apprehend.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers! Hearken to me — You say, you think it very strange that the Five nations should have turned back; and cannot make out the meaning of it; and it is that because he has been the occasion of turning back ſo many people, that you think ſo strange of it. — You desire me again Brothers, not to blame you for it — Brothers, I do not blame you for it; but brothers if you apprehend any ill from the Five nations, that he may lead the people he has turned back with him to do mischief, you should tell me ſo explicitly — If it is the Mohawks alone, that are working this against you, you have but little to do with the Mohawks.

A string of black and white wampum.

Brothers! . . . It is true that we have ſome of your people tied here, and you wish me to let them loose, that nothing may be in the way to hinder us from begining this good work.

Brothers! . . . It is a long time ago that I sent a meſsage to you at the Tawa river about these people, and I have not yet had an answer to it. — I must have an answer to that ſpeech; — it is not enough to come now and say it was people that had no sense, who did the mischief that occasioned their being tied — The Five nations has pointed out who it was that did the mischief. If you did not receive the meſsage, I sent to you at the Tawa river, I have a copy of it here, and will repeat it to you.

Brothers! If the United States had not ſincerely wished to be at peace with you, I had never ſent that meſsage, but gone to war immediately, which I was prepared for; but the Great Spirit put in my heart not to lift the tomahawk; for it might be that the mischief was not done with the knowledge of the nations.

Brothers! I have here the ſpeech of the Five nations on that ſubject, which you may hear if you wish it: it was ſent to me in the name of all the Nations — You know whether he was authorized or not.

Brothers! It may be that your people are tied hard, and are hurt by it; until two ran away they were tied very loose, but after that it was neceſsary that these should be made fast; but to ſhew you how ready I am to oblige you, I will have their [illegible]

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at rest which will give them some ease, until you have time to consider of an answer.

A string of black and white Wampum.

Brothers. The information you gave me this morning, which was forgot yesterday, is of very serious importance. It is somewhat extraordinary it should have been forgotten — Measures will be taken to prevent the mischief if it is not already done.

Brothers. You do not tell me when you got information of the Flying Sun's intentions: nor when he set off: nor what part you will take yourselves in case it be true — these are things I should know.

A string of black and white wampum.

The message sent to the Nations in July was then at their request, read and interpreted to them.

Guyachsoto rose and begged the Chiefs to continue on their seats, and likewise requested the same of the governor.

Cornplanter rose.

Brothers of all the nations here assembled.

When I arrived at this Council fire my Nephews, the Delawares, requested me to apply for the liberty of the prisoners — It made me very sorry to see them; but yet, I could not do it with propriety until you had all assembled, and then would be the time.

A string of black wampum.

Brothers. The woman that was with them also requested me to speak for them — I still gave the same answer, and desired them not to be uneasy

-easy, as I would do every thing in my power for them

A string of black and white wampum

Brothers. The United States! Will you listen to me — you see that the different nations are now aſsembled at your Council fire.

Brothers! It is long ſince I arrived here; my intention is to keep a firm peace, and I will aſsist all the nations in that busineſs.

Brothers! The United States! It is true you have relieved the feet of our brothers, that are tied; but is that all you can do? You have frequently told me, that we ſhall be as one people; and I consider it ſo, and I request that the prisoners may be ſet entirely at liberty.

Brothers! You know that I have done every thing I can; let others know it also; and let nothing hinder the good work from going on.

Brothers! You will consider it well, and I hope you will let them out of the gates, that the good work may now go on.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers, of the different nations here aſsembled!

I have now said all I have to ſay at present; but I request you to keep your seats and give an answer to the governor as ſoon as poſsible.

Captain Joseph, a Cayaloga chief, rose and addreſsed the aſsembly.

Brothers! You have heard bad news of the Flying I tell you he was so sick when it is said they were going to make a stroke, that he was hardly able to walk. Brandt insisted upon us two chiefs (himself and an Onondaga) to return back with him, we answered, that we were determined to hear what our brothers had to say at the council fire; that we could not understand writing, and he wrote and got answers and told us what he pleased — I beg what has been reported may not be taken notice of, as I believe it will turn out to be lies.

Dewintot rose and said

Brothers. { The United States and all
{ the Nations here aſsembled!

I return thanks to the Great Spirit who has now permitted us to aſsemble again at this place.

Brothers! It is the Great Spirit that rules us both and governs our minds — I think more ſeriously, perhaps, of these matters than you may imagine — I am determined for peace, and not for war.

Brothers, of the Thirteen United States! How is this matter to be ſettled concerning the prisoners which were taken at our fire? I sent back the man that was taken without any difficulty before ever we had any thing settled with us Indians; not only this one, but we also sent another with him by Mr. Wilson; was there any difficulty? no, there was not a single word said against it, as it was our wishes to let every thing go on regular. [The soldier that was taken at the Falls, was brought back by the Wyandots, and a man that was taken by the Shawanese about a year before, who they said they relieved by paying a considerable ſum for him].

Brothers! You say you wish to have an answer to your speech concerning your people, that were killed and taken at the Falls of Muskingum; that speech we never received — it was concealed from us: You will remember when we had the Council at Fort McIntosh, that you requested of me to return all the prisoners of your people that was with us; did we not comply with it? At that time we did let all loose; why do you ask us again? You well know that with a great deal of trouble we got the prisoner back from the people that had taken him.

Brothers. If you wish to have all your people back we have not the least objection: Take them wherever you see them, as it is impossible for us to make them go as they are partly mixed with us.

Brothers! To convince you that, far from refusing any thing you request of me, I have now eight of your people in my custody which I have purchased from our people; (that is the Cherokees) as we hope to see every thing go on regular, we intend to deliver them as soon as you think conveniently will serve. — We hope our request of you will not be refused; as for our brothers, the Ottawas and Chippeways, they have not one of your blood.

Brothers! You have now heard our answer to the speech you sent us it is from all the chiefs present at this place.

Brothers. I hope you will not think lightly of what I say to you concerning the Great Spirit — he has equal regard for us as for you.

Brothers. I hope every thing that has been said to you will settle to the bottom of your hearts.

The Governor rose and addressed all the nations present.

Brothers. I am well satisfied with what you have now said, and will consider of a proper answer — You are much mistaken if you suppose I will make light of what you say about the Great Spirit — it is upon him we all depend; and I am happy to see you have so just a sense of his superintending power and providence.

Desintot again rose and addressed the governor.

Brothers! You request of us to deliver all the prisoners back that we have: I have one circumstance to mention — there is a prisoner of the name of Abraham Kuhn. but, as Captain Joseph Brandt has prevailed upon him to return with him, as being a friend of his; we did not think it worth while to tie him and bring him here to you; but if he had come, you was welcome to him. And if you want him yet you may send and get him.

He then addressed the Senekas.

Brothers. I am very happy to meet you at this council fire — it is true you have come a great way down the river to do this business — I have also come a great way to complete the good work we are at: I hope the Great Spirit above will protect you and us, to go on with this business regularly, as we would wish to have it.

Captain Joseph, a Cayuga man, rose and addressed the governor.

Brothers! It is very certain that the chiefs of the Delawares and the other nations had desired you to stop up the bung — it is true, if it had been open, it might have prevented the good work from going on, by keeping back those who might have met it as they were coming in, and selling their skins; but now we wish it to leak a little.

The governor ordered a little spirits for them; and it was distributed to them in the Council house before they rose — The Fire was raked up and the Council adjourned to the next day.

16th December 1788.

The Governor in private Council with the Chiefs.

He wished to know from them their private opinion as to the truth of the information they had given about the Flying Sun and Brandt — when they received the information and by whom — desired them to send off some of their people whom they could depend upon, to look at the road from Tuscarawas to Fort Pitt — If they had gone along that road they were gone for mischief — if they were not gone along that road, they should come back by the Falls of Muskingum and so down here.

The information was brought to them by a Wyandot chief — it is nine days since he left Brandt — after Brandt had separated from the rest, he stopped at some distance and waited until the Shawanese, the Delawares that live with them and the Miamis came up — they held a council together, and Brant told these people that nothing could be done with the United States that they could be satisfied with — that now they had the choice of peace and war — which ever they determined on would be his choice; if they chose to go to war he would help them; but if they were for peace he would acquiesce — they all declared for war: — And then it was settled that Brant, with his people, should strike about Fort Pitt, and the others should strike at this place. — It is their opinion, that nothing more was meant by it but to prevent these people from coming here — but they are not sure of that — they thought it very right to send and see what they were about — and they put it upon the Pipe; who said he would send immediately again, for that he had already sent and expected his people in every moment.

The governor then asked them to consider, in case it should be true that they meant to strike immediately, what part they would take — whether they would stay here and join the troops and the militia, or go home and sit still — he did not desire an immediate answer but wished them to consider of it deliberately and maturely.

In the course of conversation, they spoke very hard of Brant, and mentioned as a reason why the assembled nations had not given an answer to the message sent them in July, a speech which Brant said ſuit he had received from General Harmar — that he threw it into the fire as soon as he had read it — and then told them, it was a very bad one — that the nations on the Wabash were called together to Fort St Vincennes, and he, General Harmar, had proposed to the Five nations, when these should be met there, to join the Americans and fall upon the Delawares, Wyandots and Shawanese and cut them off, and the Five nations should enjoy their country — he said every thing he could against the Americans, and drawing a ſword, that he always carried, stuck it into the ground, and told them, there was a ſword for them — use it when they pleased against them. —

They appeared much satisfied that the governor had refused to go to the Falls of Muskingum; and said, if any thing had been refused them, that he, Brandt, thought proper to demand, it was likely that the ſword would have been buried in his body. — The governor aſsured them of the falsity of the information about General Harmar and promised to ſhew them a copy of the meſsage he sent to the western Indians. And the meeting broke up. The meſsage was afterwards ſhewn to them; and they said they had been most groſsly imposed upon by Brandt.

No further council this day

In Council ——————— 18th December 1788.

Dewintot rose and addreſsed the governor.

Brothers!

I am happy to meet you all this day, which the Great Spirit has allowed us to do. You requested me, the day before yesterday, to give you as positive an answer as I could, whether if those people that have turned back do any mischief, I will join you or not? I told you before, that I have only one tongue which spoke from my heart. I beg that the Six nations will give their answer to the governor first, as you partly know my sentiments already; it is only the Six nations whose minds we do not know; therefore I beg he will rise.

Brothers of the Six nations, listen to me;

You have now heard the voice of us Indians, who are here aſsembled at this Council fire — I have already told it to you, that the Six Nations must give their answer first, as they are well acquainted with the intentions of the Five nations, that have turned back; therefore I think they have the best right to speak first — You have partly concealed this affair.

Brothers of the Six Nations! Be strong! you well know that this busineſs we have to do, has been a long time on hands, and we have yet done nothing in it. We have been doing our endeavors to establish peace and friendship with our brothers, the United States of America; it is he only that this busineſs depends upon — We wish now to let all our brother

Indians that are here aſsembled, likewise our brothers the United States, hear our voice, to let them know it is the Six nations that has caused the busineſs of settling a peace to be ſo backward — and also the cause of the mischief done at the Council fire; therefore we beg him to ſpeak for himself in presence of all our brethern — I will tell you one instance. you will remember the Council fire that you made at the Miami river, it is there this evil work ſprung from — from your own mouths — At the time that evil work was done at the Miami river it was conveyed all the way under ground to Michillimackinac, telling our brothers there, to be ready early in the Spring to ſtrike the United States.

Brothers of the Six Nations! I will tell you another instance of what you have done: at the ſame time you drew your ſword and stuck it in the ground for the Wiachtinons; desiring them to strike the United States: And to convince you that I was for peace, last Spring, when the graſs was ſpringing out of the ground, we made it our busineſs to go and take the ſword out of the hands of the Wiachtinons: And told them, that if they listened to the Six Nations, that all our nations would fall. It is peace that we wanted to make with our brothers, the United States. This is the ſpeech, that I made to them when I took the ſword out of their hands, and desired them to listen to the good work we are making at preſent.

Brothers of the United States. You have heard what I said just now; it was us, Wyandots and our Nephews the Delawares, likewise our brethren the different nations that you see now here assembled at this Council fire. At that time when I took the sword out of the hands of the Wiachtinons, I spoke to them thus. "Brothers Wiachtinons listen to us, of the Wyandot nation, and "our brother Indians: If you wish to listen to council, "it will be for the good of all our nations – we shall "live – we have kindled a fire for all nations to meet "us; and we desire you to kindle another for the different nations that live about you, and desire them "to lay still, and listen to the speech I shall relate to "you, it is this, Our brothers, the United States have "kindled a fire for us. I am ready to rise up and meet "them at that fire they have kindled for us: it is for "the good of all nations, and that our children may "live and grow up without disturbance; and it is "our wishes, from our hearts to make peace with "our brothers the United States. if the Great Spirit "above, will allow us to agree in the good work we "are now going to make at that Council fire: I "hope you will follow us and join to do the same as "we shall."

Brothers Listen to us. You have heard what your brothers the Wyandots, Delawares and the different nations said just now. When the Six nations arrived at our Council fire, that the Wyandots, Delawares and other nations had kindled for all the nations of Indians

-ans to meet at, he just sat down, and rose up again immediately and kindled another fire at the Miami river — It is the Six nations alone that has delayed this business; and it is his fault that Winter has now overtaken us.

Brothers of the United States! This is our reason for speaking in the manner we have done; when we the Wyandots, were on our way to come to this Council fire, the Six nations struck us with two belts of wampum on our backs. That us Wyandots should have in to the Seven Nations of the Cahnawagas, and they conveyed them to the Six nations, to let them know they were their friends, and that they wished not to conceal any thing from them — us, Wyandots should have told the Seven nations not to listen to the Six nations; and let every thing pass thro' their ears that they said; and this is what the Six nations has cast up to our faces.

Brothers! You have now heard what we Indians that are assembled at this Council said to you just now. I suppose you wonder what can be the reason that the Indians did not meet here sooner — It is true, you have been here since early in the Spring.

Brothers! I hope you will not think hard of it — it is not you alone, that has waited so long for this meeting; our necks are also stretched as well as yours with looking to see our brother Indians coming to our Council fire; early in the Spring I was ready to meet you; but as the Six nations told us they would meet us early in the Spring — and I could ſee nothing of his coming; and oftentimes he sent meſsages to us, that he would be up in twenty five days — and every veſsel I saw coming with her wings stretched out to the winds, I expected to ſee our brothers the Six nations on board of her, but was always deceived; and this was the case all ſummer long; now your necks are yet considerably stretched with looking out for us Indians — and it is the ſame case with us, Wyandots, Delawares and our brothers here — We hope you will overlook those matters, as the Great Spirit above would have it so — and there is no remedy for it, except the Six nations can preſs our heads down and put them in their place again — This is the treatment we have both received from the Six nations.

Brothers! This is all I have to say to you at present; I hope you will urge the Six nations to speak.

Captain Joseph, the Cayuga chief rose, and addreſsed the Wyandots and other nations.

Brothers!

We have heard what you had to say, and will consider it; we will now cover the Council fire, and retire to consult together about our answer, until to morrow.

Dewintot again rose.

Brothers of the Six Nations!

You tell us now that we must delay the busineſs until to morrow; we are really surprised at you, to be delaying this busineſs so long from day to day: it is not this alone, but it is the busineſs we have with our brothers the United States that you are delaying. Consider the busineſs with our brothers the United States is a great busineſs: therefore we insist upon an answer early in the morning; your busineſs must be great indeed that you cannot return an answer before to morrow.

Captain Joseph rose,

Brothers!

Chiefs, young men and warriors, listen to me, and hear what I have to say.

Brothers! You have told us that we have been delaying the busineſs; I say it is your fault — You have been all day pointing at us, in every speech you have made you lay the blame upon us.

Brothers! We dont mean to delay the busineſs longer than to morrow — we must have a little time to consider of it — we mean to deliver our sentiments to morrow morning, when we will say all we have to say to you, and our brothers the United States.

The Council fire was then raked up, and the Aſsembly adjourned till to morrow.

In Council ——— 19th December 1788.

Captain Joseph rose.

Brothers } Of all the nations, that are here aſsembled and of the United States!

Listen to what I say from the six nations — I return God thanks, that we have the pleasure

sure to meet our brothers at this Council fire this morning.

Brothers! We, the Six nations now put on dry, good wood, that our Council fire may burn clear.

Brothers Indians! Listen now to the Six nations.— God is looking down upon us to ſee what we are doing- we hope he will enable us to do all things right.

Brothers, Wyandots and Delawares! You asked us yesterday to tell our intention, with regard to what the governor had proposed. We will now ſweep away all obstacles from our fire, and you shall hear what we mean.

Brothers! You seemed to point at the Six nations yesterday, and ſaid, they delayed the busineſs and had caused you a great deal of trouble.

Brothers! We wish that you would listen to us— You said many things yesterday, that might make us uneasy; but I now dig a deep hole in the ground and bury all that was then said; and will now give this string to our brothers the United States, as they are also concerned with you, and not you alone.

A white string of wampum.

Cornplanter then rose.

Brothers, Indians now aſsembled!

Listen to the Senekas and Five nations. We are all met with our brothers the Thirteen United States, and are now sitting together.

Brothers! I am now going to give you a reason, why this good buſineſs has been so long delayed.

Brothers, of different tongues here aſsembled! I feel for you all, as well as for our brothers the Thirteen United States.

Brothers! I have often desired you to listen to me, but you would not hear me — I now tell you, that I am ſitting with the Thirteen United States, and I have got hold of him, and I will keep that hold fast.

Brothers! I now hope that you will listen well to me. It was me that first kindled the Council fire, and when you were round it, I desired you to go with us to meet our brothers the United States.

Brothers! You well recollect when we kindled the Council fire, that you were there at it, as well as our brothers the Shawanese and others.

My young brothers the Wyandots! You know that the Six nations desired you and the Shawanese to rise up, and go to the Council fire at Fort Stanwix, but you would not do it, but hearkened to Brandt and would not hear them; I beg of you to listen to me now, for then I was interrupted — Brandt went away, — I did not know where, which caused great confusion among the nations.

Brothers! You are very well acquainted with what I said, and you know that I sent to you to rise, and go to the Council fire — You, Wyandots also know, that when you received my speech, you did not hearken to it, but you and the Shawanese rose up and went away. I am very sorry that, our young brothers, the Shawanese will not let any good thing that is ſaid to them enter into their hearts, but throws it away and will not listen to it. It made me very ſorry that the Shawanese would not hear me, as they were present, when I dug a deep hole and buried up every thing, that had happened with our brothers, the Thirteen Fires.

Brothers! I have not forgot what we did there, when I met our brothers, the Thirteen Fires at their Council Fire. I well remember that we made a ſtrong and firm peace; and no one can say that I have pulled a hair out of the head of our brothers, the Thirteen Fires, ſince; neither have we ſtole a ſingle horse from them.

Brothers! I beg that the Shawanese will first listen to me; and you, the Wyandots and Delawares, listen well to what I am now going to say. The Shawaneſe forgot, before they arrived at their own homes, what I had told them, and desired them to think well of.

Brothers! I wish that what I now say to you, you will let it enter into your hearts and receive it well.

Brothers! I am very sorry, that you are so very foolish, and pity you — your folly was the cause of the fall of one of your brothers, for which I am very sorry.

A string of black and white wampum.

Brothers! After I had made peace with the Thirteen Fires, you, different nations reflected upon me — blamed me — and said I had sold your Lands.

Brothers and Friends! You said a great deal about it, but it never disturbed me in the least. If I had got angry, it would have been hurtful to you all.

My younger brothers! I took pity on you, and rose up from my Council fire, and went to the Great Council of the Thirteen Fires.

Brothers! I am sorry, that while I was upon that busineſs, you took up the tomahawk, and struck towards the Sun setting.

Brothers! My brothers, the Thirteen Fires desired me to be strong; to tell you to live in peace, that our women and children might live happy, as long as the Sun should shine.

Brothers! When I was at the Great Council, they told me that their boundary line run thro' the middle of the Lakes into the Miſsiſsippi, and that the King of England had made that line with them. When I returned from the Great Council, I brought you a copy of the Treaty, between our brothers the United States and the great King. You must remember, that I left it with you as I sat at our Great Council fire, and told you that I had seen the original with the Great Seal of England to it — and it was signed by the King of England with his own hand.

Brothers! Listen well to me now. When I returned to you, at our council fire, you would not listen to me but insisted to speak first.

Brothers! The Shawanese then spoke to me and said, I have now got the tomahawk in my hand, that was given me by the King of England to strike the Thirteen Fires—he has not taken it out of my hand, and I will use it.—It was then bloody—that was the reason they would not hear me.

Brothers! If you recollect, I told you that if any person was proud of heart they would surely meet with trouble: I also informed you that I had been very proud of heart myself, and was well acquainted with the many troubles that a proud heart meets with.

Brothers the Wyandots, listen to me, it is now the Senekas that speak—You never would listen to what I have said heretofore, but I beg you will now hear me.

Brothers, of all the nations sitting round this fire!—You would not listen to me, but listened to Brandt—Yesterday you was pointing at me, and said, I did listen to what Brandt had said, and that you did not.

Brothers! You have now heard what I have said, and I hope you will not now forget it.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers, the Wyandots, listen well to me!

I have considered well what you said yesterday—and the Great Spirit was looking down upon me all the time I was thinking of it—Yesterday if you recollect, you told me that Brandt had behaved very badly.

Brothers! Listen now to the Senekas who speak—You spoke truth in what you said yesterday of Brandt.

Brothers, of the Thirteen Fires, I hope you, as well as our brother Indians here assembled, will keep your ears well open to hear me.

I now tell you that I take Brandt and set him down in his chair at home, and he shall not stir out of his house, but I will keep him there fast — he shall no more run about amongst the nations, disturbing them and causing trouble.

Brothers! We now agree to let the business go on well, and that we may all live — I do not wish Brandt to die — let him live — I pity him.

Brothers! Take this string in remembrance of what the six nations have said.

A string of black and white wampum.

Brothers I hope now you have all heard that I have put up Brandt in his house — I give this string to our brothers the United States, that they may not forget what I have done.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers, the Wyandots, and all other tribes here assembled, listen to me!

Brothers, the Wyandots. You always assisted Brandt in his bad conduct, and was like to be cause of our being nearly destroyed from this Island.

Brothers, the Wyandots, listen well to me. You know that the Five nations always had pity on you; when you was in a bad way they assisted you.

Brothers! I have considered what our forefathers have said, and remember it well. You must also remember it; and tell it to the different nations towards the Sun setting: make them recollect it, and advise them to good.

Brothers, the Wyandots! I pray to God to let your hearts be clear, and that you would advise the different nations to the west; and that our brothers the Thirteen Fires may be glad to hear you had done so.

Brothers! Be strong and send these speeches quickly to the nations towards the Sun setting, that they may be prevented from doing any mischief.—I say do it quickly, that our brothers, the Thirteen Fires, may know that we desire to live peaceably with them.

Brothers, Indians! I am now going to speak to our brothers, the Thirteen Fires.

Cornplanter, then addressed the governor.

Father, Listen to me!

I now call you Father, because I have come out of your belly.

Father! I am now going to tell you when you first came into this Island.

Father! You know that when you came first to this Island and saw the Five nations, you loved them, as you knew what a great and good people they were.

Father! The first of our council fires was held at Schenectady, and then they were made one upon one side, and one upon the other, and they shone over all the Island.

Father! You have now grown so big and so strong, that none can injure you.

Father! I hope that you look up to heaven and return thanks to god for your greatneſs.

Father! You tell me that all this Land is yours — I hope you will take pity on the native inhabitants of this country, as they took pity on you when you first arrived at this Island. —

Father! I know it is in your power to satisfy all these people that are here, as they are diſsatisfied.

Father! Listen well to what I say, and I hope God will make every thing right.

Father! I hope you will consider well of the great buſineſs — You have charge of all this Land, and I hope you will satisfy the minds of all that are uneasy.

Father! Let them know the boundary line of your Land, and they will ſoon acquaint all the nations with it, in order that they may be satisfied.

Father! Let what you now do be strong, that it may last as long as the heavens shall remain.

Father! Consider well of this buſineſs — consider these people; you know they live by hunting.

Father! Now I am done ſpeaking to you about the Land — When God first let you down upon this Island, he had pity on you, and has aſsisted you — and now you know how to make every thing and have every thing in plenty.

Father! I see you are well clothed: I wish you would also clothe our brother Indians, that they may be warm at our Council, and they will be pleased.

Father! I wish what you do, to be lasting, that it may never grow old.—

Father! Here is one of our old council belts. I now make it new, and hope you will consider well what I have said, that all may be right.—take the end of this belt in your hand."

Father! You have now hold of the belt with all the nations; and I hope you will keep hold of it; and it shall tie us together that we cannot be ſeparated. A belt of wampums.

Father! Now I have finished all I have to say for the Five nations.

The governor rose and addreſsed the aſsembly.

Brothers, of all Nations here aſsembled.

The answer you made to me on the fifteenth instant, and what has now been said has given my heart ſome ease. I thought it very strange that no notice was taken of the meſsage I sent to the Nations so long ago as July; it looked as if the mischief, that was done at the Falls of Muskingum had been within their knowledge, and by their directions. Now I am satisfied it was not so— And as the speech was concealed from them, it was not poſsible they should give an answer to it.

A string of white wampums.

Brothers! You might have seen that I did not think the nations, generally, were concerned in that mischief, by the readineſs with which I gave up one of the men to your Nephews, the Delawares—if it had been the public act of all the nations, none of them would ever have been released. All the nations of the world agree in punishing such flagrant breaches of the public faith. A string of white wampum.

Brothers, the Wyandots! I thank you for the pains you have taken to obtain our flesh and blood from the people who made them prisoners, with the design to send them home. It was a good work; and the Great Spirit, who knows the hearts and sees the actions of all mankind, will reward you for it: It is his command, that we should love one another, and be kind to each other; and we are all the work of his hands. But brothers there is a custom got in amongst you, of one nation making prisoners, and another buying them; this custom must be put a stop to; for, as long as the foolish people who love mischief, can sell the prisoners they take, they will continue to make them; and we never shall have peace that will last. I will think no more of the mischief that was done up the river. It was the act of people who had no sense, and there are such amongst all nations — The waters of forgetfulness shall overflow the place and wash out every trace of it, that it may no more trouble either you, or us. A string of black and white wampum.

Brothers, the Wyandots! You asked me whi said any thing to you again about giving up prisoners — did you not deliver all you had, agreeable to your engagement at Fort McIntosh?

Brothers take notice! What I said about prisoners was to all the Nations, that were aſsembled at the Miami river — You, the Five nations, the Senekas, the Wyandots and the Delawares of the Wolf tribe; did fulfill your engagement — But ſince the treaty at Fort McIntosh, there have been many of our people made prisoners by some of other nations. If they all had met me here as I expected, that matter must have been ſettled, before we could have gone one step forward in the good work; as these are not all here, their absence shall not hinder it with those that are come. A string of black and white wampum.

Brothers of all the nations present! Now our hearts are at ease I shall be ready to proceed with you in the good work whenever we have ſettled about the delivery of the prisoners, that are in the hands of the Wyandots — There is one likewise, that I know of with the Ottawas. — And for the performance of it they must leave in my hands as hostages ſome of their people — When they have pointed out the persons, the prisoners here will be delivered up to you; and I will then hear with pleasure what you have to say to me on the great buſineſs.

A string of black and white wampum.

Dewintot, then rose and addreſsed the governor.

Brothers, the Thirteen United States!

Listen to all the nations that are round this fire — Concerning what I said yesterday that happened between us Indians — I am very happy to see every thing done in a proper manner this day — the Great Spirit has been their teacher to settle it in the manner they have done — we take and bury every thing that was harsh betwixt us, and will think no more of it.

Brothers, the United States! We have now met here at this fire by the permiſsion of the Great Spirit. You say in regard of the prisoners that you have in your poſseſsion that when I leave ſome of my men as hostages until I return the prisoners I have then you will comply with our request; and take that all our buſineſs shall go on regularly — we shall take it into consideration this night and give you an answer to morrow. Every thing you have said to me goes to the bottom of my heart; as I told you before, we are all people that wish to make peace, and be in friendship with you.

A string of black and white wampum

Brothers, the United States! You point at me Wyandot and the Ottawas in particular, as having ſome of your people. I wish to inform you — there is here part of the Six nations aſsembled in this house, who live with us — he has ſome of your people as well as me — we shall consult with each other concerning it — when we have consulted together we shall give an answer, as it is my desire that this buſineſs, that you know we have come about, should be done as ſoon as poſsible.

The Council then adjourned till to morrow

20th December, 1788.

The Chiefs of the Wyandots and other Nations, ſent to request that the Council might be adjourned for three days: as it was neceſsary for them to change their camp, the food for their horses being exhausted: And besides all their principal men were not yet arrived; but by that time they would certainly ſee — Which was agreed to.

23d December —

A Meſsage came in from Shandutty the head man of the Wyandots, requesting the meeting might be delayed one day longer as he had but just arrived, and required a little time to refresh himself and get information of what was done.

In Council ——— 28th December.

Shandutty, rose up and spoke as follows.

Listen to us Indians that are here aſsembled with you this day, as it is appointed by the Great Spirit above: It is he alone that made us all.

Brothers!

You tell us to begin with this work as ſoon as we please; that you may hear what we have to say.

Brothers! We are quite unacquainted with the Treaty of peace you made with our father the King.

Brothers! This was not the case the last war you had with the King of France; when you made peace with them it was made known to all nations on this Island; but it was not the case with this last Treaty.

Brothers. It is the request of us, Wyandots Ottawas Chippewas, and all our brethren, the Indians that are aſsembled, to know how you made the Treaty with the King of England, and we desire you would inform us now.

Brothers. The great King of England, our father, has kept this affair quite a ſecret; he has kept us ignorant of it; that is the reason we now ask it of you.

Brothers. It is very hard that our father has kept this from our knowledge — it is the Great Spirit above that made us all; and it has never been known that a father should keep his children in ignorance of the

Brothers. Our father tells us that he never gave our country away to the United States, it was only the that are garrisoned. He likewise tells us, that the United States tells great falsehoods in saying that he gave away our country to them; that is the reason we now request of you the truth of this matter.

A Belt.

The Treaty was read and interpreted to them, and the boundary, as it is marked upon the map published in 1783 was shewn to them.

Shandutte, then rose, and spoke as follows.

Brothers!

We, that are aſsembled at this council fire have all heard you now. You have made known to us the Treaty you had with the King, we heard your

voice

vice concerning that Treaty; we cannot say any thing further to day upon it; it is to be hoped the Great Spirit above will teach us the way how to speak, and to declare our sentiments to you to morrow; we hope it will be for the good of us all, as I would wish peace and friendship should remain between you and us.

A String of white wampums.

The Council adjourned to meet the next day.

In Council ——— 20th December—

Shandutte rose and spoke as follows,

Brothers!

We are very happy to meet you here this morning, and as it has pleased the Great Spirit above, that we should meet this day to commence the good work we are going about, we hope he will teach us how to do it.

Brothers! I now uncover the fire for all the nations, that are assembled, as well as for the Thirteen United States: I will put this fire in proper order, nothing shall remain but the clear fire itself.

A String of white wampums.

Brothers! We are very happy, that you informed us yesterday the circumstances between you and us— you likewise informed your children, the Six nations, of the same — We all give you thanks, that you have let us into the light of it.

Brothers! We told you yesterday that we would give you an answer this morning, which answer shall now be given in behalf of all the Nations, which you see here present — Whenever our brother Ottawa comes in that is yet wanting in council we shall begin.

A string of black & white wampum.

The Ottawas came in.

Shandutty again rose and spoke as follows,

Brothers.

Listen well to what I shall say to you concerning what has happened since we have been in this country: I hope you will have pity on me, Wyandot, if I should speak that is wrong in your opinion.

Brothers. It is me, that you see here standing, an Indian — I wish to let you know how I came first into this country, as I dreamed about it, some time ago, which I shall relate to you now.

Brothers. When I came into this country first, the dreams that I have had, has informed me that the Wyandot nation was the first man that the Great Spirit placed upon this ground.

Brothers. Here is my Nephew, the Delaware, that came next after me; he is my own nephew and this was my dream.

Brothers. At that time I sent some of my Nephews the Delawares to the sea shore towards the east, to look out and watch when great beasts should come into this country.

Brothers. While he was on the watch he spied a great Beast, coming upon the water of the sea — and what should it be but the French, who was our father first. I shall tell you in a few words how you sprung out of the Earth into this country.

Brothers. I sent my Nephew, a second time to the Sea shore upon the same business as he went before, and the next thing he saw coming upon the water was yourself brother: and you landed upon this Island; and you begged the favor of my Nephew to let you remain only one night on shore: He replied to you, that he was not master, but that there was a great man, where he came from, who was his uncle, that he could not give a positive answer until he went to him.

Brothers! My nephew, the Delawares, came back with this account to me, that he had seen another Great Beast coming upon the waters of the Sea, and that it had landed on the shore, and requested of me, to let him remain only one night. I sent him back immediately, and on his way down, he met with the Six Nations, who asked my nephew who he was; he replied, that he was the nephew of the Wyandots, who was the great man of this country. He then, says the Six nations, whom you call the Wyandots is my brother.

Brothers! I permitted you to remain one night as you had requested me: And after this you begged me to let you have a little ground to make your fires upon, as you said you would visit me very often. The quantity of Land you asked of me, was as much as one cowhide could cover.

Brothers! My nephew then agreed with you for as much Land as one Cowhide would cover; and you gave him a little of your tempting liquor, which made him sleepy and foolish; and in the mean time you cut this cowhide into a string which covered a considerable quantity of ground. And this is the way you first took me in, for a peice of Land in this country.

Brothers. After my nephew came to his senses, and saw what you had done, he said to you — "You have cheated me for once — is this the way you are going to treat me always, while you remain in this country?" you replied then, "no brothers, far from it, I do not mean to treat you in that manner." But still you had another request to make of him, which was an addition of more Land to what you had already got, as you would go no distance out, but only to hunt round the fences; Not only this, but you had a great many people to take care of, and that place was too small.

Brothers. My nephew complied with your request for a quantity of Land, that was as far as a man could go in a day and back again. You had one of the swiftest runners out of Europe, who did the business for you — to our surprise when we came to measure it, we could scarcely get to where he turned, in a day — And this was the way you got the second quantity. These are the dreams that I have dreamt.

Brothers! "You have made a second cheat on me" says my nephew, "I told you that this would always be the case, if you sit down beside me – he immediately came to me, the Wyandot, who was the greatest man known in this country among us Indians; I told him not to give away any more land – "let us see what he will do to us if we refuse him a third request". This is the conclusion of my dream. I am but a foolish man that you see standing here.

A belt of wampums.

Brothers. You have now heard my dream; but concerning the Lands, which you have got since, and how you advanced so far this way I cannot tell; as I have not dreamt of it: here are belts which came from you; they are your voice.

Brothers! Here is one of the belts, which I now shew to you, with the road which you made for us; and here are pieces of parchment to it with some writings upon them, which seems very dirty at present.

Brothers! I shall only speak a few words to you on this belt. I have no occasion to tell you all as it came from your own mouth; it is this, we then joined hand in hand, that nothing should separate us from each other.

Brothers. This is what you said to me, when you first saw me Wyandot in this country – you gave me this belt as a token of friendship; that if any thing amiss should hereafter happen between us in this country, I might have this to shew you; and you would then be able to see what you had said to me.

Brothers! I cannot tell all that was said upon this belt — when it was given I ſuppoſe I was nothing but water.

Brothers! Here is another belt which I remember perfectly well: When it was given I was just then a young man grown.

Brothers! The first quarrel you had with the French which was an engagement you had with them at Fort Pitt, we the different chiefs were there present at that time.

Brothers! You told me it was very hard that my father, the French, had stopped up the road that you had made for you and me, as it was a good road.

Brothers, Says you, "The road is now stopped between "you and me the French will ſome time or other come "with the tomahawk and beg of you to accept of it "and tell you if you do not, you will be all deſtroyed. "Brothers! You hear the road is ſtopped between us "I told you that nothing should ever part our hands "aſunder, without cutting off our arms; and if one "was cut off then we should take hold with the other.

Brothers! This was the ſame case when you disagreed with our father, the English — You desired us not to interfere, or we would be all deſtroyed by our father. This is all I have to say upon this ſubject; only wish you to see once more what you have transacted with us; as you said at that time, nothing should part our hands, as you would join them with a chain of iron

A belt of wampum.

Brothers! Listen well to what I shall say upon this belt, which belongs to us, Indians as you call us. — We are a poor helpless people. we do not know how to read or write — this is the book we read by, and know what has happened in former days; and this is a belt, which the six nations, has given us together with his brother, the British.

Brothers! When I received this belt, my father and the six nations, our brother told me that you had settled affairs concerning this country, and said; "here is the division of the country" and at the same time desired me to take care of it, and live in peace with one another — you then said, "here on the south side of the Ohio, is a tract of Land which I have bought from the six nations" — and this is the way the division was made.

Brothers! It is the request of all the nations here present, that you would have compassion on them, and think how hard it would be for them to lose the remaining part of their country — Let the Ohio be the boundary line, as it was concluded upon before.

Brothers. We all request of you not to refuse us this our desire, that we have made to you, as we are poor, helpless people, and your compliance will be the cause of the good business to go on regular; and that our young men may hereafter hunt without danger of being molested.

Brothers! This was the proposal we agreed upon. It was the Ohio made the division between us and the Six nations; it is him you have to settle with on that side of the river, and us, for the other: This is what our father the British and our brother the Six nations desired us to do; We are very happy to hear you say that every thing should go on regularly, that we may live in peace, as long as the world shall stand.

Brothers. Consider we have been leaving our whole trust in this business to the Great Spirit above that he may lead us the right way in it — think what a great sin we shall commit if we draw back from what we have said. It is us Indians that you see assembled here, that have spoken this to you; we shall allow any of them to get up and speak, and give their opinion concerning the business we are upon.— Here is a belt with a white stripe in the middle which we only wish you to look at once more, and see what our father said to us in ancient times: But here is another of white, which I deliver to you; you will keep it in your possession, that you may see what we have said to you upon the other belt.

A belt of wampums.

Sewintot rose.—

Brothers:—

We have now gone thro' this day with our business, which the Great Spirit allowed us to meet upon this morning; we hope now, that he will pass us thro' this night, that we may all rise with ease to morrow morning, as it is him alone that we look to for assistance. You told us just now, that we must meet early to morrow morning; we request that you would give us a glass of water that we may come together chearfully in the morning.

The council adjourned.

4th January 1780.

The Chiefs of all the different nations present assembled at the governor's room, and

Lewintot rose and spoke as follows.

Brothers!

We are very happy to meet you here this morning as the Great Spirit has appointed it for us. We told you yesterday that we would meet you this day, and we have accordingly done so; we must give him thanks for it.

Brothers. You will recollect what you said to us a few days ago - you told us that we had settled every thing that had happened at our Fire up the river; and after we had made a new fire we then entered upon the business of the Line, that was made at the Treaty at Fort Mc. Intosh - you told us to consider well upon that treaty.

Brothers! As to what you said to us first, we told you that in four days we would be ready to give an answer; the reason we did not come so soon as we proposed is, that the chiefs had not all arrived and that was the cause of delaying this business.

Brothers! - You told us when we assembled the second time, that we should consider well of what was done at the treaty at Fort McIntosh as it was of great consequence to us all. You said, I request of all you Indians, that are here at this Council fire to take it into your serious consideration.

Brothers, The United States! Listen well to what we shall say to you. Some time ago there was a speech sent to you, requesting that you would hear us once more — That it was the desire of all nations of Indians to have another Council fire kindled; and you have complied with our request. As the Great Spirit has allowed you to agree with us, it is he alone that has shewn you the right way to go about this business. You will recollect, that before we sent our message you wanted to kindle a fire for us; and it could not take place as we had not, at that time agreed with other nations.

Brothers! You have told us to consider well what was done at Fort McIntosh. It is now almost three years that we have always been considering of it; and we can not understand how you came to get this land from our father, as none of us knows any thing about it — We cannot find out when it was that we should have given our Land to our father — but as you requested us to consider well we have accordingly done so.

Brothers! We wish to acquaint you, that there was but two nations appointed by us, chiefs, which were the Wyandots and Delawares, to go and hear what our brothers had to say there; as brother nations that happened to fall in with these two nations they were not sent, but were out hunting at the time.

Brothers. Listen well to us. We are now come to settle all business, that was then left undone. In answer to what you say about the treaty held at Fort McIntosh, we know that every thing was settled according to your wishes. We are desirous to know how our father came by the Land, for when the Great Spirit made the Land, it was for the Indians, and not for the White people.

Brothers. We are very sorry, that you did not make inquiry amongst us Indians, before you entered into that business, to know whether we had given the right of the Land to our father, as you very well know, that this country did belong to us, Indians; if you had done this at first, all this trouble would have been avoided and much to our satisfaction.

Brothers Listen well to us Indians, that are assembled here this day. You must not think that what we say is from us only that are here — it is from all the nations upon this Island — as you have kindled this fire for that purpose. You requested us to consider well what passed at Fort McIntosh — we now wish to let you know, we are a people that cannot read or write; but we will explain it to you by rivers — Here is the Muskingum mouth; thence up the same to Tuscorawas; and thence across to the carrying place coming to the heads of the Cayahoga; down that river 'till it empties into Lake Erie: here is the Ohio, up the same 'till it comes to the Forks; up Allegany

-ny river to French Creek; up that to Lake Erie; thence along the Lake to the mouth of Cayahoga. Now brothers here is a large Tract of Land, which we give you gratis, for you to plant corn in, or whatever use you please to make of it. What we give to you was our property, which you are well acquainted with; The Great Spirit gave it to us Indians and we have a right to do with it as we please. You know this to be all true.

A belt of wampums.

Brothers. Listen to us Indians that are here assembled. You desired us to consider what was done at Fort McIntosh, and we have done so; it was fixed by the Great Spirit, that we should do what we have done; it is him we put our dependence upon, and it is his wish, that we should be in peace and friendship. We hope you will take the business into serious consideration, as we have before mentioned.

Brothers. I hope you will take into consideration, as we have already desired you, concerning the lines we have mentioned — we told you we could not read or write, and this is our reason for taking this river as a token for the division between us Indians and you, and down the Ohio to its mouth. We think that this should be so — and that this is the boundary of the White people and no farther. You have marked our line, but it is very small. Be strong brothers, and consider what we have said to you just now, if you wish to live in peace with us.

Brothers! We have now explained to you in full our sentiments, we hope that you will think seriously of it, and not do contrary to it as we wish to live in peace and friendship with you — these are our reasons for telling you to be strong and consider well our situation; you must know that we cannot live in peace if you do not think seriously of it. Consider how the generations, that are to come will praise us if we do this work completely, and see that we thought of them as well as ourselves; and if we can agree peace and friendship will take place between us.

A belt.

Brothers! This is a day that the Great Spirit appointed for us to speak, and give our sentiments to you. We wish not to deceive him, as we promised that we would be ruled by him alone, and you likewise did the same: As it is our desires to have peace and friendship with you as long as the world shall stand; if we do otherwise we should go contrary to his will. Be strong brothers and consider well what we are about: It will be for the benefit of our women and children at present, as well as for those who are to come, if we can complete this business according to our wishes. The Great Spirit hears what we now say, and you must consider that he will be much offended at us if we disagree.

A string of white wampum.

Brothers! You told us the other day in Council, that we should be under the necessity of leaving a few of our people here as hostages, until we should bring

your flesh and blood that are amongst us: You told u
if you would do this you would let loose our people
who are now tied and suffering: this is easily complie
with it shall not put an hindrance to our good work
we have considered of it and will do it. You will
let us know your opinion upon what we have said
to you just now.

Brothers! We have now finished all we had to say to y
we are very happy that you have listened to us; an
shall give thanks to the great spirit that nothing amiss has happened to us since we have been here, and
we now deliver our prayers to God, that it may alwa
be the case. You have now heard the Sentiments of u
Indians. It is me alone that has been warmed i
the fire, we know that you can make people warm without fire; I hope you will warm all those that set roun

The Governor replied.

Brothers!

I have listened attentively to all you have
said. The proposal you have made is precisely the
Same, which was sent forward by Brant, which I have
already replied to at large. You are also under a mistake about the Lands you offer to give — but at present I will say no more about it — to morrow you
shall have a particular answer to every thing y
have said now.

The fire covered up, and adjourned.

5th January.

The Governor not able to attend Council

In

## In Council —— 6th January, 1789.

The Governor's speech to the Wyandots, Delawares, and other nations present.

Brothers!

I am glad to see you all assembled here this morning, and I return thanks to God Almighty, that I am now able to meet you.

Brothers! In answer to what you said to me two days ago, I have to observe to you, that I did not expect to have heard that proposal of giving certain Lands to the United States gratis renewed; as I had given so full an answer to it, when it was sent forward from Licking creek, and told you expressly, that it could not be admitted: Truly, if this is what we have been waiting for our time has been spent to very little purpose.

Brothers! You say I have desired you to think well of what was done at Fort Mc. Intosh, and that you have been considering of it, but cannot understand how we came to get this Land from the King of England, as none of you know any thing about it, nor when it was that your Lands were given to him.

Brothers! I did desire you to consider well of what was done at Fort Mc. Intosh, because it was there, that a boundary was first established, between the Wyandots Delawares, and other western Nations and the United States. All the boundaries that were made between the Indian nations and the people in America before that, were made with the King of England, whose subjects they then were. The treaties were called by his orders, and held by his officers: If you were cheated at them, as you insinuate, it was by them, you were cheated, not by the American people, who were not allowed to have any thing to do with Indian affairs at all.

Brothers! A few days ago I shewed you the Treaty with the King of England, by which the country was given up to the United States; I shewed you a map publish-ed in England, ſince that Treaty, by the King's own map-maker, where the Lines are all marked agreeably to the Treaty; and in the answer I sent to your meſsage from Licking Creek, I endeavored to explain to you how he had a right to do as he did with your Lands; you say you cannot understand it — I will endeavor to explain it to you in another manner.

Suppose that a war was likely to happen between the Wyandots and ſome other great Nation and the Shawanese could be of much use to either party: but the Wyandots trusting to the goodneſs of their cause, and their own bravery, are unwilling to involve any body else in their quarrel; they send to the Shawanese to tell them what is likely to happen, and that it may per-haps go hard with them, yet they do not ask them (the Shawanese) to assist them, because, should that other nation get the better, the Shawanese who have nothing to do with the quarrel, would certainly be destroyed. The Shawanese ſolemnly promise to ſit still, and help neither party; but for all that they join that other nation. The war goes on a long time with various

ſucceſs.

pass; but at last the Wyandots get the better, and that other nation sues for peace, and offer as a condition all the Lands of their confederates, the Shawanese - and a peace is accordingly made. Do you not think the Wyandots have got a very good right to that Land? It is true, the Shawanese are still in possession, and may refuse to give it up; but as the Wyandots are now at peace with all the world, there will be very little difficulty in drawing them off from it tho' it may cost them some men.

In that situation, the Wyandots send to the Shawanese, and tell them, they have made peace with that other nation, who have not only left them (the Shawanese) to shift for themselves, but have given them their country — But that unwilling to add to their misfortunes, they may have peace upon surrendering a part of their country to make amends for the injuries they did them by joining their enemies. Do you not think the Wyandots, would in this case be very kind and generous to the Shawanese; and that the boundary agreed to between them, on that condition, ought to stand; and the Shawanese would act very unjustly, and ungratefully, if they should come, some years afterwards, and say, they were dissatisfied with it, and that, that other nation had no right to give away their Lands? Yes, I know you would think so and would laugh at them. Just so it was the British and You, my brothers — Contrary to your solemn engagements you joined them in the war against us, and did us much harm — after a long struggle we got the better, they asked for peace; and your Lands were given up as part of the price. The United States would have been justified to all the world to have march'd their armies into your country, and punished you in an examplary manner. But they chose to give an example of clemency. They considered that the war had spread misery enough over many countries, and were desirous to prevent its spreading wider — they offered you peace upon condition of surrendering a part of your country. You accepted it upon that condition and a boundary was established between them and you: at the Oneida carrying place, Fort McIntosh and the Miami river. It was for these reasons I desired you to consider well upon what was done at these treaties — If there ever were agreements that should be binding upon mankind they were these; for the United States not only buried the remembrance of past injuries, but made a generous division of the ceded country with you, and made you very valuable presents of goods besides: Indeed as they allowed you to hunt the country they took nothing from you that was of any use to you. Their conduct was most generous and you thought so then. If you had not listened to evil councellors you would never have thought otherwise — They deceived you before, and they are deceiving you now.

Brothers! You make frequent appeals to Great spirit, and these were not less frequently made at at Fort McIntosh — Do you suppose that the transactions there are unknown to him; or that the solemn declarations of your sincerity are forgotten by him? Be not deceived, God is not mocked — he is the searcher of hearts and abhors the lying lips.

Brothers! You say, there were but two nations appointed to go to Fort McIntosh, the Delawares and the Wyandots, and that the others fell in by accident. Brothers how are we to know who comes by accident or who by appointment? If you admit them into council and speak in their names, must we not conclude that they are all by appointment? Besides the Wyandots and Delawares, there were at Fort McIntosh, Munsees, Chippewas, Ottawas and Shawanese, and the Half King declared he spoke in the name of all the nations present.

Brothers. The United States neither ask nor will receive Lands of the Indian Nations gratis When they want Lands, and the Nations are willing to sell, they will buy from them at an agreed price — They scorn equally to tell ~~them~~ falsehoods or to cheat them. — But you are mistaken even about the land you offer. From the mouth of Little Beaver Creek up to the Lake, and from thence east to the Line of New York, and then South to the Ohio (which comes to the mouth or near it, of the Connowango) and so down to Little Beaver Creek, was sold to Onas (the State of Pennsylvania) at Fort McIntosh, and paid for by him, part at the time;

time: which you, yourselves received: and the rest was delivered the next Summer at the mouth of the Tioga, as Captain Cagern, there setting, well knows.

Brothers. I have repeatedly told you it is the wish of the United States, to live in peace with all the world — I have told you likewise, that if you will have war, you may have war. But, that you may be convinced I am in earnest in my desires for peace; if you will renew and confirm the boundary established at Fort McIntosh, an article shall be inserted in the Treaty confirming to you the right to hunt in it, which was before agreed between the Commissioners and you, but not made an article of: and as a further consideration, I will add a quantity of Goods the value of which shall be agreed upon between us. We have now spent a great deal of time about this affair; I shall expect your answer to morrow, and will have the writings prepared.

Council adjourned to meet next day.

In Council ——— 7th January.

Shandutta rose and addressed the Governor as follows.

Brothers!

Listen to what us Indians, that are assembled say to you this day, which the Great Spirit above has appointed for us, we have passed this day with great pleasure.

Brothers. We had a meeting here yesterday when you explained your sentiments to us Indians, and we are now aſsembled to give you our answer.

Brothers. I shall now ſpeak in answer to what you said to us yesterday. I shall not explain all that you said yesterday as it is out of my power to explain the whole: There are only six nations from our quarter, that are aſsembled here, and they are all that have to answer you at present.

Brothers! I now know the contents of all the business we are upon concerning the Lands, and it has entered to the bottom of my heart.

Brothers! The comparison you made with respect to the War, the Wyandots had with another powerful nation, was a true one, for it was once really the case.

Brothers! It is very true that the Land was once in poſseſsion of us Wyandots, and there were ſeveral other that at that time had no Lands, and we gave them Land to ſet down upon.

Brothers! The comparison you made yesterday is all very right, and you are well acquainted with it, therefore we hope you will take pity upon us Indians, and follow the ſame rule.

Brothers! We should be very happy if you could remove a little upon this side of the Line, and lend us a ſmall portion of Land more as you know that we Indians, are a poor helpleſs ſet of people.

Brothers. You mentioned to us yesterday that if we wish to have war, we shall have it — but that is far from our wish: we do not desire any thing of that kind in this world, as it is much against the will of our God; we are sorry you mentioned it as we came here for peace; and to establish friendship with you.

Brothers! We do not wish to speak of war with you as we did not come here to make it with you — we came here only to ſettle all complaints that were made concerning the Lands; and we hope this affair is now finished. Believe me brother I shall never come again as long as the world stands to renew this busineſs.

Brothers! I told you just now that I would never return again upon the ſame busineſs we are now about; I hope that you will comply with our request of removing your line a little way; You likewise told us that you would put the agreement for our hunting in your articles; I hope you will do so; that our young men may hunt with safety.

A string of black & white wampum.

Brothers! We have a few words more to speak with you that is, us Wyandots, Delawares and the rest of our brothers, which now contains ſeven different Nations including the Six nations, we hope now the busineſs is completed, and peace will ensue; we wish to speak a few words with you concerning trade.

Brothers! You have promised to us Indians, that if the good busineſs could be finished in a proper manner according to your wishes, you would assist us to get Goods cheaper than what they are, and if you do this your brothers will thank you very kindly for it.

Brothers! It is this we would wish you to do. Your people in general are very fond of racoons — we would be very happy if you would take two racoons for one buck. Another thing I have to mention to you — it is the common custom to take a buckskin for a buck; but there is one evil attends it, that is, if the buck skin has not ears to it, they will not take it for a buck: We suppose from this, that the ears are of great value.

A string of white wampum.

This is all we Indians have to say to you.

[he sat down and rose up again].

There are two things I forgot to mention, which are, that a bearskin, should be equal to two bucks, and I would wish, that a blacksmith should established here to repair our rifles and tomahawks gratis.

8th and 9th January.

Employed in preparing the Treaties.

10th January

Got thro' the signing with the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pattiwatimas and Sacs in part.

11th January.

Finished the signing with them and the Six Nations and exchanged the papers — The Six nations gave up two prisoners, three whom the Wyandots had mentioned.

In Council —————— 11th Januar

Cornplanter, rose after the Treaties had been signed and exchanged, and spoke as follows.

Father!

All Nations of Indians desired this Council fire to be kindled, and I would wish it may terminate well.

Father! I now tell you that what is now done at this Council fire has been done strong; we will hol it so, and keep firm to the great business.

Father! Our hands are now firmly closed with yours, whatever strikes at the one to shed blood will b felt by both: If any person has an intention to do you harm, you must tell me of it, that I may be ready to assist if any danger should appear. Whenever you have heard something of this kind, you must tell me of it, that I may be able to assist you in time.

Father! The reason that I entered into the war before was, that I was decoyed into it by the King of England; it was not my own desire; it was for want of knowing how things were; I now hope that it is over and that you will tell me whenever any thing of this kind is like to happen again.

Father! We will, if consulted, stand together with you, and be as one people, that if any thing should be about to happen with either the one or the other we may consult together and act accordingly. Do not deceive us, if you think we are like to fall tell us plainly, and then we shall know what to do.

Father! We now the Six nations acquaint you that our opinion is, we are one people, and we will live as such, and unite ourselves like children to a father.

Father! Now that we are settled in the midst of you, you will have pity on us, and if we should want clothing you will supply us.

Father! We shall see you upon our Lands, and they will be planted with corn, and we will be hunting about for Deer; we also shall plant corn, and we shall want our hoes and other articles mended, and for that purpose we shall want a blacksmith to settle amongst us, upon the Land that we have now agreed to live with our brothers upon.

Father! You will remember that a few days ago we gave you the Belt of Friendship, and desired you to hold it fast; we now remind you of what we said then, and hope that it will not be forgotten by either of us. We then told you we would speak no more to you upon Wampums.

Father! This is all we have to say to you.

He then addressed himself to the Indians.

Brothers, the Indians here present!

There is a practice among you of buying and selling prisoners; this is a thing that was never known among the Indian nations before. We have now made peace, and are become one people with the Americans; how can we expect the peace will last, if we buy and sell one another like beasts? Brothers this practice must be done away – the Six nations were never guilty of it.

String of white wampum – to the Wyandots &c –

The Governor's ſpeech to the Chiefs, after the treaties were ſigned and exchanged.

Brothers!

We have now settled all our buſineſs except what regards the hostages, and it is now so late in the evening we will defer that until to morrow, when you will meet me at my quarters and finish it. I hope every cause of uneasineſs is removed from your minds. We have renewed the peace and friendship that was entered into at Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh, and these Belts, one of which I give to the Six nations, and the other to the Wyandots for them and other nations, will ſerve to keep you in mind of every thing that has been done here, and what was formerly ſaid upon the Great Peace Belts you received at these places. One copy of the Treaty you will keep, that you may have it always at hand to refer to whenever it is neceſsary; the other I will send on to Congreſs to be there preserved. I fervently pray God, that the peace we have eſtablished may be perpetual — that he will be pleased to bleſs the good work we have been about and to extend to your nations the glorious light of the Gospel of peace, and the bleſsings of civilization, that they may encrease and proſper; that he will grant us to live in unity like brothers; and that our children may grow up and flourish like the young trees, and there may be none to make them afraid. As I shall not meet you again in council, I will now take my leave; intending to return to the Grand Council of the United States as ſoon as poſsible, where I ſhall make a favorable report of your temper and disposition. To morrow, or the day after as you chuse, the Goods ſhall be delivered.

Brothers! I have also to inform you that the United States have given to the Moravian Indians, the towns upon the Muskingum, where they formerly resided, with the Lands lying about them, which I ſhall order to be laid out for them as ſoon as the ſeason will permit; and I should be glad that ſome of your people would attend the ſurveyors.

Brothers! One matter more I have to observe to you; There are ſeveral of the nations to the westward who are continually doing mischief to our people in the country below — hitherto the injuries that have been done, have been resented by the people themselves; but the United States will not set still and see their people murdered — and if their force is drawn out against those nations, which it certainly will be if they persist in their evil practices, they must fall! But this is not all, the sparks will fly about and may hurt you; for, when the White people follow Indians, who have struck them, they may fall in with others in the woods, who had no hand in it, and they cannot distinguish; and so a war that neither of us wish for, may be brought on; it therefore behoves you to use your best endeavours to oblige those people to be at peace.

Brothers! A mistake that was made, in sending to me a quantity of black wampum instead of white has prevented me from having new belts made up upon this occasion. Those that I have now given to you, will keep every thing in your minds until I can get the proper ones made — and early in the Spring I will send them forward, to the Wyandots, for all the Nations.

Brothers.

I bid you farewell!

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Return of Indians of the Western Nations present at the Treaty at Fort Harmar.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wyandots. | Ninety eight. | 98. |
| Delawares. | Two hundred & fifteen | 215. |
| Ottawas. | Ten. | 10. |
| Chippewas | Thirty. | 30. |
| Pattewatimas | Nineteen | 19. |
| Sacs | Seven. | 7 |
| Shawanese. | One Man & three women | 4 |
| Three hundred & eighty three | Total | 383. |

The above is an exact return, as taken from their chiefs.

Fort Harmar, 11th Janry 1789.
(signed) Wm Wilson

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Return of Indians of the Six Nations present at the Treaty at Fort Harmar.

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| | |
|---|---|
| Senekas. | Two hundred and twelve. |
| Cayugas, | |
| Onondagoes, | |
| Oneidas | |
| Tuscororas. | |

The above is an exact return as taken from their chiefs

Fort Harmar, 11th Janry 1789.
(signed) Joseph Nicholas

The foregoing Minutes of the Treaty of Fort Harmar are correctly copied from the original now remaining in the War-Office of the United States.

(Sd) Jno Stagg Junr
Chf Clk — 22d April 1793.

# G.

# Appendix to the Minutes
# of
# The Treaty of Fort Harmar
# 1789.

Containing the Letters & Meſsages to, and from,
the Indian Nations, previous to their
aſsembling at that place.

# Appendix to the Minutes of a Treaty with the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa Peotewatamie and Sac Nations of Indians, and with the Six Nations of Indians begun at Fort Harmar on the Muskingham. December 13. 1788 containing the Letters and meſsages to and from those Nations previous to their aſsembling at that place—

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To the Chiefs of all the Nations aſsembled either at the Ottawa River or at the Mouth of the Detroit—

Brothers

You must well remember with how much earnestneſs you last summer requested that Congreſs would listen to your complaints, and send some persons to meet you in council in order that the causes of them might be removed—

You know how readily Congreſs complied with your request and that I was one of the persons appointed to hear you.

You are not ignorant that the Council fire has been long kindled at the falls of Muskingham which place was chosen as the most convenient to you and to us, but chiefly with a view to your convenience— The appointed time has paſsed more than three Months and I have been waiting with impatience all that time to hear of your arrival there but as yet I know not whether you mean to come or not.

You have Detained the meſsengers sent to you and have sent none to us in return, so that we know nothing of your Minds. Whether you are desirous of peace as you profeſsed yourselves to be when you applied for the Treaty— or whether you intend to go to war, as many circumstances would lead us to believe,— or whether you mean to make a Jest of us.

Judge now for yourselves - Would you be pleased with such conduct in any Nation whatever? You would not be pleased - Neither can you expect that the United States should be pleased with it in you.

But this is not all - It is not the disrespect which you have shown which occasions this meſsage but actual and unprovoked hostility - The Citizens of the United States have been plundered and made prisoners and killed upon the Ohio River peaceably following in the confidence of treaties, their lawful busineſs - The Flag of the United States has been fired upon, and what is perfidious beyond comparison when a small party of Soldiers were sent to watch the Council fire kindled at your request to build a Council House to meet in - and to take care of the provisions sent there to feed you - You have fallen upon them and killed them - Anſwer me should these things be! In the name of the United States I request an immediate explanation of these transactions and demand satisfaction and the restitution of all the prisoners Until these are made as there can be no confidence, it is impoſsible we should meet one another in Council.

I had indeed hoped to accomplish a great and good work - to have planted the tree of peace and brought all nations to have watered it with us and to have removed every cause of complaint on both sides that having sprung from the Earth we might have been as one people having the same heart and the same mind -

Once more the United States are sincerely desirous of peace; but if you will have War - why - you shall have War -

A ſtring of black and White Wampum.

The above meſsage was accompanied by the following one to the Wyandots

Brothers the Wyandots hearken to me!

A Black cloud has arisen and darkned the prospect we had of doing the great and good work – It may yet blow over – and that it may I have sent a speech to the chiefs of all the Nations now met at the Ottawa River or at the Detroit, I am not very sure at which place they are, but at which ever they be I desire you will send it there – It concerns you and us to do good, and as the Nations have chosen that our Meſsages should go through your hands, be strong – send the speech forward and aſsist to remove the Cloud that at present obstructs us.

signed Ar. St. Clair

A string of White Wampum –

Fort Harmar July 13th 1788 –

On the 30 of July the following anſwer was received from the Wyandots and Delawares at Sandusky –

Brothers the thirteen United States.

It is very hard for us – Our brother the half King is dead – for my share I cant say much as I am here alone –

Brother – I hear you want to hear something.

Brother I hear that all the Chiefs are come to Detroit of all the Nations – Brother my Uncle the Wyandots is now at the Detroit – My Brothers the Wyandots as soon as they return from the Detroit they shall go to Muskingham to the Council fire – All our Grand Children the big Chiefs and Big Captains they shall all go and none of our young men to the Council fire –

Brothers! We pay great respect to the five Nations – But we have no certain accounts from them yet – As soon as the six Nations are come we shall begin to Counsel. I am poorly now you have told me of the big Cloud – Now there is a great many of all the Nations gathered at the Detroit and we will try to remove the big Cloud that has gathered over us so that the Sun may shine clear on us

My

can know in how many days we can be at the Muskingham. Brother you wrote to me of your Messengers being detained
But as soon as the Council is over at the Detroit then we

My Brother When the Council is done at the Detroit then we will return to the Council fire at Muskingham — Your letter we sent off the 24th instant to Mr. Wilson who is at the Detroit — I have sent your letter with great Care to the Detroit so as all the Nations may know that they must hurry on to the Muskingham —

signed Capt. Pike and addressed to Ar. St. Clair Governor of the Western Side of the Ohio River

Here follows the answer of these nations from the Detroit River — dated July 19. 1788.

Brothers. We have heard what you have said to us by the Mingo Men at this day that God has appointed for us to hear from you by them — We shall let you know very soon how matters are going with us.

Brother What you have said to your Brothers the Indian Nations is very true, tis long since the arrival of your messengers at Sandusky but when you consider the great distance the different nations are from each other and how hard it is for to get them collected you will not think that we neglect to have all the Nations you mention collected as soon as possible and we hope it will not be long before we shall be able to inform you that they are all got together —

Brother — What we wish is to have as many nations as possible to this great Council for we well know how it was with ourselves last year at the Ottawa River — When the whole of the Nations were not present we could do but little business —

Brother After our meeting last fall at the Ottawa River we informed you of what we had done, and that we intended another meeting in the spring, and it is that which delays us so long in endeavouring to collect together the

Chiefs of as many Nations as poſsible by which means we hope when we all meet you we shall be able to settle matters between you and us on friendly terms —

Brothers - We hope you will have patience and dont think the time too long - Nor dont think that your Brothers the Indians are counselling among themselves for bad purposes - We are not - We are endeavouring if God will help us to remove all evil thoughts from the bad people by which means we may be able to make a laſting peace, so that our Women and Children may live and grow up in peace —

Brothers! Your Meſsengers that you sent to us are gone with our Chiefs to where our general Council is to be at the Mouth of Detroit River - The reason of our Chiefs taking them to that place is that all the different Nations when collected may see that these are the persons sent by the Thirteen States to collect the Indian Nations to your Council fire as well as that they may see how many Nations are collected and see and hear what they are doing, as also when the farther back Nations when they see these Men they will be more inclined to believe what they hear to be true and their Brother of the United States means to be at peace with their Indian Brethren of all Nations —

Brothers of the United States! We hope and you may expect that we shall do better with the present Council than that we had last year — this will be held at our old Council Fire at the Village at the Mouth of Detroit River, where our old Council fire has been long kindled.

Brother, We hope it will not be long before you shall hear from us again, as the Chiefs from different Nations are collecting daily and we hope to see them all here shortly - so soon as they are all come, we shall send one of our younger Chiefs to you who will have sense to inform you how soon you may expect to see us at your Council fire —

Brothers You may expect to see all the Chiefs from the different Nations who are well disposed or want to be at peace— this is all we can inform you at this time— You will receive with this three strings of White Wampum as a token that it is sent from the real old Council fire of the Wyandot Nation by the principal Chiefs—

Brothers— It is our duty to treat each other as Brethren— When we see each others people from either party we should use them well. We shall use any of your people as well as in our power that may come this way on any kind of busineſs and we hope you will do the same by any of our people that may go your way to see you.

A few days after the following speeches delivered by the Wyandots in their Council at the Mouth of Detroit River came to hand—

In Council at Detroit River's Mouth July 22d 1788.

Present

The Wiandots, Ottawas, Chipeways Peotewatamies and Munſeys.

Shandutto, a Wyandot Chief in behalf of his Nation the Ottawas, Chippewas Peotewatamies, and Munſeys to the Kickapoo Chiefs from the Wabash—

Young Brothers, the Kickapoos listen to your elder brothers the Wiandots &c

With these strings of Wampum— We open your Ears that you may hear what we say to you, and cleanse your Stomach that what we say may set easy on it

four Strings of White Wampum—

Brothers, We who are now speaking to you are always about and near our Father and we know well what he thinks and we likewise listen to what he says to us. This Pipe which we now present you is a good pipe— We who are here have all tried it, and our Father who lives here has also tried it – it is good – it has a long stem – which reaches all the way from hence to the Seven Nations near Montreal in Canada. We all think one thing – We now put this good pipe into your hands and hope you will think of nothing but peace as we do, that you may try how far you can make it reach up the Miami River and as far beyond your Towns – We also hope that all our young Brothers in that Country will think as we do.

A large green pipe with a long stem worked with Porcupine Quills of different Colours –

Brothers the Kickapoos listen to what we say to you –

It is a long time ago that our Father called upon us to aſsist him in War againſt our Brothers of the United States and it is also a long time since he told us he had done fighting with them and that he had made peace and desired all his Children to do the same, and to be quiet and not go to War any more or do any more harm to our Brothers of the United States, but to lay down our Tomhawks, which we accordingly did – We thought all our young Brothers had done the same – but Brothers we still think we see some of our young Brothers on the Miami River and the Wabash holding up the Tomhawks yet – We now Brothers beg they may all lay it down and think of nothing but peace as we do and our father directs us to do.

Brothers – We now hear our Brothers of the thirteen United States calling us and all other Nations to their Council Fire – This Brothers you may be certain is true – Two Men are here who have been sent to us for that purpose – there sets one of them before you We brought them here that all nations may see them and believe that their Brothers of the United States wish to be at peace with them – Brothers We beg that you and all our young Brothers will listen to what our Brothers of the United States have to say to us – It is also our Fathers advice to us – He tells us that it will be good for us alſo our Women and Children—

Brothers- We are not as other Nations are- We Wiandots are Christians and know that the great Creator of all things will be angry with us when we do bad things and will not take advice- We wish that our young Brothers in your Country woul take our advice and be at peace with our Brothers of the United States- By our young Brothers not listening to good advice is the reason that so many of their young-Men have lately fallen, and if they continue to cavil the great Work God will be yet more angry with them and many more of them must fall- If they will be at peace an listen to what their Brothers of the United States have to say to them and to the advic of their Father and Friends their Women and Children may grow up in peace and the may become a great People

A large Belt of White Wampum—

The Kickapoo Chiefs returned thanks for the good advice and for what they had heard and aſsured the others nothing should be wanting or left undone that was in their power to establish peace between all their young brothers in that Country and their brothers of the United States.

In Council at the Detroit Rivers Mouth July 23

present as yesterday—

Shandutts in behalf of the Wiandots to the other Nations.

Brothers I am glad to find that what we said to our young Brothers the Kickapoos yesterday seemed to please him and that he seems willing to take our advice- We shall now speak to him again-

Young Brothers the Kickapoos listen to your elder Brothers the Wiandots- Ottawas Chipeways Potewatemies and Munseys- Brother you told us yesterday that all the good speeches that go from our father towards your Town go under the Ground at the Miami Town, and that you found the Road to our Council fire so grown up with Bushes and Thorns that it was with difficulty you found your way here — Brothers — We now now open the Road for you to return from whence you came — We clear all the Bushes and thorns out of it so that you may not scratch your face, but that you may ſee your Way clear ~~and not~~ be in danger of any harm —

Five Strings of White Wampum —

Young Brothers Kickapoos! listen to your elder Brothers

We now deliver into your Charge the invitation of the United States to the Miamies to call them to ~~their~~ & Council fire at the Falls of Muskingham — also a large Belt to go thro your Towns to call all Indian Nations between that and the Miſsiſsippi to that Council fire — We also now take you by the hand and lead you to the Council fire of the United States — We also clear and open the Road from your Towns to that place at the Falls of Muſkingham, so that you may see the way clear and plain — This Road will lead you to the farthest of your Towns which is the way we shall go to that Council fire.

Brothers! Be strong and dont fail to go for it is good for us all to go to it and be at peace with our Brothers of the United States — You may believe the Words you have heard from them — Here ſits the two Men that is sent to invite all Nations — We brought them here to our Council fire that all Nations may see them and believe the Words they hear from them —

Five Strings black and White Wampum —

A Speech by the Chipeways from Sagana and Niagara —

Brothers Wyandots &c. We have heard with attention your speeches to our young Brothers the Kickapoos — We thank you for your good advice to them — We also think as you do. All is very right that you have said to them and we are very glad to see and hear what you have done at your Council fire — We think all is very right — I must return to Sagana to tell our Chiefs what has been done here, they sent me to see and hear what was doing – I cannot go to see our Brothers of the United States until I return from Segana – I must go home to get Clothes for I am quite Naked –

Brothers – We from Niagara have been twelve days from that place – We should have been here sooner only waiting for the six Nations – they sent to us often that they were ready to come, at last we could wait no longer for them – We expected they would come up with us on the way – We have been six days here and have no Accounts of them as yet.

A few strings of black and White Wampum for each Nation ———

Agushaway a Chief of the Ottawas.

Brothers Wyandots &c We have now finished our speeches to our young Brothers the Kickapoos – We think all you said to him is very right, it seems as if it went to his Heart – he seems to like what we said to him. You spoke the words for us all here present which is the same as if we spoke with one Mouth for we all think one thing – I think and hope – it will do our young Brother good – I well know that our Father will approve of what we have said to him when we inform him of it –

Brothers! We thank you for what you have said to our young Brothers – I hope all the Nations here present will listen to what you say and take your advice and go and listen to our Brothers of the United States that are now calling us to their Council fire – for who can say the speeches we received from them is not true – here are the two Men present who are sent with them to us – We also return you our thanks Brothers Wyandots for bringing these two Men to our Council Fire – that all Nations may see them and believe the Words which they hear from them – It will be best for us all to go and listen to our Brothers of the United States that our Women and Children may live and grow up in peace—

On the 3d of August the following meſsages were delivered to Captain Pipe the Chief of the Wolf Tribe of the Delawares in anſwer to that from him and the Wyandots on the 30th.

Brother, I have received your meſsage by George Washington, and I thank you for the Care you have taken to send mine foward to the Chiefs of the Nations that are met at the Detroit—

Brother, You say our Brothers the Wyandots will come to the Council fire at Muskingham as soon as they return from Detroit— tell them I shall be very glad to see them, not to be afraid of any thing, for my Heart is good towards them and our Brothers the Delawares and to all the Nations notwithstanding what has happened.

Brother— Your uncle the Wyandots and our Brothers the Delawares must be strong and help to push back the black Cloud that the Sun may shine out clear upon us and I will be strong too and help them in that good Work.

Brother— You must not believe what the men that ran away from us will tell you*— they were the Men that did the mischief and will tell you lies— it was because they were bad men that they were afraid and ran away— Brother the other four are well, and I will not hurt a hair of their heads till I see our Brothers.

Brother, You do well in keeping back your young Men from the Council fire— When your great Chiefs and your Warriors come, I hope the good Spirit will be among us and that we shall settle every thing to your satisfaction and to ours—

Brother the Pipe. Since the mischief was done near the falls your People seem shy— they need not be afraid, but should come and see us as they used to do for I know that the Delawares had no hand in the mischief– and we will be kind to them.

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* two of the Men that were made Prisoners at the Falls of Muskingham when the Guard was attacked made their eſcape—

Brother Let me know when the Council is over at the Detroit and send Wilson to tell me when you will be here that I may be prepared to receive you.

Brother I condole with you on the death of the half King, but I hope the good Spirit will raise up another good man in his place to guide our Brothers the Wyandots.

Your Friend

Ar. St. Clair

with some strings of black and White Wampum–

Anſwer to the Wyandots speech sent by Captain Pipe–

Brothers, The Speech you have ſent me by the Pipe gives me much satisfaction– I hope I shall soon have the pleasure to take you by the hand at the Council fire at this place and that God hath appointed it for good

Brothers It is true I have been waiting a long time to see our Brothers of all Nations– My patience however is not quite worne out, and I will wait a little longer still, for I know it is difficult for them to get together.

Brothers. I do not believe the Indians are counselling together for bad purpoſes: neither have your Brothers the United States any bad purposes towards the Indians– they wish to remove all evil thoughts and designs from every body and that we should be like Brothers and our Women and Children grow up in peace and safety.

Brothers. the reason you give for the Meſsengers staying is a good one and shews your Heart is right–

Brothers, It is true that we should treat each other like Brothers–

-it is what I desire and will do if you will do so on your part likewise and you may be sure when any of your people come this way on any busineſs they will be used well -

A string of White Wampum -

Brother the Pipe! You spoke to me yesterday about the Chipeways who are prisoners here - hear what I have to say to you

Brother. That our Brothers might have as little trouble in coming to see us as poſsible and that we might have a place to consult in by ourselves I kindled a Council fire at the falls of Muskingham - I sent there a large quantity of provision and other things for my brothers when they should come there, and sent up a few of our young Warriors to take care of them until we should all meet and build a Council house for us.

Brother. Some Ottawas and Chipeways came there and they were received as Friends and Brothers, and our young Men and they were in perfect friendship and confidence eating and drinking together without suspicion of any ill intentions - without provocation these Ottawas and Chipeways fell upon our young men suddenly and killed two of them, wounded two more and took one prisoner and no doubt designed to have killed them all - they stood on their defence and killed some of the Aſsailants

After this I could not think of letting them stay there any longer - But the Ottawas and Chipeways did not go when they had done the mischief - the young Men therefore brought them away with them to prevent them from doing more - this you allow was right -

Brother! You say the two Men that ran away from us were Ottawas, and were of those that did the mischief - We do not know but these that are here are so too - they were certainly in company with them - But because we do not know it - We do not hurt them nor will we hurt them but keep them here till the Chiefs of all the

Nations come here.

A String of black and White Wampums—

The next communication was a Speech from the Wyandots dated in Council at Detroit River August 29th 1788 of which the following is a Copy—

Brothers Meſsengers from the United States!

It is a long time since you came to this place to attend our Council fire—no doubt but you are quite tired here. therefore we now tell you to rise up and go as far as lower Sandusky where you will remain until you hear from us—again and send your young Man on to Muskingham with this meſsage.

Brothers of the United States. You tell us to send you an anſwer to your—Speeches—We now anſwer them—You tell us to be strong and help to move back the Cloud that has lately risen—We have done so—and We the Wyandots, Ottawas Chipeways and Peotewatamies see the sun shine clear on the good work we are about for it is all very good and we hope that the great Spirit above has appointed a day for you and us to meet and settle our matters. To morrow the Six Nations set out for the Rapids of the Miami River, in four days we the Wyandots Ottawas Chipeways Peotewatamies and Munseys shall follow them—We shall sit down at that place a few days to smoke our pipes after which we shall all—rise upon our feet again and go to your Council Fire at which time you shall hear from us again—

Four strings of White Wampum—

General Butler having arrived with a number of the Senecas at Muskingham the Cornplanter their Chief desired a Conference with the Commiſsioners and made an Application for the release of the prisoners at the instance of some Delawares who were at Fort Harmar. When on his acknowledging that the persons applying were not Chiefs nor could have any authority from their Nation he was told no Notice could be taken of it.

On the 10th of September He and Gaysutha another Seneca Chief made another application to the same purpose on the Senecas Cayugas Oneidas and Delawares to which the following anſwer was given.

Brothers. We have heard and considered what you have said. When you ſpoke about the Priſoners before you ſpoke for some of the Delawares and now you ſpeak in the name of four Nations the Senecas, the Cayugas the Oneidas and the Delawares— The Chiefs of all the Nations have been long in Council at the Detroit and Miami River and are yet in Council— You were told that an account of this matter had been sent to them and that nothing would or could be done about the priſoners until we got their anſwer. To oblige the Delawares one of the priſoners was given to the Pipe to take with him to the Council at Detroit— since that time we have not heard either from him or from the Council— We have now only to repeat that until we hear from thence nothing will be done, and we hope to have no further solicitation on the subject— You have seen them and know they are not ill treated.

On the 13th of September the following Copy of a speech of the Meſsengers to the Wyandots, Ottawas Chippeways and Peotewatamies at Detroit Rivers Mouth delivered on the 30th of August came to hand.

Brothers, listen to your Brothers Meſsengers from the United States.

You told us yesterday to rise up from this your Council fire and go as far as the lower Sandusky where we are to wait until we hear from you again and in the mean time to send our young men to inform Governor St. Clair that you are just ready to rise up to proceed to the Miami River where you are to smoke your pipes for a few days - Brothers. We will set out for Sandusky to morrow or next day agreeable to your request; but we think it best to send this man off immediately from this as our being so long here and not been yet able to inform our employers how soon they may expect to see the Chiefs of the different Nations at their Council fire - No doubt but they are looking and wishing much to hear that their Brothers are on their feet, and coming to see them - this will be some satisfaction for them to hear that they are on their way altho the time that you will be there is not yet fixed.

Brothers Wyandots, We are instructed by our employers to apply to our brothers the Wyandots and Delawares in the name of the United States for them to use their interest and influence with these foolish people who have been guilty of taking prisoners and doing other mischief to the people of the United States thro the course of the last Winter and Spring or ſince the last treaty, in order that all may be sent home to their relations - This Brothers we deferred mentioning until your meeting at the Ottawa River would take place, where we expected to have been present when the Delaware Chiefs and Shawaneſe and Miamies and other Nations would meet you there to counsel, so that we could mention this matter when the Delaware Chiefs were present, and perhaps some of the people who have those prisoners in poſseſsion might have been there so that they might have been spoken to at the same time in case you choose to do it.

Brothers. As you are now sending us to Sandusky which will put it out of our power to mention this matter in the presence of the Delaware Chiefs and as we cannot be accountable to our employers should we leave your Councils without mentioning this matter, therefore all we can say at present is to request you our Brother Wyandots that when you meet the Delawares Shawano and Miamies at the Miami River at the Council that we understand you are about to hold there that you will mention this matter to them in order that such of these prisoners who yet remain among the different Nations may be taken in and delivered up that they may receive theirs that are amongst us so that the bleſsing of the great spirit above may pour down on the good work you are about.

Brothers! Governor St. Clair in his last letter to us says that he wishes much to receive an anſwer to his speech directed to the different nations at this place - a considerable time past since it has been delivered here - so soon as the different nations can consider of an anſwer to it they will please to send it to us at Sandusky which we shall immediately send to the Governor.

Brothers! The season is far advanced - it will be neceſsary that you be as expeditious as poſsible in your buſineſs at the Miami River - We shall be glad when we hear that you and the different nations are proceeding on your Journey to upper Sandusky where we hope the great Spirit above will enable us to meet you before long

four Strings of White Wampum -

signed - Wm. Wilson

James Rankin Meſsengers -

Note - In this buſineſs respecting the prisoners the Meſsengers volunteered it - having recd. no inſtructions on that head that I know of

Copy of a Letter from Joseph Brant dated Upper Sandusky
October 28. 1788 -

Sir,

I -

I have received two letters from General Butler of long date, in one of which he mentions that his employment as Superintendant now centers in you, I therefore take this opportunity of mentioning that I should have answered them ere this had our business been determined; but as we were in a state of uncertainty I could not mention any thing respecting the time we would be with you — But as we have now come to a Resolution to send forward Captain David and some of our principal Men, who will be able to inform you of our full determination and the time you may expect the rest of us, tho we have far exceeded the time we expected to have met you, as the distant nations could not be got together so early as imagined, but as there are now numbers from each nation what will now be done will be abided to, as those Councils held with General Butler was but by a few individuals, without the consent of the whole of the Nations and of course we could pay no attention to any thing that was done at any of the meetings hitherto — notwithstanding the season being so far advanced still we are resolved to go on and try to accomplish as far as we consistently can the good work of establishing a permanent peace and expect to find you of the same good disposition we are and hope you have considered the purport of the speech we sent two years ago from the Huron Village as the Nations are fully determined to abide to the Contents of it — I must beg leave to recommend my Friend Captain David and my Son who accompanies him, and hope altho times are changed, that we will be treated in the same manner civilized Nations would be — After they have communicated their business to you they are to return and join us.

I am Sir &c

Governor St. Clair

signed. Jos: Brant

On the 9th of November I returned the following answer —

Sir

I have received your letter from Upper Sandusky of the 28 Ult.o by Captain David Hill and have been pleased with seeing him and your Son with the Chiefs who are with them as the fore runners of the Indian Nations —

To lend a helping hand to the establishing a firm and lasting peace with the Indian Nations will be peculiarly satisfactory to me: to guard that peace and to prevent every species of injury from being done to the Indians, and to punish them should they happen to be done is one object of the Government which Congreſs have thought proper to erect in this Country and over which they have appointed me to preside; and in doing these while I comply with their intentions I shall gratify my own inclina: tions which have ever been friendly towards the Indians as many of them have heretofore known.

The matters of busineſs mentioned in your letter you do not I presume — expect should be replied to in that way; But I do not perfectly understand what you mean by "times being changed" and am sorry you should harbour a doubt of your people being treated in a manner different from the usages of civilized Nations Nothing could more certainly expose me to the censure of Congreſs than an attempt to deviate from those usages or to suffer a deviation from them in others.

I am &c.

Capt. Jos. Brant

Ar. St Clair

On the 8. of Novem.r Captain David Hill with the Son of Joseph Brant with a few Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations and of the Chipeways Delawares and Wyandots arrived and were introduced — after delivering the above letter from Capt Brant of the 28th of October they gave information that they were charged with a

Meſsage from the Nations that were met at the Miami River but as it was too late then they would deliver it at any other time that might be thought proper Assuring that they had little time to lose as they would be expected at the Falls of Muskingham in four days where they were to be met by their peoples and Deputies from the Western Nations and the Shawanese — the next day was appointed to receive their meſsage and about ten oClock Captain David opened the buſineſs by observing that the Nations had been long in Council at the Ottawa River the Ottawa and Miami are the same and the chiefs had at last concluded what was proper for them to do and that he with the Chiefs and Warriors who were there present were come to give us information about it — He produced a string of black and White Wampum and spoke as follows.

Brothers

The great distance at which some of our Nations live and the time it neceſsarily took them to travel to the Miami have occasioned our being delayed so long at that place — We know it has delayed you greatly likewise and that you have been waiting for us a long time but as it could not be helped we hope you will think nothing of it

Brothers

The Americans who came to Buffalo Creek to buy Lands of the six Nations detained them there two Months — The six Nations were ready to come to the Council fire that had been kindled here but every two or three days meſsages came to them that they must go to this place but stay where they were and listen to them —

Brothers

Two Years ago there was a great meeting at the Wyandot Towns and it was then agreed to desire a meeting with the thirteen fires — It was then proposed by us and agreed to by them, that we should all meet at some central place which might be convenient to all and where there might be none to make us afraid, that we might commune together like Brothers and the fire might burn bright while we sat round it —

Brothers:

The Nations have now taken their resolutions and are determined to have peace with you if it be poſsible — there are none but real Chiefs coming to this Council and a few Warriors and few young Men to hunt for them, and take care of the Council fire — they are now coming to counsel with you who are Natives of this land as well as themselves —

Brothers

We request that you will rise up and meet us at the place where the Council was first appointed in the spring —

Brothers

It is a long time that you have been endeavouring to have a firm peace with us — We now wish the same and have been taking much pains to bring it about — The reason that it has taken so long to bring it to bear is that we have had little Councils with you at different times and places which we found would not do — therefore we have had one general Council among ourselves that what was done by one Nation might be done by all.

Brothers

There were many things done at the little Councils which were not right — At this great Council we are to decide about lands, and what we do will be conclusive and final — the String of Wampum delivered.

Captain David in his own person.

Brothers

I wish you to know what we are willing to do, for you must be made acquainted with it – We are willing that you should have all the lands from the Mouth of the Muskingham up with the Waters which run in to it – but I do not know how far up – When we meet at the falls you will be informed – note this was so ill interpreted that scarce any thing could be understood by it.

Brothers

This is all I have to say to you, only that all the Nations request you will go to the Falls of Muskingham and meet them there and assure you have nothing to fear –

Brothers! Fear nothing – What Men and Warriors and Counsellors have said may be depended on and they have given their Words – If we should not agree and make peace we will take one another by the hand and part like friends for this time – Brothers It is not pride that makes the Nations ask for the meeting at the falls it is only desired as a favor that it may be there.

Brothers

You may say it will be difficult to take provisions there now, but we do not want much provisions – five days will do the business – take enough for that time – and if should require more time take some powder and lead and we have young men enough to hunt for us.

On the 10th of November the following answer was returned

To Captain David.

Brother,

I am glad to see you at this place, and pleased that the Nations have desired to speak with the United States and have sent you, and the Chiefs and young Men who are with you, forward to give information that they are on their way – I now give you an anſwer to the speech delivered me yesterday from them which I desire you to take charge of as you are to return to meet them. –

Brothers The Six Nations and all the others who were lately aſsembled at the Miami River.

I have received your speech by Captain David and it gives me much satisfaction to hear that you are coming this Way –.

It is true Brothers that I have been waiting a very long time in hopes to see you until my patience was very near worn out – so very near it that if two days more had paſsed without news of you I should have gone home for I thought you must have forgotten that the meeting was appointed at your own request which you made two Years ago after your meeting at the Wyandot Towns – the delay you have accounted for and we will think no more of it – But the People who detained the Six Nations two Months had nothing to do with them on account of the United States – It was a Buſineſs between the Six Nations and them as Individuals.

Brothers

I am glad that the Nations in their Councils have come to some conclusions and wish for peace – The United States made peace with them all long ago, and hoped it would have been a lasting one – But some of them have paid little regard to it

Brothers

The United States love peace and wish for it with all men – But they do not fear War! You say the United States have been long endeavouring to have a firm peace established with all the Indian Nations – that you now wish the same and have been taking much pains about it – The fault will not lay with the

United States, if your endeavours fail of succeſs - they are in earnest and sincere - if you are so too it will soon be settled.

Brothers

You desire us to rise up and meet you at the Falls of Muskingham where the Council was first appointed to be held - that place was indeed chosen by the United States as convenient to you and not very inconvenient to them - the fire was kindled there - it was extinguished, and cannot be lighted at the place again - there is not a single spark left alive.

Brothers

It is not now a proper time to say any thing about how that happened - nor about Lands - nor former Councils: Whatever propositions you have to make I will receive at this place - and here you may come in perfect safety and return to your homes in like safety if we should not agree - the United States do not violate the Laws of Nations -

A String of black and White Wampum -

Mr. Wilson will accompany your Meſsengers and return immediately with ~~any~~ any answer you may think proper to send.

signed in behalf of the United States

Ar. St. Clair.

By Mr. Wilson the Meſsenger who had been sent to inform the Nations of time and place proposed for the Treaty, who returned with Captain David the following meſsage was received from the Wyandots dated - Upper Sandusky - October 28. 1788.

Brothers Commiſsioners of the United States

We promised some time ago in a Meſsage we sent you that so soon as we had finished our Councils we would inform you of it - We now send by our friend

Wilson to inform you that we have finished all our Councils, and are now got up to our feet and moving towards you – You may expect to see at least two principal Chiefs from each Nation that attended our Councils.

Brothers Dont think that we are coming to War against you – We are not We shall leave all our Warriors behind except a few to hunt for the Chiefs

A few Strings of White Wampum

to which the following reply was sent by David –

Brothers the Wyandots

I have received your message of the 28th by Mr Wilson – I thank you Brothers for your attention to give me notice when your Councils were over at the Miami and am glad that you are now on your way here, where I hope soon to see you and take you by the hand, and where it may please the great Spirit to enable us to finish the good work of a general peace.

Brothers. I do not suspect that you are coming with peace in your Mouths and War in your hearts – never was it known that the Wyandots spoke with two tongues – they love the truth – your leaving your Warriors behind is a proof that your hearts are right.

Brothers – You may come here in perfect safety and at your pleasure –

signed Ar St Clair

Novemr 10. 1788 –

On the 27 of November the following letter from Captain Brant with a speech signed by a number of the Six Nations came to hand –

Novemr 19. 1788.

Sir

Yours I received and must beg leave to mention that for my own part, I never entertained the least doubt of receiving any usage but what was highly polite from those in power, but as I know there is a number of lawleſs people in your Country who pay no attention to orders and who have before insulted our people without cause at some of their meetings this is what I alluded to by times being changed

We have agreeable to what you mention sent our proposals by Mr. Wilson I should have been happy to have gone down myself, but it was opposed by the whole of the Chiefs — I therefore have to request that you will dispatch our Meſsenger as soon as you poſsibly can unleſs you think proper to meet us in person, as be aſsured it would be highly satisfactory to us to have a personal interview with you; If we should happen not to agree you need not be under the least apprehension of being used otherwise than becoming the character of a Gentleman — If you should not come up yourself Mr. Wilson is as proper a person as you could **send** if you intend to give us an answer and your reasons as we look upon it to be an important buſineſs and not only that but he is able to explain to us what you may say.

I must beg you to mention to General Butler that I am sorry that I cannot have the pleasure of seeing him as I wished, and to all the Officers of the Garrison whose politeneſs and attention to my Son and my friend demand my most grateful thanks, and shall be happy if any of you should chance ever to come our way to shew you we are suſceptible of gratitude —

Governr. St. Clair. signed — Jos Brant

The Speech

November 18. 1788.

Brother

We have received your anſwer to the meſsage we sent from Upper Sandusky by Capt. David. and are sorry that you cannot comply with what we requested respecting your meeting us at the falls of Muskingham which you acknowledged was the place appointed for our meeting to be held at - that you should from the misconduct of a few individuals who live at a great distance and who you intimate was the cause of the Council fire being extinguished after you had lighted it at the appointed place - those people who were of the Chipeway Nation and but little concerned in endeavoring to bring about a Union with you that from their improper conduct you should refuse to attend us, who after striving for these several years past to bring the whole of the Nations into one way of thinking - which was for us to take every reasonable means towards making a lasting peace with the United States but as you say the fire is totally extinguished, that there is not even one Spark left alive, and that it is impoſsible for you to attend us at the appointed place -

Brother

As we now think we have done every thing that lies in our power towards coming to some terms and having a personal explanation when things might be more fully understood by both sides, but as that seemingly cannot be from your not wishing to rise and meet us as we are always willing and it is our particular wish to abide to any agreements which we make and we now repeat that we are still ready to meet you at the place that was first appointed.

Brother - You also mention that if we have any proposals to make that you send Mr Wilson who will receive them and return to you in consequence of which, as we cannot think of going farther at this time unleſs the proposal we send is agreed to, we therefore now give you our full and last determination, it being what was agreed upon by the whole of the Nations that were lately aſsembled at the Miami River, and for the true performance of which the five Nations and Wyandots will be guarantees as all agreements now made is by and with the consent of the whole of the Nations and differs very widely indeed from what was done at those petty Councils held by General

Butler, as we may say with but a few Individuals, without the knowledge of the whole of us and which cannot be abided to, as the demands made of our Country was so unreasonable that it could never be expected that it could poſsibly meet with the concurrence of all of us.

Brother As it is our wish to live in peace with all men and to put an end to any further uneasineſs on any side, as we wish to convince the World that it is far from our desire to enter into a War without the greatest reason indeed as the great Spirit above has been pleased to place us in this Country and which until the late unhappy war between Great Britain and America we enjoyed peaceably - As we look upon ourſelves to be Maſters and only true Proprietors of this Country. We to avoid any farther trouble propose to give you all the lands on the East Side of Muskingham river running along said River to the old Fort built at Tuscarawas in 1764 thence along said River to the South end of the Portage that leads to Cayahoga from said South end of the Portage in a strait and direct line to the old fort at the Mouth of Venango and thence down the Ohio to that of said Muskingham - All the lands comprehended within said Boundaries we do propose to give to the United States without the least wish or expectation of receiving any thing as a compensation for the same.

Brother

We have now pointed out the lands proposed by the Nations lately aſsembled at the Miami River, to give you in case of our forming a peace, beyond which boundary we cannot exceed, nor no other Nation without the Consent of the whole - if any should it will be no more attended to than what has been done by Genl. Butler.

Brother As the season is far advanced we must request your anſwer as ſoon as poſsible, and in case of non compliance, your reasons, as we then probably may be better informed and see farther into matters - Against our Meſsengers return the rest of the Nations will be come up, and then if our proposal is agreed to we will go in a body and ratify them

signed.. Jacob, Ayonghwagtha.
Jo.^s Brant. Tikanawelagh
David Hill Karonghyonty.
Thomas... Shatennowanas
Ojagegthe
Shohereſa
Tekaragho.
Kahahearat
Olstenragough
Tekasharanegeah
Gonghsaniyonte
Oghniokirenton
Shagoyeghwatha
Aaron.... Mamighgamogh
Paghures
Wasahelawate
Sawagham
Sharongawanem
Kasheghstoghane
Kayendakyeagh
Oncreraghere
Tsyohakwente
Kayawayenton.

Note. tho they propose that the Wyandots shall guarantee the agreements that may be entered into not one of that Nation subscribe the proposals and in fact there was but one of them present, who refused to subscribe.

To these proposals the following anſwer was returned by Mr. Wilson with directions to put it into the hands of the Wyandots.

Brothers. the five Nations. the Senecas, the Wyandots. Delawares Ottawas. Chipeways and all the other Nations lately aſsembled at the Miami River

I received a meſsage from the five Nations dated the 18th of this Month— wherein they again request me to rise up and meet you at the falls of— Muskingham. I had before informed them that request could not be complied with— The United States had kindled the Council fire at that place. it had been extinguished and it comports not with their dignity to kindle it there again.

Brothers. You mention that I had sent Mr. Wilson to receive any proposals you might have to make and to return with them to me— in that— Brothers you have mistaken me very much. I told you that if you had proposals to make I would receive them here and had sent Mr. Wilson to bring me word whether you intended to come for that purpose or not— If you intended to come here for that purpose, then tho I had wasted a shameful deal of time already, I would wait for you— If you did not intend to come I had other measures to take—

Brothers. You say that what will be now agreed to will be widely different indeed from any thing that was done at the petty Councils as— you called them held by General Butler, because it will be done by and with the consent of all the Nations and the five Nations and the Wyandots will be guarantees— I told you before that is neither the proper time or— manner to diſcuſs questions of such magnitude— personal conference is absolutely neceſsary to it: But if an engagement which the five Nations and the Wyandots entered into some time ago is not binding upon them, because they may have since entered into a Confederacy with the Delawares and Shawanese, for example, and the act of one is to be the act of all I do not see how the engagements that may be entered into by all the Nations lately assembled at the Miami River is to become more binding upon them – Let them may add one Nation more to the list of confederates and these are still many nations that may be added, and all that has passed before must go for nothing however publickly and solemnly transacted – It was done without the consent of the whole, at a petty Council, and cannot be abided by.

Brothers

Those Councils held by General Butler and others on the part of the United States which you have thought proper to call petty, were fair open solemn transactions – known to all who had any thing to do with them and at which all might have attended – Your present confederacy indeed could know nothing of them because it did not exist – The meetings were called and held in the manner usual with you – Chiefs of the Nations interested attended at them; and if all did not attend it was their own fault – the business was public and notorious –

Brothers

At the treaty at Fort Stanwix the following Chiefs were present and signed that Treaty (here followed the names of all the subscribers classed according to their Nations and the like list for those at Fort Mc Intosh and the Miami) Were not those persons Chiefs of their respective Nations and do you not know them to have been so? Is not the Pipe a Chief among the Delawares.

Brothers:

You suggest another reason why your former engagements should not be paid any regard to — You say the demands of Country then made were so unreasonable that it could not be expected they would meet with general concurrence and that you are the Masters and true proprietors of the Soil, and have enjoyed it peaceably until the late War between Great-Britain and America — What now Brothers if I should shew you that the demands made upon you so far from being unreasonable were moderate and gentle and that altho you have been Sovereigns of the Soil, you had lost your Sovereignty, or rather you had given it away — But this will oblige me to go a good way back.

Brothers

Some of you must remember that when the French were in poſseſsion of Canada and Louisiana they and the English were always striving who should most attach the Indians to their Interests — that many of the Nations became closely bound some to the French and some to the English — that when War arose between those Nations, the Indian Nations took their sides and fought along with them — that the Indian Nations to give themselves more security as they thought, in the enjoyment of their lands put them under the protection of the Kings of those Countries. The Indians attached to the French put their lands under the protection of the King of France, and those attached to the English put theirs under the protection of the King of England — then Brothers you gave up effectually the sovereignty you talk of, and in after contests your Lands were at ſtake — The lands of the five Nations, the Shawanese, the Wyandots, the Delawares and many other Nations had been put under the protection of Great Britain long before the War broke out between that Country and America —

Brothers

You must remember that when the people of America saw the Troubles with England coming on and that they would be forced to take up Arms, they called the Indians together in the Year 1775 at Fort Stanwix and Fort Pitt to inform them what was likely to happen. The Americans did not ask the Indians to unite with them in opposition to the King of England – but they advised and requested that the Indians would not join the forces of England against them; for they should – consider the consequences – If England got the better it would be no advantage to them, for the English would not give to them what was taken from the Americans On the other hand if they should join the forces of England, and America get the better they had much to lose – they should therefore sit still and see the event.

Brothers

This was good advice such as a Friend and a Brother must have given you and you thought it so then – You the five Nations, the Senecas the Wyandots, the Ottawas, the Delawares and the Shawanese thought the advice right and promised to follow it; but you did not keep your words – You joined the English as Allies and as principals in the War. After much time much blood and much Money being spent the Americans got the better – The English asked for peace and to obtain it, they gave up the whole of the Country of many Nations. But because many of you do not believe that, here follows the Article of the Treaty between Great Britain and America that contains it, which I have copied word for word as it was executed at Paris in France on the third day of September 1783 for the satisfaction of all who doubt – Many of you are well acquainted with it already

Here the Second Article of the definitive treaty was inserted

There, Brothers, those are our boundaries as settled by Great Britain –

It is true, it is a large Country the British gave up; but you had joined stocks with them and they had a right to dispose of it—neither have you much reason to complain of them—for what are the large presents you are frequently receiving from them but compensation for your losses—and was not the large sum of Money not long ago distributed among the five Nations and some others given expressly as a compensation—

Brothers

In those circumstances—after the Agreement with your Allies the British which you have just seen—After you had shed much blood and destroyed much property—and when they would have been justifiable in the eyes of all Mankind in insisting upon a rigorous and literal execution of the Article how did the United States behave to you? Did they insist upon a rigourous execution of it. No. They would not insist upon what must have been ruin to you—they considered that the ceded Territory was large enough for both—they therefore declared—The Country within certain limits we will keep—and the Country within certain limits shall remain to you—This had an unquestionable right to do, and it was gentle and humane and generous and kind in them so to do—for they might have retained the whole—and what in similar circumstances you would have met with from no other Nation on the face of the Earth. Your pretences then Brothers that the Treaties held with you at Fort Stanwix—at Fort McIntosh and at the Miami are not binding on account of your being Sovereigns and Proprietors of the Soil are without foundation they are equally unfounded when you say they were held with a few individuals. I have already given you the names of those with whom they were held—that is of the principal men appointed to sign the treaties in behalf of their Nations, and some of them you know to be those who always represent their Nations in public affairs – If many Chiefs of different Nations did not attend at each of these Councils, it was because they had no busineſs at them – for example how does it concern the Oneidas how the Wyandots dispose of their own lands, that they should go some hundreds of Miles to be Witneſses to it – and so of all others except perhaps the six Nations – for they have often pretended to own all the lands and that neither the Wyandots, Delawares Shawanese or in short any others had a foot of land but were entirely dependent upon them.

Brothers

Your proposals are entirely inadmiſsible – If they could be admitted in any shape it could only be that they might be transmitted to Congreſs and wait their orders for they fall not within the line of my instructions

Brothers

If you sincerely wish to live in peace with all Men, as you say you do and to put an end to all farther uneaſineſs on either side; it would have been a more likely way to obtain your wish to have come forward with a dispo:sition to observe your former engagements and to preserve your faith entire without any predeterminations that you must break thro' both. Any proposals either for amendments or alterations you might have thought proper to make would have been well received and discuſsed and the most reasonable means of acco:modation discovered and adopted – But when proposals come in the manner yours do, they admit of no discuſsion, and single yes or no must close the busineſs – But on that Yes or No is suspended the great event of Peace or War. Can it be prudent for you to place things in that situation?

Brothers! hearken to me with Attention and consider well what I shall now say to you!

Let me ask you what do you promise yourselves by a War with the Natives of America - There may be something flattering to human Vanity in the idea of struggling to the last and dying gallantly. You may expect to do a great deal of injury and in that to find some gratification - And you may flatter yourselves with the hope of aſsistance from the British - But believe me except in the short illusions of Vanity and the momentary pleasures of Cruelty, if in Cruelty pleasure can at all be found, you will find yourselves most wretchedly disappointed - You will have to combat with a people now no Strangers to your mode of Warfare - A People that can subsist in the woods and bear any hardship and fatigue equally with yourselves - that know the way to all your Towns, and can be in them when you little expect it - and who can be much better and more easily supplied with neceſsaries on their marches than you can be - It is true however that you may do them a good deal of mischief - that is you may kill a good many defenceleſs Men Women and Children - but you cannot suppose that will have any effect upon the general iſsue of a War - besides Cruelties of that Nature are sure to come home to those who commit them for they raise a spirit of Resentment and Revenge that is both irresistible and everlasting -

Brothers.

As to your receiving Aſsistance from the British - remember they are at peace with us now - they may very soon be in friendship with us - If they aſsist you at all, it will be underhand only, and such Aſsistance will avail you little - Depend upon it - The Nation will not go to War on your accounts, and their Officers in America will very cautiously avoid doing any things in a public manner that might lead to it — Should War then be your Choice I shall lament over you as a People who the great Spirit has abandoned to deſtruction

Brothers

Take a look, on the other hand at some of the advantages that would arise to yourselves from a due regard to treaties and the preservation of peace — The Friendship — the confidence — and if it was neceſsary the aſsistance of a very numerous and encreasing people, who from their Births have breathed the same air and trodden the same ground with you would be secured and perpetuated to you — A new set of people from different parts of the United States, who have no animoſities against you, and who have received no injuries from you, nor you from them will be introduced — they will form a Barrier between you and the former people with whom and you mutual injuries have caused mutual hatred to take very deep root — from the moment of their settlement they will be under the wholesome restraint of Laws — they will be taught that the rights of Men are confined to no Color or Complexion — to respect those Rights and to govern all their actions by the immutable principles of Justice and Equity — growing up with them in habits of kindneſs and mutual good Offices, a Traffic useful and beneficial to both, by exchanging the commodities of both with each other will be carried on for some time, until you yourselves, become ſensible of the advantages of civilized life will wish to change your present purſuits, and to become Members of a more regular ſociety: You will gradually run into one another and become one People, and instead of dwindling as you do at present from year to Year you will become great respected and happy.

Brothers

Should these considerations make any impreſsion upon you, as I hope they will come down here and let us remove every obſtacle that is in the Way confirm our antient agreements—make such new ones as may be thought neceſsary and cement a peace with the United States that may last with time itself—

Fort Harmar    In behalf of the United States Your friend
Novr. 24. 1788—    Ar. St. Clair

The above was not delivered to the Wyandots as was intended, they were not come forward when Mr. Wilson met Captain Brant with about fifty of the Six Nations and it was given to him and he without waiting for any of the other Nations returned an answer as follows

Near the Falls of Muskingham 30 Novr. 1788

To A. St. Clair Commiſsioner
from Congreſs—

Brother Your ſpeech to us the five Nations and likewise one directed to the five Nations, Wyandots, Delawares Senecas, Ottawas Chippeways and all other Nations that were lately aſsembled at the Miami River were presented to us by your meſsenger Mr. Wilson in consequence of which as we were the People who sent you the speech on the 18 instant being answerable for the other Nations agreeing to what we propose. We the Cayugas Onondagas, Mohawks, Tuſcaroras, Tothracroonies and Munseys being part of the Nations your general speech is directed to, as we mentioned that against we should receive your answer to our proposals that we expected the rest of the Nations would be come up but in that we have been mistaken and as our Ammunition is nearly exhausted, we cannot remain any longer—The Shawaneſe and other Nations are on their way, we may meet them and "shall communicate the purport of your ſpeech to them and all other Nations – concerned – Are sorry that we have not been able to accomplish the good work of establishing a peace as was our Wish, the Tract of Land we offered you gratis, must convince you and every other person that we serious and ſincere – then the Boundary line that we have pointed out to you would have met the approbation of the whole of the Nations to whom your speech is directed and who are all equally concerned in the Country.

Brother

You say we again asked you to rise and meet us at the Falls of Muskingham – We did not immediately ask you to meet us but told you you might not be under the least apprehension of any danger and that we were still ready to meet you at the place you acknowledge was the place appointed by Congreſs for our meeting to be held at – You also say we mistook you much when we say that you sent Wilson to receive proposals – That you sent him to receive an anſwer whether we would come down or not, and that you would receive any proposals we had to make at that place – We sent an anſwer by him that we could not go and by him we sent our proposals which you say you received We cannot perceive where the great difference is whether you received the proposals as long as you did receive them by him or by the hands of the Indians. We ſent ſome of our principal Men to accompany him and one of our great reaſons for sending our proposals in writing was because your Interpreter is not ſufficiently versed in the Indian Tongue to explain matters as we could wish and at the same time you give us to understand that if we do not comply with what was done at those petty Councils held by General Butler you had other measures to take – You ask us whether those people whose Names you point out were not Chiefs of the different Nations - We allow some were but not a sufficiency to dispose of our Country, neither were they authorized to transact busineſs of such consequence - the Country you say gave away by those Chiefs. It did not belong to any one Nation in particular, but to the whole of the Nations and we repeat not to be disposed of without the consent of all and by people authorized for the purpose -

Brother

You say likewise we put our lands under the protection of the King of England, and that we became closely bound to him in friendship, that when we put ~~under~~ our lands under his protection, when we did, that we gave up our Sovereignty of the Soil - In that you are most egregiously mistaken for we never did - If we had where then would have been the neceſsity of the meeting at Fort Stanwix in 1768 when our boundary line was fixed upon and agreed to by the Indians and the Governors of the different provinces. You again say What are the great presents we so frequently receive from the English for but merely a compensation for our loſses and that the large Sum of Gold and Silver lately distributed among the five Nations and some others was expreſsly for that purpose - We are sorry you should be so much misinformed and must tell you for what we received those presents and money - The presents we received from the King is out of his goodneſs and for our past services - The money was to those who left some good houses, others Farms, others Cattle and other different kinds of moveable effects - this is for what we received the Gold and Silver - Pray why did not the whole of the Nations who inhabit those lands that you say the King gave away receive Gold and Silver? No they lost no property by adhering to his Majestys Cause – And as you say we had gave the King a right to dispose of our Country, if so why does he now when he wants any of the Indian lands make regular purchases – And that by the Treaty of Peace he gave up our Country – where then was the neceſsity of your calling Councils at Fort Stanwix – Beaver Creek and the Miami at all which you asked for the Country from us after it had by your own accounts been gave to you by the British – and that you are determined to keep the Country within certain limits and allow to the different nations of Indians the land within certain described limits.

Brother

You also tell us our proposals are inadmiſsible – Pray why were we not told when we sent to Congreſs after our meeting at the Huron Village that there was no poſsibility of making any alterations respecting the lines, but that those agreed to (as we have already mentioned was done without the knowledge of the whole of the Nations concerned) by a few Individuals – It would have saved us a great deal of unneceſsary trouble – And as to your insinuating that we expect aſsistance from the British – No we do not – Nor have they never gave us the least encouragement to think so, but quite the reverse, and have ever advised us to make peace with the United States – We do not put more confidence in them than we do in any other civilized Nations who we know have always their own interest in view – In one part you mention you are now at peace with the English and may soon be in friendship with them – that part we acknowledge is above our comprehension – Whether you again expect to be subject to them – or in alliance we cannot conceive.

Brother

We have already pointed out to you the lands we were willing to give you, as was agreed upon at our Council at the Miami River this ſummer – and exceed that we cannot we have had a conference with the rest of the confederate Nations – We hope it will not be long before you receive an-anſwer, and consider seriously, if we find there is no other mean left, but that we must loſe our Country. We are People who have our feelings and our ſpirit and must leave the event to the Will of the great Spirit above to whom we look up for Justice and who knows the hearts of all Men, and that we are peaceably inclined, and that nothing is further from our wishes than entering into a War

We are Brother in behalf of the Cayugas, Onondagas
Mohawks, Tuscororas Tothrechoonies and Munſeys –

Jos: Brant
David Hill
Sharonyowanum
Kashightoghane
Athonwine
Ojagegehte
Shokeneſe
Shagoyeghwatha
Teyoronhaguente
Otsteragongho
Paghwiles
Wasahilawaut
Oawaghcome

Brother

You say the King gave you our Country – The Posts

hel

he gave you which was all he had a right to— and what is the reason that you do not take them, which we do not dispute as being yours?

Things remained in this situation, only that I had accounts daily of great diſsention among the Tribes, and much diſsatisfaction with Brant who took every thing upon himſelf and sent what meſsages he thought proper without consulting any body, but the few of the five Nations who were personally attached to him until the 9th of December when I received the following letter.

Licking Creek 8 Decemr. 1788.

Brother,

Agreeable to our expectation, as we mentioned in our laſt meſsage to you, We have met the Shawaneſe Delawares, Munſeys and Mingoes— have communicated your anſwer to the proposals we sent in behalf of the Nation, that were aſsembled this Summer at the Miami River Rapids— they are of the same opinion with us and think nothing more can be done than what we offer until such time as they have seen the rest of the Nations concerned— We have already told you War is far from our thoughts and that we would wish to have something to say in the disposal of our Country, and not allow it to be wrested from us without our Conſent.

I am Brother in behalf of the five Nations, Shawanese, Delawares Munseys and Mingoes—

Yours &c. Jos Brant

Governor St. Clair

Note, more than one half of the Mingoes or Senecas were at this very time at Fort Harmar and all their Chiefs but two. On the 12th of December the

Wyandots

The Munseys are incorporated with the Delawares and their Chief Teataway is one of the persons who signed the Treaty.

Wyandots and Delawares and a number of the other Nations in whose behalf the above letter is said to be written arrived in the neighbourhood and on the 13th the Council was opened —

Ar St. Clair

Brant after using every poſsible endeavour to prevent the Indians from coming foward to Fort Harmar, without succeſs set out for Detroit with about fifty of the six Nations chiefly of the Mohawk tribe — He fell in with the Shawanese and Miamies on their way down and turned them back with him and a part of the Delawares —

True Copy from the original, now remaining
in the War-Office of the United States —

Jno Stagg Junr
[illegible]

Oneida April 27th 1793

Fathers & Brethren,

Attend & open your Ears to our words while we address you - We have been informed by our father Mr Kirkland & others that you have laid a permanent foundation for a great School for the Education & Instruction of Youth near us; that you have placed it between us & our Brothers the White People to the Eastward; And that you propose our Children shall be benefited by it as well as theirs - We thank you that you have thought of us on this occasion; & that you appear so willing to exert yourselves to expel the dark Clouds of Ignorance which have so long obscured the minds of the Indian Nations, and to introduce the light of Knowledge among us - It is our Hearts, not our Tongues alone which speak the Language of Gratitude & thankfulness to you for your benevolent attention - We are poor, our minds are involved in Ignorance & darkness - it may be some time before we shall be able to emerge from this gloomy State; We therefore beg your patience, that you will not be easily discouraged in Your friendly exertions; but that You will make a full & fair experiment how far the Minds of Indians are capable of Cultivation & Improvement; possibly ~~will~~ You may have the Satisfaction to find, on tryal, that the minds of Indians may become as enlightened as the minds of the White People, & that all the difference between us & them consists only in the Colour of the Skin

Father & Brothers,

This is all we have to say

his
John X Skanondo
mark

his
Wm X Kayendarongwen
mark

his
Lowdwick + Kaghsawida
mark

his
John + Tekanagiwzere
mark

his
Paul + Otsetegon
mark

his
Cornelius + Aghgorgo
mark

his
Joseph + Kanaghsatirhon
mark

Signed in presence of
James Dean, appointed
by the Board of Trustees to
inform the Oneidas of the
Erection of the Hamilton
Oneida Academy —

To the Hon'ble Regents
of the University
State of New York

his
Peter + Skanadarok
mark

his
John + Shojijowane
mark

his
Thomas + Otrenhohta
mark

his
Wm + Shoratowane
mark

his
Moses + Owethare
mark

his
Matthew + Otsijsat
mark

his
Wm + Shotegonwasere
mark

Jacob Reed,
alias
Atsiaktatye

John + Jourd

## GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

War Department, *April 24th*, 1793.

Sir—The President of the United States has particularly directed me to inform your Excellency that the proposed treaty with the hostile Indians North of the Ohio will be held at lower Sandusky, to commence about the first day of June next. That during the continuance of the Treaty it is of the highest importance to the success thereof, as well as to the safety of the Commissioners, that all hostile incursions of the White Inhabitants into or near to the Indian Country North of the Ohio should be absolutely prohibited until after the treaty be closed.

The commanding General of the Troops has been directed to issue a proclamation to this effect, and the President requests that you would be pleased to take such measures in the premisses with your frontier Citizens as shall, in your Judgment, be most effectual to prevent a measure which might be attended with highly pernicious consequences.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem,
Your Excellency's most obed. Servant,
H. KNOX,
*Sec'y of War.*

His Excellency Governor Mifflin.

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## DAVID REDICK TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

Washington, *6th May*, 1793.

Sir:—With this you will receive two Bonds, taken from the Brigade Inspectors. It was expected by them that Bonds would have been sent prepared for signing. I took them with some reluctance, not haveing received any instructions from you on the Subject, but knowing from your pressing letter to deliver the packages Sent by the late Messenger, and that ye militia must be organized by a Short day, and finding by the

Canandaigua Apl. 26 1793 —

Dr Sir

The Legislature of the State of New York have appd. Commissrs. to Lease the Cayuga Reservation which Treaty is to be held in June next therefore on the Strength of Your promise we Call on You to Exert Yourself Respecting the Same we mean to do with You in every Respect as we told You — Particularly and let Your Cayugas to have reference to the old Lease that they gave ~~to~~ [illegible] to have it Renewed & for one for the act of the Legislature Runs in this manner the Commrs. are to Reserve in behalf of the State Such Quantity of Land that the Inds. wish to part with to the Amount ~~the~~ ~~Inds.~~ of the Reserve for their own use therefore the Inds. can by leasing a part of their Lands to the Commrs. can Preserve the Amt. to their fellow friends which is undoubtedly an object worthy of attention the Bearer of this Letter Majr. Engersol are Concerned with us in bringing abt. our plan therefore we wish you to Consul with him & Give all the Assistance there Lies in yr Power it app.d to us that Fish Carrier & the other Chiefs of the Cayuga Nation should Come Down and Stay untill the Comm.rs Come on so that we may have an opp.y of fixing our affairs with them before the Comm.rs Come and therefore if you Can get the Cayuga Chiefs to Come down that is all we will desire of them at any Part of the Business & the Rest we will attend to

Sir We Remain with Respect
your Humble Servants

Richardson & Thomas

Major Powell

To Major Powell.

" Dr. Sir Canadaqua April 26. 1793.

— The Legislature of the ſtate of New-York have appointed Commiſsioners to leaſe the Cayuga reſervation which treaty are to be held in June next therefore on the ſtrength of your promiſe we call on you to exert yourſelf respecting the ſame, for we mean to do with you in every respect as we told you [illegible] is wanting now but for the Cayugas to hold in view the old leaſe that they gave to me or to have it renewed) and for ever (for the act of the Legislature runs in this manner, the Commiſsioners are to leaſe in behalf of the ſtate ſuch quantity of land, that the Indians wiſh to part with, and the remainder they reserve for their own use therefore the Indians can by leaſing a part of their land to the Commiſsioners can reserve the remainder to their friends which undoubtedly is an object worthy of attention The Bearer of this letter Major Ingersoll are concerned with us in bringing about our plans therefore we wiſh you to conſult with him and give all the aſsiſtance that lays in your power It appears to us the Fish Carrier and the other chiefs of the Cayuga nation ſhould come down and ſtay until the Commiſsioners comes on ſo that we may have an opportunity of fixing our plans with them before the Commiſsioners comes on therefore if you can get the Cayuga ~~nation~~ Chiefs to come down that is all we will ask of you for your part of the buſineſs) and the reſt we will attend to

Sr we remain with respect yr friends & humt. Sert

Richardſon & Harris"

"Major Powell". (Superſcribed.
"Major John Powell")

Copy of a letter from Richard
John Harris to Major Powell,
about the Cayuga Lands.

The original put into the hands
of B.A. & E.P. Sept. May 12th
by the Seneca Chief called Red
Jacket, the Farmer's brother & others
being present. The original
returned.

different tribes of the savage nation of Pianguichias, relatively to the purchase of lands, as above mentioned, specified, and written in the aforesaid act, which the said witnesses, or interpreters, have faithfully interpreted between the said Louis Viviatte and the chiefs denominated in the aforesaid act; and that the said witnesses, in their quality as interpreters, have done for the best in their souls and consciences, according to the best of their understanding and knowledge, and have, faithfully and plainly, explained to the said chiefs denominated in the aforesaid act, to which they have set their ordinary marks, with their own hands, whereof the signification has been mentioned, and, for their consideration, has been explained; as, also, the names of the acquirers; and that the said interpreters should be present at the delivery of the said considerations specified in the act aforementioned; as, also, that they should be present at the passing of the aforementioned act, in presence of the said chiefs, which have put their marks at the foot of the said act.

Signed and sealed, the —— day of the month ——, in the year of our Lord ——.

RENE CODER, *alias* PANAS, } *Interpreters.*
J. BTE. + VAUDRY'S mark. }
ST. MARIE.
PHILLIBERT.

I, Lewis Bomer, Notary Public, residing in the country of the Illinois do certify, to have translated, from the English into the French language, to the best of my knowledge, judgment, and ability, the act before mentioned, containing three pages, originally written in English, on parchment; at the foot of which I have signed my name, and affixed my ordinary seal, as, also, to the present certificate, to serve all those whom it may concern.

Given at Kaskaskias, this eighteenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

LOUIS BOMER, *Notary.*

Published for a true copy: by

PHILLIBERT, *Royal Notary.*

**I certify the above to be a true copy from the original, which is now among the records of this county, and in my possession.**

For JOHN MILLS, *Recorder.*
H. VANDERBURGH.

PHILADELPHIA, *6th February*, 1793.

At the treaty held with the Wabash and Illinois Indians, by me, in the month of September, 1792, the said Indians disclaimed the validity of the within deed, excepting the tract on the Wabash, to their fathers, the French, as mentioned in the proceedings of the said treaty.

RUFUS PUTNAM.

**NOTE.—For the instructions to General Putnam, and his correspondence, see Nos. 29 and 31. Other papers referred to in the message, are not on file.**

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3d CONGRESS.] **No. 40.** [1st SESSION.

## NORTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 4, 1793.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *December 4th*, 1793.

SIR:

In obedience to the direction of the President of the United States, I have the honor to submit to the Senate the instructions to the commissioners appointed to treat with the hostile Indians, north of the Ohio, and their report, in the form of a journal of their proceedings. And, also, a statement of the troops in the legion of the United States, and certain intelligence from Major General Wayne.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

The VICE PRESIDENT *of the United States.*

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*Instructions to Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, Beverley Randolph, of Virginia, and Timothy Pickering, of Pennsylvania, Commissioners appointed for treating with the Indians Northwest of the Ohio.*

GENTLEMEN:

You, having been appointed Commissioners to negotiate with the hostile Indians, northwest of the Ohio, are to regard the following instructions as the general principles of your conduct, and as delivered by the President of the United States.

You must be well aware of the extreme dislike of the great majority of the citizens of the United States to an Indian war, in almost any event; and with how much satisfaction they would embrace a peace upon terms of justice and humanity. To you, therefore, this negotiation is entrusted, with the hope that you will, by your intelligence and perseverance, be able to close a scene of hostilities, which, on the part of the United States, have been dictated by the protection due their frontier citizens.

In order that you may possess all the knowledge in the power of the Executive to give, you have herewith furnished the several papers upon this subject, enumerated in the schedule annexed, which contains information, from the peace between Great Britain and France, in the year 1763, until the present time.

With respect to the treaties made between the United States and the several hostile tribes, since the peace with Great Britain, in 1783, it is to be observed, that the treaty of fort Harmar, made in January, 1789, is regarded as having been formed on solid grounds—the principle being that of a fair purchase and sale.

The Government considers the Six Nations, who claimed the lands by virtue of former conquests, lying between the Ohio and Lake Erie, which were ceded and confirmed to the United States by the said treaty, with the said Six Nations, together with the Wyandots and Delawares, and Ottawas, and other Western Indians, who were the actual occupants of the lands, as the proper owners thereof; that they had a right to convey the said lands to the United States; and that they did accordingly make the said conveyance, with their free consent and full understanding. Parties, however, who were not at the treaty of fort Harmar, may have been either at the treaty of fort McIntosh or the Miami. Puchonchehelas, a chief of the Delawares, was at the latter.

But, if it shall appear, upon a further investigation of the subject, at the place of conference, that there were other tribes interested in the lands then ceded to the United States, than those who subscribed the said treaty, or that the consideration given was inadequate, it may be proper, in either or both cases, that a liberal compensation be made to the just claimants.

It will, therefore, be one of the first objects of the proposed treaty, to ascertain from the Indians, what tribes are the allowed proprietors of the country lying to the northward of the Ohio, and to the southward of the lakes.

You will perceive by Hutchin's map, herewith delivered, the boundaries confirmed by the said treaty of fort Harmar to the United States: and, also, the tracts which have been granted by the United States to the late army, and to particular companies of men.

You will endeavor, to the utmost of your power, to induce the tribes claiming a right to the said lands, to confirm the boundary established by the said treaty of Fort Harmar, with the Six Nations, and Wyandots, Delawares, &c.; for which purpose you will, among other considerations, offer—

1st. The guarantee of the United States of the right of soil, to all the remaining Indian lands in that quarter, against the citizens or inhabitants of the United States.

2dly. That the United States will relinquish the places mentioned in the said treaty as trading posts, to the northward of the general boundary; excepting, however, the grounds upon which the forts are erected, now occupied by the British troops; and which, by the treaty of peace of 1783, were ceded to the United States, together with the portions of land in the vicinity of said forts, in possession of the white inhabitants; and which have been purchased of the Indians.

3dly. The United States will relinquish any of the military posts, which shall appear to be established, without the boundaries of the treaty of fort Harmar, or the boundaries which you may agree upon.

4thly. That the United States will pay to the several tribes, in the proportions which shall be agreed upon, the sum of fifty thousand dollars, in goods, according to a tariff of articles, to be settled at the treaty. The tariff shall include the prime cost of the goods in Philadelphia or New York, together with the charge of the transportation to the place which shall be fixed for the delivery, and no more.

5thly. That, in addition to the above sum, to be paid immediately, the United States will also pay, annually, the sum of ten thousand dollars, in goods, to such tribes, and to be delivered at such places, as shall be agreed upon.

You will observe that the space between the tracts of land granted to the particular companies, and the Indian boundary, established by the treaty of fort Harmar, will render it extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to relinquish any lands in the said space, without establishing a cause of perpetual discussions and hostilities between the whites and Indians. But, if the relinquishment of any lands, in the said space, should be an ultimatum with the said Indians, and a line could be agreed upon which would be free from dispute, you may, in order to effect a peace, make such relinquishment.

In case you should be under the necessity of making this relinquishment, it will be left to your discretion whether or not to make the same compensations as are stated for the confirmation of the general boundary established by the treaty of fort Harmar.

But, you are to understand explicitly, that the United States cannot relinquish any of the tracts of land which they have already granted, as marked upon the said map.

In respect to all that has been said, with regard to relinquishment, you will please to understand, that no particular difficulty is intended to be thrown in the way of the relinquishment of any lands westward of the Great Miami, and northward of the Ohio, from the intersection thereof by the Great Miami, except the tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, granted to General Clarke.

You will observe, that, as none of the Wabash tribes attended the treaty of fort Harmar, the Western boundary, then established is imperfectly described. In the treaty made by General Putnam, with the said Wabash tribes, on the fourth of October last, the boundaries are not defined. He says, that he understood the Eastern boundary, claimed by the said Wabash Indians, would be described by a line drawn from the Miami village to a creek, a few miles above the falls of the Ohio. But, it is a point of considerable importance, in case of a successful treaty, that a well defined boundary should be established with all the tribes, so that, in future, no misunderstanding should happen on that account.

It will be an object worthy of your attention, to endeavor, as far as shall be consistent with the main design of peace, to form separate contracts, or treaties, relatively to boundaries, with the several tribes to whom the lands actually belong, avoiding, as much as possible, to confirm the idea of an union, or general confederacy of all the tribes, or of any patronage of the whole over the lands of any particular tribes, or subdivisions of tribes. But, as the said Indians are much attached to the idea of a general confederacy, your proceedings, in these particulars, will require peculiar caution and management.

You will, in all your negotiations, carefully guard the general rights of pre-emption of the United States to the Indian country, against all other nations and individuals, as established by the treaty of 1783, with Great Britain. But, in describing these rights to the Indians, you will impress them with the idea that we concede to them, fully, the right and possession of the soil, as long as they desire to occupy the same; but, when they choose to sell any portion of the country, it must be sold only to the United States, who will protect the Indians against all imposition.

In case of a successful treaty, the delivery of all prisoners taken from the United States must be strenuously insisted upon. But it will be left to your judgment, whether a particular compensation shall be stipulated, or not, to the individual owners of such prisoners, as it is well known that they are not considered as the common property of the Indian communities.

While at the treaty, you must endeavor to ascertain, as accurately as may be, the names and numbers of the respective Indian tribes within the limits of the United States, north of the Ohio; and, also, the names of the influential chiefs; their divisions of lands; and all other matters relatively to trade and intercourse with them.

And as it is highly probable there will be a great number of distant Indians from the Northward, Westward, and Southward, you will endeavor to learn the tribes to which they belong, and, whether their being present, is the effect of curiosity, or invitation.

It will depend upon your judgment, whether, after the treaty shall be about concluding, to inform the Indians of the measures taken by the United States for furnishing provisions during the treaty, and of the causes which prevented. It may, also, be proper to observe, that the same causes prevented any great quantities of goods being brought to the treaty ground.

You have, herewith, delivered to you, the belt sent by the hostile Indians, with the message acceding to the treaty; this you will shew them, as the evidence that their message was received. You have also delivered, the belt of the Five Nations, received upon the same occasion.

You will endeavor to obtain permission that agents of the United States may reside among the Indian tribes, as their protectors and friends; and, also, that traders may be established among them. The United States will, hereafter, enter into arrangements with the Indians, to supply them with goods, in the manner most beneficial to them, and which shall tend to prevent all imposition.

In case of a treaty, an article to be inserted, that murderers, on either side, shall be given up, or punished with death, according to the usage of the respective contracting parties.

In case of robberies, or horse stealing, the robbers, or thieves, to be punished with fine, the amount of which to be fixed. If incurred by the Indians, who should fail in payment, the same to be deducted from the annual payment of the tribe to whom the culprit should belong.

The society of Friends have, with the approbation of the President of the United States, decided to send some of their respectable members, in order to contribute their influence to induce the hostile Indians to a peace. They are not, however, to confer with the Indians upon any subject of importance, until they shall have previously communicated the same, and received your approbation.

The Reverend John Heckewelder, a Moravian teacher, who resided many years among the Moravian Indians, of the Delawares, will accompany you, in order, also, to use his influence towards a peace. He well understands the Delaware tongue, and, although he is unwilling to act as a common interpreter, yet you may rely upon his ability to correct others, and prevent imposition. His knowledge of Indian customs and manners may be of great use in your negotiations.

You have delivered to you, one hundred sets of silver ornaments, which you will present to such influential chiefs as you shall judge proper.

It will be necessary that you should endeavor, if consistently with the public interests, to close the treaty on or before the first of August. But, whatever shall be the result of the treaty, you will inform Major General Wayne thereof, on the Ohio, as expeditiously as possible; and, in order that there may be no defect in the transmission of such information, you will send many copies, by different routes, and spare no pains or expense to render the communication perfect.

General Wayne has been instructed to issue a proclamation, informing the people of the frontiers of the proposed treaty, and prohibiting all offensive movements of the whites to the northward of the Ohio, until they shall receive further information on the subject.

The good understanding which subsists between the United States and the Five Nations of Indians, and the steps they have taken for the purpose of terminating hostilities with the Western Indians, manifested by their journey to the council of Au Glaize the last year, induce the reliance that they will still continue their endeavors to bring about a peace. Many of them will be at the proposed treaty, and you will probably be able to make considerable use of them, to instil into the minds of the hostile Indians favorable dispositions towards the United States.

You will exclude all citizens of the United States from attending the treaty, excepting such as are herein mentioned, and such others as shall actually be in your employ.

It is, however, probable that the British agents, Messrs. Butler and McKee, will be present by the desire of the Indians. To this, you will not object, although you cannot formally admit of them, or any other British agents, as mediators or umpires.

It is understood also from General Hull, that several gentlemen of Governor Simcoe's family are desirous of being present at the treaty, perhaps from motives of curiosity. If this should be the case, you will cordially accede to the idea, upon the ground that, the intentions of the United States being upright, they cannot have the least objection to the presence of any gentleman of the British Government as evidences thereof.

You will forbid all persons from attempting any negotiations with the Indians relatively to the purchase of lands, upon any pretence whatever.

The general form of such a treaty as the Government are desirous of having observed in future, is herewith delivered, to which you will adhere, as far as the same may be suitable to the state of things.

In addition to Jasper Parrish, who is the established interpreter for the United States with the said Five Nations, I have written to James Dean also to accompany you as the principal interpreter of the said Five Nations. His influence among the said Indians, and his knowledge of Indian manners and customs, may be serviceable. It is also expected that Mr. William Wilson and Mr. James Rankin will accompany you, as interpreters of the Shawanese and Delaware tongues. These men have been represented as persons having an extensive knowledge of the characters of the Western Indians, and as men of probity, upon whom reliance may be placed.

The sum of twenty thousand dollars in specie will be delivered to you for the particular purpose of gratuities, to such influential persons or chiefs as may in your judgment be necessary; and, also, the further sum of —— dollars, in order to defray the expenses of yourselves, stores, and attendants.

If you should effect a peace, it might be proper to invite a number of influential chiefs to repair to this place, in order to visit the President of the United States; and, also, for the purpose of choosing such goods as would be most suitable to their wants.

Your route will be hence, by the way of New York, Albany, fort Stanwix, Wood Creek, Oswego, and Niagara; thence, Governor Simcoe will furnish you with a vessel for the purpose of conveying you to the place of treaty. I have written to General Schuyler to provide boats, for your stores and yourselves, at Schenectady; these boats will be carried by land from the Mohawk river to Wood creek. If you should prefer taking the route from Albany to Niagara by land, you will please to pursue the same.

Given by the special direction of the President of the United States, at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this twenty-sixth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

H. KNOX,
*Secretary for the Department of War, and having the direction of Indian Affairs.*

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## *The Journal of the Commissioners of the United States, appointed to hold a treaty at Sandusky, for the purpose of making peace with the Western Indians.*

Two commissions were made out, appointing Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, Beverley Randolph, of Virginia, and Timothy Pickering, of Pennsylvania, commissioners for the purpose of negotiating a peace with the nations of Indians Northwest of the Ohio, on principles of mutual justice and convenience.

By one commission, there were given to those commisioners, "or a majority of them, full power and authority to confer on, treat of, renew, conclude, and sign, with such persons as by the said nations shall appear to them to be fully authorized thereto, a treaty or treaties of peace and amity, between the United States and the said Indian nations."

By the other commission, the same power was given to those commissioners, "or to any of them, in case of the death, sickness, or non-attendance of the other two."

The commisions bear date the second day of March, 1793.

The commissioners were accompanied with instructions, of which some parts were confidential.

TUESDAY, *April 30th*, 1793.

Beverley Randolph and Timothy Pickering set out from Philadelphia to go to Niagara, by the way of Sunbury, Northumberland, and Muncey, Lycoming, in Pennsylvania, the Painted Post, Bath, and Williamsburg, on Genesee river, in the State of New York.

Benjamin Lincoln had set off from Philadelphia on Saturday, the 27th of April, to go by the way of New York, Albany, the Mohawk river, and Oswego, taking under his care the stores and baggage.

Beverley Randolph and Timothy Pickering arrived at Williamsburg the 11th of May, and on Monday, the 13th, at Canawagus, on Genesee, met with the Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket, and some other chiefs of the Seneca nation, with whom they had some conversation.

The commissioners informed them of the time they expected to proceed from Niagara to Sandusky, and when the treaty was to be opened. They encouraged them to attend the treaty, and mentioned the reliance of the United States on their aid in bringing about a peace.

The chiefs said, that, when some of their men were hunting about Canandaigua, the answer of the President to the speech of the Western Indians arrived, relative to the holding of the treaty. That this answer was deficient, because the British were not invited to attend the treaty; and that it was necessary they should attend, because they originally called the Indians to war against the United States. That, nevertheless, Governor Simcoe had ordered Colonel Butler to attend the treaty. That all the provisions were ready, and that the British seemed now, more than ever, desirous to have peace take place between the United States and the Western Indians, and to give all the assistance in their power in promoting it.

With respect to the President's answer to the Western Indians, the commissioners observed, that he had given such an answer as his wisdom directed, and, therefore, that they could say nothing about it.

The commissioners received from the chiefs a written speech, and four strings of white wampum, sent by the Western Indians to the President. In this, they insisted on Sandusky as the place of treaty. This speech and strings, the commissioners enclosed in a letter to General Knox, and sent it by a man going to Williamsburg, to be put in the post office there.

The chiefs handed to the commissioners some papers, which they desired to have explained to them; this was done. They were the speeches between General Wayne and the Cornplanter, last March, at Pittsburg.

The commissioners entertained the chiefs and their followers with victuals and drink, and, at their request, furnished some provisions for their journey to Canandaigua, whither they were going for the clothing procured by General Chapin, for those who went last year to the council of the Western Indians.

FRIDAY, *May 17th*, 1793.

This day Beverley Randolph and Timothy Pickering arrived at Queenstown, seven miles up Niagara river, above Niagara fort, and the landing place for goods to be transported above the falls; here they met Thomas Morris, of Canandaigua, to whom had been committed, in order to be delivered to the commissioners, the extract of a letter from Colonel McKee, of which the following is a copy:

*Extract of a letter from Colonel McKee to Major of Brigade Littlehales, dated Detroit, April 11th*, 1793.

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 23d March. The speech of the United States to the Western Indians, was forwarded yesterday to the Glaize, by some chiefs of the Shawanese, who came here soon after its arrival, to hasten the meeting; and I beg to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency, that, at present, it appears generally understood by all the chiefs whom I have seen, that the proposed interview with the commissioners will certainly take place at Sandusky; but the time fixed by the United States (viz: the first of June) appears too early for the Indians to be able to collect themselves; as, in all probability, the major part of them will not return from their wintering grounds before the latter end of May, exclusively of the Southern chiefs, expected with the messengers who were sent last fall; and also those who are to attend from Michilimackinac and the Mississippi, in order to accomplish a full and permanent settlement of all the existing differences between the confederated Indians and the United States.

"And I should apprehend, from their accustomary slowness in all their deliberations, that it may be the latter end of June before they are able to adjust all their business at their private councils at the Miami Rapids, preparatory to their meeting the commissioners.

"His Excellency will therefore be enabled to state to the commissioners, should they arrive at the early period proposed, the causes of the delay; and should he think proper to recommend to them to stay at Niagara until the chiefs are nearly ready, I shall not neglect to give him early information thereof, that they may have sufficient time to be at the appointed place as soon as the Indians, who are to meet them.

"Their being at Sandusky so long before the meeting, may be extremely inconvenient to them, and cannot answer any good purpose."

A true copy. E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Mr. Morris being just then setting off for Canandaigua, the commissioners wrote a short letter to the Secretary of War, mentioning their arrival at Queenstown, and enclosed therein the foregoing extract of Colonel McKee's letter, which they delivered to Mr. Morris, desiring him to forward the same to Philadelphia the first opportunity.

The commissioners then sent off a note (by Jasper Parrish, the interpreter, who had just before arrived) to Governor Simcoe, to advertise him of their arrival, and that they would wait upon him in the afternoon. To this note the following answer was received:

NAVY HALL.

Lieutenant Governor Simcoe presents his compliments to Mr. Randolph and Mr. Pickering, and he desires the pleasure of seeing them at Navy Hall as soon as shall be convenient. The Lieutenant Governor had expected the pleasure of their companies to dinner, but must insist upon their taking beds at his house, and of partaking of such accommodations with him, as this settlement can afford.

*May 17th.*

There being no public house at New Ark, (which is the name of the village where the Lieutenant Governor resides, near a mile from Niagara fort, on the opposite side of the river Niagara) and the Lieutenant Governor's invitation being so peremptory, the commissioners complied therewith, and took lodgings at Navy Hall, which is the name he has given the house in which he dwells, having been formerly occupied by the naval department.

TUESDAY, *May 21st*, 1793.

The commissioners wrote the following letter to General Knox, Secretary of War:

NAVY HALL, *opposite Niagara, May 21st*, 1793.

SIR:

At the moment of our arrival at the landing, (Queenstown) seven miles above this place, on the 17th, we sent you, by Mr. Thomas Morris, an extract of a letter from Colonel M'Kee, of Detroit, of which we now enclose a duplicate, it being important that you should be apprised of the probable delay for at least one month, in commencing the treaty, and, because of the importance of the information, we repeat it.

On the 17th, we waited on Governor Simcoe, and expressed our desire that a vessel might be sent to Oswego for General Lincoln and the stores. He assented with the utmost readiness to have it done as soon as a vessel capable of entering the port of Oswego should arrive, and he daily expected one from Kingston, (fort Frontenac) but she is not arrived. The only vessel here was a large topsail schooner, bound to Kingston, and waiting for a wind. It seems probable, therefore, that General Lincoln will be obliged to proceed hither with his batteaux.

There is no tolerable tavern in this part of the country. We are at the Governor's; he had provided for us, and insisted upon our taking beds at his house, and of partaking of such accommodations with him as this settlement could afford.

In a former letter, we mentioned the information of the Seneca chiefs; that Captain Brandt had set off with a number of Mohawks for the Westward. His departure must have been about the 5th of this month, and doubtless his principal object was to attend the preparatory council of the Indians, to be held at the rapids of the Miami, as mentioned by Colonel M'Kee.

We know not when a conveyance for this letter will present; we shall embrace the first.

We are, &c.

B. RANDOLPH.
T. PICKERING.

On the same day, May 21st, the commissioners sent the following message, in writing, by Henry, to his Father, the Cornplanter, New Arrow, and other Seneca chiefs in their settlement:

BROTHERS:

By your conference with General Wayne, about sixty days ago, we find it was proposed that you should be at Niagara about this time, to meet the commissioners of the United States, and go with them to the treaty to be held at Sandusky. We take this method to inform you of our arrival here, and that General Lincoln, the other commissioner, who went by the way of the Mohawk river and Oswego, is expected in a few days to join us. We have time to give you this information, and to repeat the invitation to you to accompany us to the treaty, because it will not begin at Sandusky so soon as we expected.

The Great Chief of the United States has proposed the 1st of June (ten days hence) for the opening of the treaty; but Colonel M'Kee writes, that the Western Indians will not be able to assemble so soon; probably not till the last of June. We, therefore, give you our opinion, that, if you arrive at Buffalo creek in twenty-five days after this day on which we write to you, it will not be too late. By that time, we hope to hear of your arrival, for we have great dependance on your assistance at the proposed treaty.

We remain your friends and brothers,

B. RANDOLPH,
T. PICKERING,
*Commissioners of the United States.*

*Written at Niagara, the 21st June, 1793.*

N. B. Henry went as far as Cataragus creek, where, learning that his father had left home and gone for Genesee, he delivered the message to runners to carry it to New Arrow.

SATURDAY, *May 25th*, 1793.

This day, General Lincoln and company arrived in batteaux from Oswego. Mr. James Dean, interpreter, arrived the same day by land from Oneida.

SUNDAY, *May 26th*, 1793.

The commissioners receiving no intelligence concerning Mr. Wilson, and another interpreter for the Delaware and Shawanese languages, and wanting also a quantity of white wampum, General Lincoln not having found any at New York or Albany, wrote the following letters to Pittsburg:

NIAGARA, *26th May*, 1793.

SIR:

The Secretary of War informed us that he had written to Mr. William Wilson and Mr. James Rankin, of Pittsburg, requesting them to accompany the commissioners for holding a treaty with the Western Indians, to Sandusky, as interpreters of the Delaware and Shawanese languages, and that Mr. Wilson, in particular, had consented to go.

As he had not arrived in Philadelphia when we left it, we hoped he would come directly from Pittsburg to Niagara.

It is of the highest importance, that we have our own interpreters for those languages at the ensuing treaty.

We, therefore, entreat you to apply immediately to Mr. Wilson, and urge his coming on, if he should not have set out; it seemed that Mr. Rankin declined going, because he was not sufficiently acquainted with the Shawanese tongue to undertake the interpretation of it. If this be the case, his presence may be dispensed with. But then, we must request you to apply for another, and, if it be possible, engage some one competently skilled in the Shawanese language to attend us. We have placed such a reliance on Mr. Wilson's assistance, that his non-attendance may prove extremely injurious to the interests of the United States.

We trust, therefore, that nothing will prevent his coming. If, however, any unavoidable accident should prevent it, pray inquire for, and engage, another in his stead. The pay will be made satisfactory. There is now no time to be lost, and it is owing to an unexpected delay of the Western Indians, in assembling, that we are enabled to make this application.

We have sent Jasper Parrish, who is interpreter to the languages of the Six Nations, with this letter. We pray you to hasten your measures to obtain interpreters, that he may return with them immediately. We shall doubtless embark for Sandusky by the time he can possibly return.

We have been disappointed in our applications at New York and Albany for white wampum. Eighty thousand is the quantity we should choose to take with us. If it can be obtained at Pittsburg, pray procure it, or as much as you can, if short of eighty thousand. The enclosed contingent draft on the Secretary of War will enable you to pay it.

We have now only to request, that you will reflect on the importance of our present application; and we assure ourselves, you will cheerfully comply with our wishes.

We are, &c.

B. LINCOLN,
B. RANDOLPH,
T. PICKERING,
*Commissioners of the United States.*

To Major CRAIG, *Pittsburg.*

[ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING.]

NIAGARA, *May* 26, 1793.

SIR:

Not having obtained any white wampum, either at New York or Albany, we have desired Major Craig to procure any quantity, not exceeding 80,000, at Pittsburg; should he procure it, he will transmit you the account thereof, which we request you to pay, at five days' sight hereof.

B. LINCOLN,
B. RANDOLPH,
T. PICKERING, } *Commissioners.*

To General KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

NIAGARA, *May* 26, 1793.

SIR:

We have written to Major Craig, who is in the service of the United States, requesting him to engage interpreters for the Delaware and Shawanese languages, to go with us to Sandusky. These interpreters were expected in Philadelphia before we left it, but they had not arrived, and we have no intelligence concerning them, though we hope they are on their way from Pittsburg to this place.

Your knowledge of Indian affairs in the Western world, will enable you to point out the most suitable persons for interpreters; and we request your aid in engaging them, should those written for by General Knox fail of attending.

The bearer of this letter is Jasper Parrish, interpreter for the Six Nations, who has our directions to bring with him a quantity of white wampum, if to be obtained at Pittsburg. In this article, also, your assistance may be useful.

The importance and urgency of the business, will induce you to excuse our giving you this trouble.

We are, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P. } *Commissioners.*

To General JOHN GIBSON, *Pittsburg.*

NIAGARA, *May* 26, 1793.

SIR:

You will proceed with the letters herewith committed to you, to Pittsburg. At the Cornplanter's settlement, get one or two trusty Indians to accompany you as guides. The great objects of your journey are to procure interpreters for the Delaware and Shawanese languages, and to obtain a parcel of white wampum. Major Craig will, we doubt not, pay immediate attention to these matters, and give you all possible despatch; should he be absent, apply to General John Gibson, to whom also we have written, and whose aid, we persuade ourselves, will readily be afforded.

We wish to obtain 80,000 of white wampum; we have already enough of the black. We desire you to make all possible despatch, as we shall endeavor to embark for Sandusky by the 20th of June.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R. } *Commissioners.*
T. P.

To Mr. JASPER PARRISH.

### *Letter to the Secretary of War.*

NIAGARA, *May* 27, 1793.

SIR:

General Lincoln arrived here on the 25th, with the stores in batteaux. No interpreters have arrived for the Delaware and Shawanese tongues; nor could General Lincoln obtain any white wampum, either at New York or Albany. General Schuyler supplied him with about 30,000 of black wampum.

Our letter of the 16th instant, we hope you will receive; that will account for the long delay we must make at this place. A duplicate of the extract from Col. McRee's letter is enclosed, together with ours of the 21st instant.

This unavoidable delay gives us time to send to Pittsburg, to inquire after and engage interpreters, should those sent for, by you, fail of attending, and to procure white wampum. Jasper Parrish goes on this business, and will set out this forenoon. We expect he will return with ease by the 20th June, before which time, there is no probability of our sailing for Sandusky. Should we get no white wampum at Pittsburg, we shall endeavor to borrow of the British agents, here or at Detroit. As this is a very possible contingency, we wish to have it in our power to return what we borrow.

If, therefore, you should have occasion to send a messenger to this place, and white wampum can be procured by you, it may be forwarded, addressed in our absence to the care of Major Littlehales, Secretary to Governor Simcoe, Niagara. Should there be no object of importance requiring your sending a special messenger, the wampum may be sent by the post to Reading, whence it will be brought on to Genesee by Mr. Williamson's riders; the package may be addressed to Mr. Williamson, at Williamsburg, on Genesee, he having engaged to forward by the earliest conveyance, any packages or letters addressed to us. The quantity of white wampum wanted, is 80,000. Jasper Parrish says he went to some house in Philadelphia with T. Francis, where he saw a large quantity—two millions.

If Major Craig should obtain the wampum at Pittsburg, we have desired him to send the account to you for payment.

Mr. James Dean arrived here on the 25th. The extreme jealousy of the Indians will naturally prompt them to magnify every thing wearing a hostile appearance. The movement of General Wayne to fort Washington, will probably give no umbrage; and in his speech to the Cornplanter, he assured him, he should make no advances beyond the posts already established. But if he reinforces the present posts, advanced of fort Washington, we are apprehensive it may produce mischief, if nothing worse, at least by exciting a suspicion, that it is in order to strike their towns while they are in treaty; it will still longer retard their assembling. The jealousy of the Indians is so great, Governor Simcoe says they will, during the treaty, keep scouting parties about our advanced posts; and that, if any troops should be sent forward, especially to fort Jefferson, the Indians will certainly strike them. We recollect, that your instructions to General Wayne, contained many cautions to prevent any steps which might move the jealousy or resentment of the Indians; but not remembering the precise terms, we have thought it expedient to drop this hint.

We have the honor to be, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R. } *Commissioners.*
T. P.

P. S. On inquiring, we find Colonel Butler has no white wampum, but has sent to New York for a supply.

### *Letter to Major Craig, Pittsburg.*

NIAGARA, *May* 27, 1793.

SIR:

Since writing the enclosed (of yesterday) we have found it necessary to send Mr. Parrish express to Philadelphia, where we know he can get some wampum, so that, if you can procure and send us 40 or 50,000 of white wampum, it will suffice.

With regard to the interpreters for the Delaware and Shawanese languages, we repeat our request, that they may be engaged and forwarded immediately. We expect Mr. Parrish will return from Philadelphia in twenty days, at farthest by the 20th June. He is to send some Indian runners with our letters to you. We pray you to give them all needful despatch, and the provisions necessary on their return.

We are, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

### *Letter to General Knox, Secretary of War.*

NIAGARA, *27th May*, 1793.

SIR:

The letter addressed to you, which is enclosed, was, as you will see, intended to go by the way of Pittsburg; but on searching General Lincoln's trunk, the belt of the hostile Indians, acceding to the treaty, and that sent by the Five Nations, on the same occasion, which, in our instructions, you say are herewith delivered to us, are not found; they must still be at your office. Neither have we the white new belts, which were intended for our use. These, with what white wampum is on hand, in strings, Mr. Parrish can bring to us, with as much more as will make up eighty thousand or one hundred thousand: for, if there should be a surplus, we cannot make a more acceptable present to the Indians than wampum. For this reason, and also for the purpose of ensuring a full supply, we have continued our request to Major Craig, to send us forty or fifty thousand. The letters to Major Craig will be sent by some Indian runners, whom Parrish will despatch from Buffalo creek to the Cornplanter's settlement, where they may be delivered to the runners, who are well acquainted with the route.

Mr. Parrish, the bearer of this, says he can reach Philadelphia in eight or ten days, and will return in as many more; we pray you give him all needful despatch.

The Doctor's medicine chest was left at Philadelphia. It seems, that on his way he has bought a pound of bark, and a few other articles, of small account.

Perhaps, as the treaty may now be postponed to a later season than was expected, it may be expedient for Mr. Parrish to bring a pound of bark, and such other articles as the physicians you consulted shall recommend, and Parrish can conveniently bring.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

The commissioners having discharged twenty of their batteau-men, they gave the following order for the residue of their pay:

NIAGARA, 27*th May*, 1793.

SIR:

As a less sum was put into the hands of the commissioners than you expected; and, as, by a delay, which will probably take place respecting the assembling of the Indians, our expenses will be augmented, we have thought it best to draw on you for the sum of four hundred and sixty-one dollars and seventy-five cents; which draft, we doubt not, you will honor at sight, and cause payment to be made, so as best to accommodate the drawee.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,
*In behalf of himself and the other Commissioners.*

To General KNOX.

N. B. This draft was in favor of Cornelius A. Van Slyck, of Schenectady, and delivered to his agent, Joseph Menderse.

### *Letter to Colonel McKee, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs.*

NAVY HALL, 30*th May*, 1793.

SIR:

We, having been appointed commissioners of the United States, to hold a treaty with the Indians at Sandusky, and the time proposed for holding the treaty being the 1st of June, met at this place on the 25th instant, and should have proceeded to Sandusky, but for your letter to Major Littlehales, of the 11th of April, in which you express your opinion that the Indians would not be assembled until the last of June, and desire that the commissioners may be apprised of it. We felt ourselves obliged by this attention to our convenience, and, in consequence of this information, determined to remain here a few weeks; or until further advice from you should point out the proper time for our departure. We have now to request you will have the goodness to make known to the Indians, who propose to attend the treaty, that we are arrived at this place, and intend to be at Sandusky by the last of June, at farthest, unless, your future communications should require a different arrangement. We request, also, the favor of the earliest information on this head, to be transmitted to Major Littlehales or to us.

A general and permanent peace being the great object of our mission, we hope to receive the countenance and support of all who can feel for the happiness of the human race. Your aid, in particular, in promoting this important work, may be of the highest utility, and will be most gratefully acknowledged by,

Sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

*June* 1st, 1793.

William Wilson, interpreter, arrived, bringing with him Sylvester Ash, as an assistant interpreter; he brought a letter from Major Craig, mentioning the terms on which they were engaged. June 3d, Mr. Wilson set off for fort Erie, to embark for Detroit, whence, if practicable, he was to proceed to the Miami Rapids, where he might gain useful information. Captain Hendricks, with four of his men, arrived about the same time with Mr. Wilson, and also proceeded to fort Erie, to embark for Detroit.

### *Memorandum of instructions given to Captain Hendricks by Colonel Pickering.*

NIAGARA, 4*th June*, 1793.

After discoursing with the hostile Indians about the treaty, and hearing their claims with respect to the boundary, which they propose should be the Ohio, it may be expedient for you to suggest some things for their consideration, as of yourself, in order to discover how far they may be persuaded to depart from their rigid demands.

1st. It is true, the commissioners, at some former treaties, set up extravagant claims, but perhaps the present commissioners may confine themselves to moderate limits, and relinquish all the rest of the lands.

2d. The treaties formerly made, were carried to the great council of the United States, who, seeing them signed by a number of Indian chiefs, might suppose that those chiefs represented their nations, and that the treaties were right. In consequence of which, the great council sold large tracts of land along the Ohio, to a number of people, who have since settled upon them; and being thus sold and settled, it may be very difficult, if not impossible, now to give them up. I understand that such sales have been made from the west line of Pennsylvania, (which begins at the mouth of Little Beaver creek) down the Ohio, as far as the Great Miami.

3d. Now, suppose the commissioners should relinquish the lands westward of the Great Miami, and pay a good sum of money, or a large quantity of goods, for the lands eastward of the Great Miami, would it not be well to agree to such terms, and make peace?

4th. But suppose the commissioners should be willing to do still more, and give up part of the lands southward of the line settled by the treaties of fort McIntosh and fort Harmar, would it not be well to listen to their offers?

5th. Consider, further, what are the advantages you derive from the lands which the United States wish to retain. They are, furs, skins, and meat, which you would every year obtain by hunting.

But, suppose the commissioners should offer to pay a large annual rent for those lands, in money, in goods, or provisions; would not such terms be better than war? But, probably, besides this rent, you may hunt on these same lands as long as you can find any game.

6th. At all events, keep your minds open to the talk of the commissioners. Do not fix the terms of peace before you hear them. Tell them all your grievances, and listen to their answers. Perhaps former transactions with you have not been fully understood, and thence all the evils of the war may have arisen. I think there is now a disposition in the United States to find out what is true, and to do what is right.

T. P.

**Note.**—The commissioners had conversed on the subject of the above instructions, and concluded to commit them to writing for Captain Hendricks' information; but it not having been done before his departure from Navy Hall, Colonel Pickering wrote them at Chippewa, where he overtook Hendricks on his way to fort Erie. Hendricks proposed to translate them into his own language, and then destroy the original paper.

In a few days after General Lincoln's arrival with the stores and baggage, (without which we could not provide for ourselves) we concluded to remove from Navy Hall, Queenstown, and there encamp, while we should be obliged to wait for the assembling of the Indian nations at Sandusky. But as soon as Governor Simcoe understood our intentions, he again insisted on our staying at his house, and in such terms, that we could not, without rudeness, avoid a compliance with his request.

Navy Hall, *June 6th*, 1793.

At a meeting of the commissioners this day, it being thought expedient to invite General Chapin, superintendent of the Six Nations, to attend them during the treaty with the hostile Indians at Sandusky, he being present, was accordingly invited, and assured of a reasonable compensation for his time and services. General Chapin accepted the invitation, and promised to attend.

Navy Hall, *7th June*, 1793.

The commissioners presented the following note to Governor Simcoe:

The commissioners of the United States for making peace with the Western Indians beg leave to suggest to Governor Simcoe:

That the very high importance of the negotiation committed to their management, makes them desirous of using every proper means that may contribute to its success.

That they have observed with pleasure the disposition manifested by the Governor to afford every requisite assistance in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty with the hostile Indians. But, all the facilities thus afforded, and all the expenses incurred by the British Government on this occasion, will perhaps be fruitless, unless some means are used to counteract the effect of deep rooted prejudices, and unfounded reports, among the Indian tribes: for, the arts of a few bad men dwelling among them, or having a familiar intercourse with them, by cherishing those prejudices, or raising and spreading those reports, may be sufficient to defeat every attempt to accomplish a peace.

As an instance of such unfounded reports, the commissioners have noticed the declaration of a Mohawk, from Grand river, *that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up any of their lands.*

The commissioners further observe, that if any transactions at former treaties were exceptionable, the principles of the present treaty are calculated to remove the causes of complaint: for the views of Government are perfectly fair.

And, although it is now impossible to retrace all the steps then taken, the United States are disposed to recede, as far as shall be indispensable, and the existing state of things will admit, and, for the lands retained, to make ample compensation.

The views of the United States being thus fair and liberal, the commissioners wish to embrace every means of making them so appear to the Indians, against any contrary suggestions. Among these means, the commissioners consider the presence of some gentlemen of the army to be of consequence: for, although the Indians naturally look up to their superintendents as their patrons, yet, the presence of some officers of the army will probably induce them to negotiate with greater confidence on the terms of peace. Independently of these considerations, the commissioners, for their own sakes, request the pleasure of their company.

The commissioners feeling the greatest solicitude to accomplish the object of their mission, will be happy to receive from the Governor every information relating to it, which his situation enables him to communicate. He must be aware that the sales and settlements of the lands over the Ohio, founded on the treaties of forts McIntosh and Harmar, render it impossible now to make that river the boundary.

The expression of his opinion on this point in particular, will give them great satisfaction.

*Memorandum.*—Besides the reasons expressly mentioned in the note, there were other inducements to present it. With respect to the invitation to some British officers to attend the treaties, the commissioners found they were desirous of attending, and thought a direct invitation more eligible than a mere assent to their wishes.

Colonel Butler and General Chapin also deemed the invitation to be of some moment.

It was the explicit opinion of the chiefs of the Senecas, that an open communication with the Governor, on the subject of the treaty, might have a salutary effect; and Major Littlehales, the Governor's secretary, gave the commissioners to understand, that the Governor, if requested, would cheerfully give his opinion about it.

They conceived, also, that the presence of some officers of the army would add to their security from insults and from danger.

The same day, the following note was received from Governor Simcoe:

Navy Hall, *7th June*, 1793.

Colonel Simcoe, commanding the King's forces in Upper Canada, has the honor, in answer to the paper delivered to him this morning, by the commissioners of the United States for making peace with the Western Indians, to state to those gentlemen, that he is duly impressed with the serious importance of the negotiation committed to their charge, and shall be happy to contribute by every proper means that may tend to its success.

He is much obliged to them for the polite manner in which they have expressed their sense of his readiness to afford them such facilities as may have been in his power, to assist in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty.

He is perfectly aware that unfounded reports, and deep rooted prejudices, have arisen among the Indian tribes; but whether from the acts of a few bad men living among them, he cannot pretend to say; but, he must observe, upon the instance given by the commissioners, of one of "those unfounded reports, that a Mohawk from the Grand river should say, that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up their lands," it is of that nature that cannot be true; the Indians, as yet, not having applied for his advice on the subject, and it being a point, of all others, on which they are the least likely to consult the British officers commanding in Upper Canada.

Colonel Simcoe considers himself perfectly justified in admitting, on the requisition of the commissioners, some officers to attend the treaty, and, therefore, in addition to the gentlemen appointed to control the delivery of the British provisions, &c. he will desire Captain Bunbury, of the fifth regiment, and Lieutenant Givens, who has some knowledge of one of the Indian languages, to accompany the commissioners.

Colonel Simcoe can give the commissioners no further information than what is afforded by the speeches of the confederate nations, of which, General Hull has authentic copies. But, as it has been, ever since the conquest of Canada, the principle of the British government, to unite the American Indians, that, all petty jealousies being extinguished, the real wishes of the several tribes may be fully expressed, and in consequence, all the treaties made with them, may have the most complete ratification and universal concurrence, so, he feels it proper to state to the commissioners, that a jealousy of a contrary conduct in the agents of the United States, appears to him to have been deeply impressed upon the minds of the confederacy.

*To the Commissioners, &c.*

### *Letter to General Knox.*

Navy Hall, *20th June*, 1793.

Sir:

We have been in daily expectation of Mr. Parrish's arrival, but probably the continual rains, (for not a day passes without them) have delayed him.

About the 6th instant, the six friends, Mr. Heckewelder, Dr. McCoskry, Captain Hendricks, and his four companions of the Stockbridge tribe, sailed from fort Erie for Detroit, to gain intelligence, and (the whites) there await our arrival. But the day before yesterday, mentioning to Governor Simcoe our intention of going to Detroit, to learn the true state of things prior to our landing at Sandusky, he objected to our proceeding up to the town of Detroit, though we might go to the mouth of Detroit river, adding, that there were settlers there, among whom we could find such accommodations as we should need; and that he would obtain letters for us, to them, from a gentlemen here, (Mr. Baby) who is a member of the Legislative council.

As soon as Mr. Parrish returns, and a vessel shall arrive at fort Erie to receive us, we intend to embark for Detroit river. By all accounts, there will be a very great assembly of Indians, beyond what was expected before we left Philadelphia. Of the Six Nations, dwelling within the United States, the following numbers may attend the treaty:

| | |
|---|---|
| Oneidas from Oneida, - - - - - | 14 |
| Onondagoes from Onondago, - - - - | 6 |
| Cayugas from Cayuga, about - - - - | 5 |
| Senecas from Genesee, about - - - - | 24 |
| Do. from Buffalo creek, - - - - | 47 |
| Onodagoes do. about - - - - | 10 |
| Cayugas do. about - - - - | 14 |
| | 116 |

To these, may probably be added a number of Cayugas of Buffalo creek, who accompany Fish Carrier, who is the head of that nation.

From appearances, the conclusion of the treaty will be procrastinated beyond the time you expected, unless it should be cut short by peremptory demands, on the part of the Indians, of terms to which we cannot accede.

No further advice has been received from Colonel McKee, relative to the time when the Indians will be at Sandusky. He and Brandt attend their previous councils at the Rapids of the Miami. Colonel Butler was to have sailed about a week since, but, being taken sick, returned from fort Erie. Perhaps he may now go in the same vessel with us.

We have the honor to be, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

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*Letter to General Knox, (per Mr. Baynton.)*

NAVY HALL, 26*th June*, 1793.

SIR:

Yesterday, Mr. Parrish arrived, with your letters of the 6th and 12th. We are happy that he has obtained a full supply of wampum.

On the 1st June, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Ash, interpreters, arrived, with a letter from Major Craig, mentioning the terms on which they were engaged. The vessel, in which the friends, Mr. Heckewelder, &c. embarked, meeting with some delay at fort Erie, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Ash had time to proceed with them to Detroit. Mr. Wilson appears to be an intelligent man; and from his acquaintance at the Westward, we hoped he might collect some useful information. He intended to go to the Rapids of the Miami, but was disappointed. His letter of the 17th, and Colonel McKee's of the 14th instant, (of which copies are enclosed) will explain the causes thereof.

Jasper Parrish left General Chapin near fort Erie, with Colonel Butler, who told him that Colonel McKee had written him on the 19th instant; that the Western Indians were waiting the arrival of the Six Nations, and desired that they might be hastened on. Colonel Butler had, accordingly, sent for those of the Six Nations, who had collected at Buffalo creek, for the purpose of proceeding to the treaty. They have, probably, embarked with Colonel Butler yesterday or to-day.

Another vessel lies at fort Erie, ready to receive us, and we shall proceed for that place to-day. Our stores are now on the way.

At our request, General Chapin has come forward, to accompany us to the treaty. He was here some time ago, and, after much conversation with him, we were of opinion that his assistance would be very useful. We have engaged him some compensation, independent of his ordinary allowance as Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

We were glad to receive the various proclamations forbidding expeditions northward of the Ohio. With all the proofs we can obtain, we shall find it difficult enough to allay the jealousy of the Indians, who will doubtless be frequently alarmed with stories, as groundless as that mentioned in the letters of Colonel McKee and Mr. Wilson. Every escort with provisions will probably occasion such reports, and, should there be any apparent accumulation of troops at the posts, beyond their ordinary complement, it may at least greatly retard our negotiations. Permit us to ask, whether a truce should not be considered as existing during the treaty, and whether a liberal observance of the laws of a truce, on the part of the United States, be not expedient? Although, by the Indians, to whom such laws are unknown, they are not respected, we shall, however, use our endeavors to impress them with the propriety and necessity of abstaining from all hostilities, while the event of the treaty is in suspense.

We ardently hope, that the minds of the Southern Indians may be quieted and peace confirmed.

Nothing would make us more happy, than to be able to relieve the President from any degree of the anxiety he feels for "the entire success of our mission." But no facts have yet come to our knowledge, by which we can warrant an opinion on the event of it. The result shall be communicated to you as early as possible, with the copy mentioned in your postscript. Mr. Baynton has made a verbal communication of what he says was entrusted to him, by you, and which we shall not forget.

We remain, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

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*Letter to Major Craig, forwarded by Joseph Nicholson.*

FORT ERIE, 28*th June*, 1793.

SIR:

Mr. Nicholson arrived here on the 25th instant, with two Seneca Indians, who delivered us your letter of the 8th, with three packages of wampum. We are much obliged by your attention to our request. Fortunately, our messenger to Philadelphia returned the day before, with a full supply. We are glad that two of the Wabash Indians are persuaded to accompany the Senecas, in order to attend the treaty. The compensation to the runners was undoubtedly proper. We think a further compensation due for their faithful services; and accordingly, have now delivered to them, that is, to the two runners who have come here, eight and a third dollars, each, and to the one who remained at the Burnt towns, one guinea. To Mr. Nicholson, we have given four guineas, to support him on his return, and the Indians to their homes; for which, he will account with you. Having previously engaged very competent interpreters for the languages of the Six Nations, it was not necessary to add to the number, by retaining Mr. Nicholson. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Ash arrived here on the 1st instant, and, in a few days, embarked for Detroit. We received a letter from him at that place, on the 17th. The Western Indians were then beginning to council among themelves, at their general meeting at the Rapids of the Miami of the lake. We shall sail with the first fair wind for Detroit river, and go to Sandusky as soon as we find the Indians are ready to proceed from the Miami.

We are, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

*June 29th.*

The commissioners and their suite went to fort Erie to embark for Sandusky; but the winds being contrary, they returned three or four miles to their lodgings.

*June 30th.*

The wind still contrary, nevertheless the commissioners and their suite embarked on board the schooner Dunmore, Captain Henry Ford, commander.

*July 5th.*

Still detained by contrary winds at fort Erie. This day arrived in a vessel from the Miami, Colonel Butler, a British superintendent of Indian affairs, and Captain Brandt, with about fifty Indians, being a deputation from the Indian nations, assembled at the rapids of the Miami, to confer with the commissioners of the United States, in presence of the Governor of Upper Canada.

The deputation being met, gave notice to the commissioners that they desired to speak with them. The commissioners attending, a Shawanese chief, called Cat's Eyes, addressed them thus:

Brothers: We are sent by the nations of Indians assembled at the rapids of the Miami, to meet the commissioners of the United States. We are glad to see you here. It is the will of the chiefs of those nations, that our father, the Governor of this province, should be present, and hear what we have to say to you, and what you have to say to us.

Brothers: Do not make yourselves uneasy that we did not meet you at the time you proposed at Sandusky. The reasons thereof will be mentioned at another time. [Four strings of black and white wampum.]

To which the commissioners, after repeating the foregoing speech, replied:

Brothers: The commissioners are glad to see you. We will confer with you in presence of your father, the Governor of this province, at any time and place which shall be convenient to him and you. [Returned the four strings.]

The chiefs having consulted a few minutes by themselves, again asked the attendance of the commissioners, and proposed that the conference should be at the Governor's, at Niagara, to which the commissioners agreed, informing the chiefs that they would be at the Governor's to-morrow night.

In Council, *at Navy Hall, July 7th,* 1793.

Present, commissioners of the United States, Colonel Simcoe, Governor of Upper Canada, and a considerable number of civil and military officers, deputation of Indians from the council assembled at the rapids of the Miami.

Captain Brandt, with a belt and strings of wampum, rose and said:

Brothers: We have met to-day our brothers the Bostonians and English. We are glad to have the meeting, and think it is by the appointment of the Great Spirit.

Brothers of the United States: We told you the other day, at fort Erie, that, at another time, we would inform you why we had not assembled at the time and place appointed for holding the treaty with you. We now inform you that it is because there is so much of the appearance of war in that quarter.

Brothers: We have given the reason for our not meeting you, and now we request an explanation of those warlike appearances.

Brothers: The people you see here are sent to represent the Indian nations, who own the lands north of the Ohio, as their common property, and who are all of one mind—one heart.

Brothers: We have come to speak to you for two reasons: one, because your warriors, being in our neighborhood, have prevented our meeting at the appointed place; the other, to know if you are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between the lands of the United States, and of the Indian nations. We are still desirous of meeting you at the appointed place.

Brothers: We wish you to deliberate well on this business. We have spoken our sentiments in sincerity, considering ourselves in the presence of the Great Spirit, from whom, in time of danger, we expect assistance. [A white belt of 12 rows and 30 strings of wampum, in five bunches, nearly all white.]

The commissioners answered:

Brothers: We have attended to what you have said. We will take it into our serious consideration, and give you an answer to-morrow. We will inform you when we are ready.

Captain Brandt replied:

Brothers: We thank you for what you have said. You say you will answer our speech to-morrow. We now cover up the council fire.

*The answer of the commissioners of the United States to the speech delivered yesterday by Captain Brandt, in behalf of the Western Indians.*

Niagara, 8th July, 1793.

In Council. Present as yesterday.

Brothers: By the appointment of the Great Spirit we are again met together. We hope he will assist us on both sides to see and to do what is right. It gives us pleasure that this meeting is in the presence of our brothers, the English.

Brothers: Yesterday, according to your promise at fort Erie, you told us the reason why the nations whom you represent had delayed assembling at the time and place appointed for meeting us. "That it was because there was so much of the appearance of war in that quarter."

Brothers: You requested an explanation of these warlike appearances.

Brothers: You told us that the people whom we saw here were sent to represent the Indian nations who own the lands on the northern side of the Ohio, as their common property, and who are all of one mind—one heart.

Brothers: You said you had two reasons for coming to speak to us here; one that our warriors, being in your neighborhood, had prevented your meeting at the appointed place; the other, to be informed whether we are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between the lands of the United States and of the Indian nations. You added, that you were still desirous of meeting us at the appointed place.

Brothers: You desired that we would deliberate well on this business. You declared that you spoke your sentiments in sincerity, considering yourselves in the presence of God, from whom, in time of danger, you expect assistance.

Brothers: We have now repeated your speech as we understood it from the interpretation. We hope we have not mistaken your meaning.

Brothers: Now listen to our answer in behalf of the United States.

Brothers: You have mentioned two objects of your coming to meet us at this place. One to obtain an explanation of the warlike appearances on the part of the United States on the northern side of the Ohio; the other, to learn whether we have authority to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours.

Brothers: On the first point, we cannot but express our extreme regret, that any reports of warlike appearances, on the part of the United States, should have delayed our meeting at Sandusky. The nature of the case irresistibly forbids all apprehensions of hostile incursions into the Indian country, north of the Ohio, during the treaty at Sandusky.

Brothers: We were deputed by the Great Chief and the Great Council of the United States to treat with you of peace; and is it possible that the same Great Chief and his Great Council could order their warriors to make fresh war, while we were sitting round the same fire with you, in order to make peace? Is it possible that our Great Chief and his council could act so deceitfully towards us, their commissioners, as well as towards you? Brothers, we think it is not possible. But we will quit argument and come to facts.

**Brothers:** We assure you that our Great Chief, General Washington, has strictly forbidden all hostilities against you, until the event of the proposed treaty at Sandusky shall be known. Here is the proclamation of his head warrior, General Wayne, to that effect. But, Brothers, our Great Chief is so sincere in his professions for peace, and so desirous of preventing every thing which could obstruct the treaty, and prolong the war, that, besides giving the above orders to his head warrior, he has informed the Governors of the several States, adjoining the Ohio, of the treaty proposed to be held at Sandusky; and desired them to unite their power with his to prevent any hostile attempts against the Indians, north of the Ohio, until the result of the treaty is made known. Those Governors have accordingly issued their orders, strictly forbidding all such hostilities. The proclamations of the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania we have here in our hands.

**Brothers:** If, after all these precautions of our Great Chief, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of justice or public good can restrain. But we hope and believe that none such will be found.

**Brothers:** After these explanations, we hope you will possess your minds in peace, relying on the good faith of the United States that no injury is to be apprehended by you during the treaty.

**Brothers:** We now come to the second point: whether we are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours.

**Brothers:** We answer explicitly that we have that authority. Where this line should run, will be the great subject of discussion at the treaty between you and us: and we sincerely hope and expect, that it may then be fixed to the satisfaction of both parties. Doubtless some concessions must be made on both sides. In all disputes and quarrels, both parties usually take some wrong steps; so that it is only by mutual concessions, that a true reconcilement can be effected.

**Brothers:** We wish you to understand us clearly on this head: for we mean that all our proceedings should be marked with candor. We therefore repeat, and say explicitly, that some concessions will be necessary on your part, as well as on ours, in order to establish a just and permanent peace.

**Brothers:** After this great point of the boundary shall be fully considered, at the treaty, we shall know what concessions and stipulations it will be proper to make on the part of the United States; and we trust they will be such as the world will pronounce reasonable and just.

**Brothers:** You have told us that you represent the nations of Indians who own the lands north of the Ohio, and whose chiefs are now assembled at the rapids of the Miami.

**Brothers:** It would be a satisfaction to us to be informed of the names of those nations, and of the numbers of the chiefs of each so assembled.

**Brothers:** We once more turn your eyes to your representation of the warlike appearances in your country; and, to give you complete satisfaction on this point, we now assure you, that, as soon as our councils at this place are ended, we will send a messenger on horseback to the Great Chief of the United States, to desire him to renew and strongly repeat his orders to his head warrior, not only to abstain from all hostilities against you, but to remain quietly at his posts, until the event of the treaty shall be known.—[A white belt of seven rows, and twenty-six strings of wampum, nearly all white, annexed.]

The foregoing speech, having been interpreted by Mr. Dean in the Oneida tongue, was interpreted by Captain Brandt's nephew, into the Shawanese language, and from that, by another interpreter, into the language of the Chippewa nation; after which, the Shawanese chief (called Cat's Eyes) thus addressed the commissioners:

**Brothers**, the Bostonians, attend: We have heard your words. Our Fathers, the English people, have also heard them. We thank God that you have been preserved in peace, and that we bring our pipes together. The people of all the different nations here salute you. They rejoice to hear your words. It gives us great satisfaction that our Fathers, the English, have heard them also. We shall, for the present, take up our pipes, and retire to our encampments, where we shall deliberately consider your speech, and return you an answer to-morrow.

Niagara, *9th July*, 1793.

In council, present as yesterday.

Captain Brandt arose, with the belt and strings which were yesterday delivered by the commissioners, and, addressing himself to the English and Americans, said:

**Brothers:** We are glad the Great Spirit has preserved us in peace, to meet together this day.

**Brothers of the United States:** Yesterday you made an answer to the message delivered you by us, from the great council at Miami, in the two particulars which we had stated to you.

**Brothers:** You may depend on it, we fully understood your speech. We shall take with us your belt and strings, and repeat it to the chiefs at the great council at Miami.—[Laid down the strings and belt, and took up a white belt.]

**Brothers:** We have something further to say, though not much. We are small, compared with our great chiefs at Miami. But, though small, we have something to say.

**Brothers:** We think, from your speech, that there is a prospect of our coming together. We, who are the nations at the Westward, are of one mind; and, if we agree with you, as there is a prospect that we shall, it will be binding and lasting.

**Brothers:** Our prospects are the fairer, because all our minds are one: you have not before spoken to us unitedly. Formerly, because you did not speak to us unitedly, what was done was not binding. Now, you have an opportunity of speaking to us together; and we now take you by the hand, to lead you to the place appointed for the meeting.—[A white belt of seven rows.]

**Brothers:** This is all we have to say.

Afterwards, Captain Brandt, recollecting that he had not answered our request, respecting the nations and chiefs assembled at the Miami, rose and said:

**Brothers:** One thing more we have to say: yesterday you expressed a wish to be informed of the names of the nations, and numbers of chiefs assembled at Miami. But, as they were daily coming in, we cannot give you exact information. You will see for yourselves in a few days. When we left it, the following nations were there, viz:

Five Nations,
Wyandots,
Shawanese,
Delawares,
Munsees,
Miamies,
Ottawas,
Chippewas,
Pattawatamies,
Mingoes,
Cherokees,
Nantikokies.

The principal men of all these nations were there.

He then presented the list on paper.

*The Commissioners then replied:*

**Brothers:** Our ears have been open to your speech. It is agreeable to us. We are ready to accompany you to the place of treaty, where, under the direction of the Great Spirit, we hope for a speedy termination to the present war, on terms equally interesting and agreeable to all parties.

N. B. At the Council held at Niagara, on the 7th July, before the arrival of the commissioners from Navy Hall, Captain Brandt, in the name of the deputies, thus addressed the Governor, Colonel Simcoe:

It being agreed at the Rapids that we should come and meet the commissioners in our Father's presence, we return our thanks to the Great Spirit for seeing your Excellency well this day. Our intention and business is peaceable, and our inclination is to do what is right and just. We are all of one mind, and wished your Excellency to be present.—[A belt of wampum.]

*His Excellency, in reply, said:*

He was happy to see them well, and as the commissioners expressed their wishes* to meet the Indians in his presence, he should be glad to hear what they had to say.—[The belt returned.]

At Niagara, 10*th July*, 1793.

The commissioners wrote the following letters to the President and Secretary of War, and sent them off by Jasper Parrish, express.

*Letter to General Knox.*

Niagara, 10*th July*, 1793.

Sir:

The enclosed extract from our journal will account for our being here. We think the coming of the deputation from the Western Indians, a fortunate event. It must have been their extreme jealousy of the United States that made them solicitous to speak with us in presence of the Governor; and our answer being satisfactory, we believe it will have a better effect, than the same sentiments delivered under any other circumstances.

Our promise to send a special messenger to the President, to desire fresh orders might be sent to General Wayne, not only to abstain from hostilities, but to remain quietly at his posts, was thought a very necessary measure; and it will be alike necessary that those orders should be issued and strictly observed. In a former letter, we intimated our opinion and wishes on this point. We now think, and our duty obliges us to declare it, that an exact observation of the laws of a truce is essential to the success of the treaty.

The Indians have information, confirmed by repeated scouts, that General Wayne has cut and cleared a road, straight from fort Washington, into the Indian country, in a direction that would have missed fort Jefferson; but that, meeting with a large swamp, it was, of necessity, turned to that fort, and then continued *six miles beyond it;* that large quantities of provisions are accumulated at the forts, far exceeding the wants of the garrisons; and numerous herds of horses and cattle, assembled beyond fort Jefferson, guarded by considerable bodies of troops. With these preparations for war in their neighborhood, (for it is but three days' journey from thence to the Glaize) they say their minds cannot rest easy. The distance, here mentioned, is from Captain Brandt's information, and is, no doubt, exact. We suppose that twenty to five and twenty miles may be deemed a day's journey.

The manner in which negotiations for peace are conducted by Indians, demands a particular consideration. On such occasions, not commissioners, or a few counsellors, *but the body of the nations assemble.* The negotiations will of course be delayed, or interrupted, if the movements of their enemies call the warriors from the council to watch or check them. The measures pursued by General Wayne appear to have produced this unhappy effect, and probably strengthened jealousies, before almost insurmountable. We know that those measures are viewed by the British as unfair, and unwarrantable; and we cannot suppose that their opinion will be concealed from the Indians, if the latter have not previously entertained the same ideas.

After this detail, it can hardly be necessary to express our opinions on the subject. It is obvious, that, to ensure a quiet, uninterrupted treaty, the cattle, horses, and troops, beyond what are proper for the posts themselves, should not be advanced from the Ohio; any that are now in advance, beyond fort Jefferson, should certainly be immediately withdrawn; and we doubt whether that would be satisfactory, if their numbers, in any degree, correspond with the reports among the Indians at their council.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

*Letter to the President of the United States.*

Niagara, 10*th July*, 1793.

Sir:

General Knox will of course lay before you our communications of this date. We address you that we may literally comply with our promise to the deputies of the Western Indians, "that we would desire you to issue fresh orders to General Wayne, not only to abstain from hostilities, but to remain quietly at his posts, until the event of the treaty should be known." Our sentiments on this subject are fully expressed in our letter to the Secretary of War, to which we must beg leave to refer. Those sentiments your own solicitude for peace will sufficiently enforce.

We are, sir, with great respect, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

*Letter to General Knox.*

Niagara, 10*th July*, 1793.

Sir:

In our instructions we are directed to stipulate the compensation to the Indians in goods, by a tariff, comprehending the prime cost and charges of transportation. We have no means of forming the tariff. We request you to send us, by Mr. Parrish, the prices of all Indian goods, and the usual expense of transportation from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and thence to such place in the Western territory, as shall be suitable, for the delivery of them to the Indians.

We are, sir, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

Having despatched these letters, the commissioners left Niagara, and, the next day, (July 11th) arrived at fort Erie.

*July 14th.*

The wind favoring, we set sail for the mouth of Detroit river, where we arrived the 21st, in the morning, and took our quarters at Captain Matthew Elliot's. He is an assistant to Colonel McKee.

*Letter to Colonel Alexander McKee.*

On Detroit River, 21*st July*, 1793.

Sir:

We embrace this opportunity to inform you of our arrival at this place, where we shall wait until we have intelligence that the nations of Indians at the rapids of the Miami are ready to move to Sandusky. We shall be greatly obliged by your endeavors to expedite the counsels of the Indians, that we may meet them without more delay. You will add to our obligations, by sending us the earliest notice when we may expect the Indian nations will arrive at Sandusky, that we may be there at the same time.

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* The commissioners expressed no such thing; they merely consented to the measure, because it was the *wish of the Indians*. [See the proceedings of July 5th.]

Note.—This copy of the address to, and answer from, the Governor, was received from his secretary, Major Littlehales, at Niagara, 10th July, 1793.

We wrote you on the 30th of May, but having received no answer, are apprehensive that our letter did not reach you.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

*July 29th*, 1793.

Captain Elliot arrived with a deputation of upwards of twenty Indians, from the nations assembled at the foot of the Miami rapids. He delivered us the following letter from Colonel McKee:

Foot of the Rapids, *28th July*, 1793.

Gentlemen:

I had the honor to receive your letter of the 21st instant. That which you mentioned to have wrote on the 30th of May, has not yet come to hand. As soon as I am enabled to inform you at what time the Indians will meet at Sandusky, I will not fail to give you the earliest notice, and, as far as it depends on me, shall expedite it most cordially.

I am, gentlemen, yours, &c.

ALEXANDER McKEE.

To Messrs. B. L. B. R. T. P. *Commissioners of the United States.*

*July 30th.—In Council at Captain Elliot's, near the mouth of Detroit river.*

Present, The Commissioners of the United States,
The Deputation of Indians,
The British officers and inhabitants.

The deputation addressed the commissioners as follows: A Wyandot chief, called Sà-wágh-da-wunk, (whose name signifies Carry-one-about) being their speaker.

Brothers, listen: We are glad to see you here in peace, and thank the Great Spirit that has preserved us to meet again.

Brothers: We were sent to speak to you sometime ago, at Niagara. Some chiefs are are now here, who were then present.

Brothers: We did not explain ourselves to each other, and we did not rightly understand each other.

Brothers: We desired that we might rightly understand each other. We have thought it best, that what we had to say should be put into writing, and here (presenting a paper to the commissioners) is the meaning of our hearts.

The above speech was interpreted by Simon Girty, a British interpreter.

The commissioners received the papers, and told the deputation they would well consider the subject of it, and return an answer in writing; and give them notice when they were ready to deliver it.

The contents of the paper were as follows:

*To the Commissioners of the United States:*

Brothers: The deputies we sent to you, did not fully explain our meaning. We have therefore sent others, to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask of you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing.

Brothers: You are sent here by the United States, in order to make peace with us, the confederate Indians.

Brothers: You know very well that the boundary line, which was run between the white people and us, at the treaty of fort Stanwix, was the river Ohio.

Brothers: If you seriously design to make a firm and lasting peace, you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that river.

Brothers: We therefore ask you, are you fully authorized by the United States to continue, and firmly fix on the Ohio river, as the boundary line, between your people and ours?

Done in general council, at the foot of the Miami rapids, 27th July, 1793, in behalf of ourselves, and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in a full council.

*Wyandots*—Bear,
*Delawares*—Turtle,
*Shawanese*—Snake,
*Miamies.*
*Mingoes*—Snipe,
*Pattawatamies*—Fish,
*Ottawas.*
*Connoys*—Turkey,
*Chippewas.*
*Munsees.*

*July 31st.*

At the close of the afternoon, the commissioners delivered the following answer to the deputation:

*Speech of the Commissioners of the United States to the Deputies of the Confederated Indian nations, assembled at the rapids of the Miami river:*

Brothers:

You yesterday addressed us, mentioning a former deputation, who met us at Niagara. At that meeting you said we did not come to a right understanding; that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning to *us*, nor we *ours* to them: that you desired we might rightly understand each other, and therefore thought it best that what you had to say should be put into writing. Then, handing us a paper, you said, "here is the meaning of our hearts."

Brothers: That paper is directed to the commissioners of the United States, and speaks to them these words, viz: [here is repeated their written address, as transcribed in the preceding pages.]

Brothers, the deputies here present: We have now repeated the words contained in the paper which you delivered to us; and those words are interpreted to you. We presume the interpretation agrees with your idea of the contents of the paper. It is expressed to be signed by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, Mingoes, Pattawatamies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippewas, and Munsees, in behalf of themselves and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in full council.

Brothers: We are a little surprised at the suggestion, that, in the conference at Niagara, we did not come to a right understanding, and that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning. Those deputies appeared to be men of good understanding, and when we saw them they were perfectly sober; in short, we never saw men in public council more attentive, or behave with more propriety. We could not, therefore, suppose they could mistake your meaning or ours. Certainly we were sufficiently explicit, for, in plain terms, we declared, "That, in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary, on your part as well as on ours." These words, Brothers, are a part of our speech to your deputies; and that speech, they assured us, they fully understood. What those concessions should be, on both sides, and where the boundary line should be fixed, were proper subjects of discussion, at the treaty, when we should speak face to face. This, we are certain, would be the best way to remove all difficulties. But your nations have adopted another mode, which, by keeping us at a distance, prevents our knowing each other, and keeps alive those jealousies, which are the greatest obstacles to a peace. We are, therefore, desirous of meeting your nations in full council, without more delay.

We have already waited in this province sixty days beyond the time appointed for opening the treaty.

**Brothers:** We have now expressed our opinion of the proper mode of settling the differences between you and the United States; but, as your nations have desired answers to certain questions, previous to our meeting, and we are disposed to act with frankness and sincerity, we will give you an explicit answer to the great question you have now proposed to us. But, before we do this, we think it necessary to look back to some former transactions, and we desire you patiently to hear us.

**Brothers:** We do know very well, that, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, twenty-five years ago, the river Ohio was agreed on, as the boundary line between you and the white people, of the British colonies; and we all know, that, about seven years after that boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your Father the King of Great Britain, and the people of those colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the Treaty of Peace made with the King about ten years ago, by which the great lakes, and the waters which unite them, were, by him, declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

**Brothers:** Peace having been thus made, between the King of Great Britain and the United States, it remained to make peace between them and the Indian nations, who had taken part with the King; for this purpose, commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace. The first treaty was held about nine years ago, at fort Stanwix, with the Six Nations, which has stood firm and unviolated to this day. The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at fort M'Intosh, with the half king of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, and Chippewa nations. Afterwards treaties were made with divers Indian nations, south of the Ohio river; and the next treaty was made with Kakiapilathy, here present, and other Shawanese chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanese nation, at the mouth of the Great Miami, which runs into the Ohio.

**Brothers:** The commissioners who conducted these treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the great council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of land thereby ceded, and a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States, and settled upon them; also many families of your ancient fathers, the French, came over the great water, and settled upon a part of the same lands.

**Brothers:** After some time, it appeared that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of fort M'Intosh, and Miami; therefore, the great council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their commissioner, with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the Northern department, and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire, which he kindled at the falls of Muskingum.

While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out; so he kindled a council fire at fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians of different nations attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots and Delawares, renewed and confirmed the treaty of fort M'Intosh; some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, and Sacs, were also parties to the treaty of fort Harmar.

**Brothers:** All these treaties we have here with us. We have also the speeches of many chiefs who attended them, and who voluntarily declared their satisfaction with the terms of the treaties.

**Brothers:** After making all these treaties, and after hearing the chiefs express freely their satisfaction with them, the United States expected to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly, large tracts have been sold and settled, as before mentioned. And now, brothers, we answer explicitly, that, for the reasons here stated to you, it is impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary, between your people and the people of the United States.

**Brothers:** You are men of understanding, and if you consider the customs of white people, the great expenses which attend their settling in a new country, the nature of their improvements, in building houses, and barns, and clearing and fencing their lands, how valuable the lands are thus rendered, and thence how dear they are to them you will see that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the northern side of the Ohio. Your brothers, the English, know the nature of white people, and they know that, under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

**Brothers:** You seem to consider all the lands in dispute, on your side of the Ohio, as claimed by the United States; but suffer us to remind you, that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to the State of Pennsylvania. This tract lies east of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek, at the Ohio, due north to lake Erie. This line is the western boundary of Pennsylvania, as claimed under the charter given by the King of England to your ancient friend, William Penn; of this sale, made by the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to the State of Pennsylvania, we have never heard any complaint.

**Brothers:** We are, on this occasion, obliged to make a long speech. We again desire you to hear us patiently; the business is of the highest importance, and a great many words are necessary fully to explain it: for we desire you may perfectly understand us; and there is no danger of your forgetting what we say, because we will give you our speech in writing.

**Brothers:** We have explicitly declared to you, that we cannot now make the Ohio river the boundary between us. This agrees with our speech to your deputies at Niagara, "that, in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary on your part as well as on ours."

**Brothers:** The concessions which we think necessary on your part are, that you yield up, and finally relinquish to the United States, some of the lands on your side of the river Ohio. The United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of fort Harmar, and also a small tract of land at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clarke, for the use of himself and his warriors; and, in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum, in money or goods, as was never given at one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their foot on this island. And because those lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies; and therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will, every year, deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best suited to the wants of yourselves, your women, and children.

**Brothers:** If all the lands, before mentioned, cannot be delivered up to the United States, then we shall desire to treat and agree with you on a new boundary line; and for the quantity of land you relinquish to us within that new boundary line, we shall stipulate a generous compensation, not only for a large sum, to be paid at once, but for a yearly rent, for the benefit of yourselves and your children forever.

**Brothers:** Here you see one concession, which we are willing to make on the part of the United States. Now listen to another, of a claim which probably has more disturbed your minds than any other whatever.

**Brothers:** The commissioners of the United States have formerly set up a claim to your whole country, southward of the great lakes, as the property of the United States, grounding this claim on the treaty of peace with your father, the King of Great Britain, who declared, as we have before mentioned, the middle of those lakes and the waters which unite them, to be the boundaries of the United States.

**Brothers:** We are determined that our whole conduct shall be marked with openness and sincerity. We, therefore, frankly tell you, that we think those commissioners put an erroneous construction on that part of our treaty with the King. As he had not purchased the country of you, of course he could not give it away; he only relinquished to the United States his claim to it. That claim was founded on a right acquired by treaty, with other white nations, to exclude them from purchasing, or settling, in any part of your country; and it is this right which the King granted to the United States. Before that grant, the King alone had a right to purchase of the Indian nations, any of the lands between the great lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, excepting the part within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania; and the King, by the treaty of peace, having granted this right to the United States, they alone have now the right of purchasing; so that, now, neither the King, nor any of his people, have any right to interfere with the United States, in respect to any part of those lands. All your brothers, the English, know this to be true; and it agrees with the declaration of Lord Dorchester, to your deputies, two years ago, at Quebec.

**Brothers:** We now concede this great point. We, by the express authority of the President of the United States, acknowledge the property, or right of soil, of the great country above described, to be in the Indian nations, so long as they desire to occupy the same. We only claim particular tracts in it, as before mentioned, and the general right granted by the King, as above stated, and which is well known to the English and Americans, and called the right of pre-emption, or the right of purchasing of the Indian nations disposed to sell their lands, to the exclusion of all other white people whatever.

**Brothers:** We have now opened our hearts to you. We are happy in having an opportunity of doing it; though we should have been more happy to have done it in the full council of your nations. We expect soon to have this satisfaction, and that your next deputation will take us by the hand, and lead us to the treaty. When we meet, and converse with each other freely, we may easily remove any difficulties which may come in the way of peace.

At Captain Elliot's, at the mouth of Detroit river, 31st July, 1793.

B. L.
B. R. } *Commissioners of the United States.*
T. P.

This speech was interpreted by Mr. Jones, in the Seneca tongue, which was well understood by the Wyandot chief, Sâ-wâgh-da-wunk, and divers others of the deputation, and by Simon Girty. The interpretation being finished, the commissioners handed the speech, in writing, to the deputation, with a white belt, crossed with thirteen stripes of black wampum. The deputation said it was now too late to make any reply, but they would speak to us in the morning.

*August 1st*, 1793.

**In Council: Present as yesterday.**

The Wyandot chief, Sâ-wâgh-da-wunk, arose and spoke: Simon Girty interpreted.

**Brothers:** We are all brothers you see here now.

**Brothers:** It is now three years since you desired to speak with us; we heard you yesterday, and understand you well—perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you.

**Brothers:** You mentioned the treaties of fort Stanwix, Beaver creek, and other places; those treaties were not complete. There were but a few chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands; they belong to us. You tried to draw off some of us.

**Brothers:** Many years ago, we all know, that the Ohio was made the boundary. It was settled by Sir William Johnston. This side is ours; we look upon it as our property.

**Brothers:** You mentioned General Washington. He and you know you have your houses and people on our land; you say you cannot move them off; and we cannot give up our land.

**Brothers:** We are sorry we cannot come to an agreement; the line has been fixed long ago.

**Brothers:** We don't say much; there has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, and thought you did the same. We shall talk to our head warriors. You may return whence you came, and tell Washington.

The council here breaking up, Captain Elliot went to the Shawanese chief, Kakiapalathy, and told him the last part of the speech was wrong. That chief came back, and said it was wrong. Girty said he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot chief spoke. An explanation took place, and Girty added as follows:

**Brothers:** Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts, and shall consult our head warriors.

The commissioners then said, that they would wait to hear again from their council at the rapids; but desired their answer might be given without delay.

Thursday, *8th August*.

This evening arrived two of Captain Hendrick's men, with letters, requesting some necessaries may be sent him; and informing of the proceedings of the Indian council at the Miami, and the disposition of the Indian nations, relative to peace and war, after our speech of the 31st ultimo had been interpreted to them. By the information of the letters, and messengers, it appeared, that all the Indians were for peace, except the Shawanese, Wyandots, Miamies, and Delawares; that these had at length yielded to the opinions of the other nations, and that peace would probably be made. Captain Hendricks also expressed his opinion, that we should receive an invitation from all the confederated nations, to meet them, at or near the mouth of the Miami, this week.

*August 9th.*

Twelve Munsees and Chippewas arrived. They said they came to this side of the river on purpose to see the commissioners from the United States. They confirmed, generally, the opinion of Hendricks' men. They said they were on their way home, except a Munsee, who lives at Sandusky, (for they had worn out their clothes, and were tired of the long continuance of the treaty; and they expected, that the greatest difficulties being got over, the chiefs (some of all the nations remaining at the council) would now make peace.) Two of the eldest of them said, that when the warriors, who were going home, were about to leave the council, they enjoined it on their chiefs to make peace, that they might, without fear or interruption, return to their hunting.

Captain Bunbury (one of the British officers who accompany the commissioners) says, that one of the twelve Indians who arrived to-day, is an Ottawa; (or Tawa, as the name is often spoken) and that he said the Shawanese, and others, are strong for war, and will not abide by a peace into which they shall be dragged by the other nations.

Sunday, *11th August*.

The King's vessel, called the Chippewa, arrived from Detroit. She is bound to fort Erie. Twelve Senecas, including women and children, and most of them sick, from the Indian council at the rapids of the Miami, came in her. These Senecas are well known to General Chapin, and Jones, the interpreter. One of them, an intelligent man, gave us the like information about the proceedings at the council, upon our last speech, with that received from Hendricks' men, and the Munsees, and Chippewas, only that the four nations who inclined to continue the war, remained obstinate when he departed from the council. That the Six Nation chiefs had twice addressed them, urging them to agree to a peace, were going to speak to them a third time, and, if they were still obstinate, would exceed their usual custom, and speak a fourth time; and, if without effect, they would then leave them, and go home. He says the Farmer's Brother told him, and his company, that they might expect to be overtaken by messengers to the commissioners before they (the informant and his company) reached Detroit; but if none arrived, before they got down to the commissioners' quarters, that then they might conclude that no peace would be made. This Seneca said, that (except the four nations before mentioned) the Indians were for peace. He particularly mentioned the Six Nations, and the seven nations of Canada, as strongly recommending to the hostile Indians to make peace; and that, for this purpose, Captain Bandt, and the Farmer's Brother spoke a great deal in the council. He added, that, of the four excepted nations, near one-half were disposed for peace, and that the Messasagoes, Chippewas, and Ottawas, are as strong for peace as the seven nations of Canada.

MONDAY, 12*th August.*

No deputation or official information from the Indian council having yet arrived, the commissioners judged it would be expedient to proceed, without more delay, to the Miami bay or river, that they might more easily and expeditiously send to, and receive an answer from them. They accordingly wrote the following letter to Capt. Ford, the commander of the vessel designed by Governor Simcoe for their accommodation.

MOUTH OF DETROIT RIVER, 12*th August*, 1793.

SIR:

We have been waiting here twelve days, for a reply to our last answer to the Indian nations, assembled at the rapids of the Miami. We can think of no sufficient reason for this delay, and must, therefore, take measures to obtain that reply, or to ascertain whether we ought any longer to expect it. For this purpose we judge it proper to proceed ourselves to the Miami bay or river, that the necessary communication with the Indians may be easy and expeditious; for it is time that the business of our mission be brought to an issue.

We, therefore, request you to be prepared to sail to-morrow morning, when we propose to embark.

We are, sir, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

Captain HENRY FORD, *commanding the Dunmore.*

Captain Ford having read the letter, came and informed the commissioners, that he was instructed to attend the commissioners, but to receive his orders from Captain Bunbury, and desired us to speak to him. We spoke to Capt. Bunbury, told him that Governor Simcoe had assigned the Dunmore, Capt. Ford, to the use of the commissioners, and that, from what the Governor, and his Secretary, had repeatedly said, we had a right to conclude she was under our direction, to go when and where we thought proper, for the purposes of the treaty, except to Detroit. He said he had his orders from Governor Simcoe, and that by those orders he could not consent that the commissioners, or any deputation from them, should go to the Miami bay or river, until Col. McKee should give notice that the Indians were ready to receive them. But, says he, if the commissioners choose to go to Sandusky, I will order the Dunmore to proceed thither. He read some broken passages in Simcoe's letter to him. The commissioners asked if he would give an extract of the letter containing his orders. He answered, that Mr. Storer might take an extract. They retired together; Captain Bunbury read, and Mr. Storer wrote down from his mouth, the following words, as an extract of a letter from Colonel Simcoe to Captain Bunbury, dated at Navy Hall, 28th June, '93: "The directing the king's vessel to carry them (the commissioners) thither: she will anchor, therefore, as conveniently as possible to the northern shore of the river, on the banks of which they purpose to remain, until they hear from Colonel McKee. The Indians do not wish they should visit the opposite shore."

DETROIT RIVER, 12*th August*, 1793.

The above extract is, this day, verbally given me by Captain Bunbury, who, though desired, refuses to sign it.

CHARLES STORER.

TUESDAY, 13*th August.*

Being thus prevented from proceeding to the Miami bay, the commissioners concluded to send a message to the Indian nations at the rapids, and a letter to Colonel McKee. The message and letter here follow:

*To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Indian nations assembled at the foot of the rapids of the Miami river.*

BROTHERS: It is now fifteen days since we delivered our speech to your deputies at this place, in which we explicitly answered the written question, presented by them from you, and gave our reasons why we could not make the Ohio the boundary between you and the United States. We also mentioned some of the heads of the engagements we were willing to make in behalf of the United States. The particulars, together with other stipulations, for your benefit, we judged it proper to reserve, to be explained to you in full council, when we should meet face to face.

BROTHERS: The next morning your deputies spoke to us: said they would lay our speech before you, and desired us to wait here for an answer, which we desired and expected might be speedily given.

BROTHERS: We have waited fourteen days, and as yet no answer has arrived.

BROTHERS: It is time to bring the business to a conclusion. The summer has almost passed away, and we do not yet know even whether we are to have a treaty.

BROTHERS: You know that we came to treat with you of peace; we again tell you that we earnestly desire to make peace, and in the terms of peace we are disposed to do you ample justice. But if no treaty is to be held, if peace is not to be obtained, we desire immediately to know it, that we may go home.

Done at Captain Elliot's, at the mouth of Detroit river, the 14th day of August, 1793.

Signed by the commissioners.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

*Copy of a letter to Col. McKee.*

MOUTH OF DETROIT RIVER, 14*th August*, 1793.

SIR:

To the speech we delivered here to the deputation of the Indian nations assembled at the rapids of the Miami, we expected an early answer. We have waited fourteen days, and no answer has arrived. We have, therefore, despatched runners, with a speech to the chiefs and warriors, manifesting our wishes to begin the treaty, without more delay, and desiring to know immediately their decision on the subject. A copy of our speech is enclosed. We presume it will be in your power to forward the business. Your aid therein will be gratefully acknowledged. The mode in which the negotiations have hitherto been conducted is new, and as improper as it is new. All the questions which have been stated, might have been proposed to our faces, and have received prompt answers. We must soon close the negotiation, unless substantial reasons demand procrastination. In that case we may think ourselves justified in giving further proofs of our patience.

We again request your assistance to expedite the business which is the object of our mission, and are,

Sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

The message, accompanied with seven strings of black and white wampum, much intermixed, and the letter to Colonel McKee, were committed to the two runners, an Onondago and an Oneida, who set off this evening, and expect to reach the rapids to-morrow night.

N. B. The message and letter were, by mistake, dated the 14th.

*Instructions to the Runners.*

When you arrive at the Miami council fire, find Captain Brandt, the Farmer's Brother, the Cornplanter, the Fish Carrier, and Great Sky, and tell them you have a speech to the Indian nations, there assembled, from the commissioners of the United States, and request them to call the chiefs together; when the chiefs are met, then deliver the written speech and strings of wampum. As soon as this is done, find Colonel McKee, and deliver the letter to him.

Find Captain Hendricks, the chief of the Mohicans, and tell him you have brought a written speech to the Indians, and that you have delivered, or are going to deliver it to the chiefs. We shall be glad to have you return to us speedily, but speak to Captain Brandt, and the other chiefs of the Six Nations, and take their direction when to return. Let Colonel McKee know when you propose to come back, that you may bring an answer from him. Let Captain Hendricks know when you propose to return. On your way to the Miami, and back to us, tell nobody your business.

*August 16th, 1793, at the mouth of the Detroit river.*

In the afternoon of this day the commissioners received, by the hands of the two Wyandot runners, from the Indian council, at the rapids of the Miami, the following answer to their speech of the 31st July:

*To the Commissioners of the United States:*

Brothers: We have received your speech, dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations; we have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject. But we now answer it fully, having given it all the consideration in our power.

Brothers: You tell us that, after you had made peace with the king, our father, about ten years ago, "it remained to make peace between the United States, and the Indian nations who had taken part with the king. For this purpose, commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace;" and, after reciting the periods, at which you say treaties were held, at fort Stanwix, fort McIntosh, and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgment, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say, "Brothers, the commissioners who conducted these treaties, in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded."

Brothers: This is telling us plainly, what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended those treaties, viz: That they went to meet your commissioners to make peace, but, through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared that deeds of cession were signed by them, instead of treaties of peace.

Brothers: You then say, "after some time it appears that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of fort McIntosh and Miami, therefore the council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their commissioner, with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, relating to trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the Northern department, and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire he kindled at the falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out, so he kindled a council fire at fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians, of different nations, attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of fort McIntosh; some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies, and Sacs, were also parties to the treaty of fort Harmar."

Now, Brothers, these are your words, and it is necessary for us to make a short reply to them.

Brothers: A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place: and that general council was invited by your commissioner, Governor St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty, with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of fort Stanwix and fort McIntosh.

Brothers: We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederate Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the general council, of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands, would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only; and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested, than as a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or cession whatever.

Brothers: How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your commissioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States?

The part of these lands which the United States now wish us to relinquish, and which you say are settled, have been sold by the United States since that time.

Brothers: You say, "the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clarke, for the use of himself and his warriors. And in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum of money or goods, as was never given, at any one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their feet on this Island. And because these lands did every year furnish you with skins, and furs, with which you bought clothing, and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies. And therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women, and children."

Brothers: Money, to us, is of no value, and to most of us unknown: and as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

Brothers: We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people: give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us, annually, over and above this very large sum of money: and, we are persuaded, they would most readily accept of it, in lieu of the lands you sold them. If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies, with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purposes of re-paying these settlers for all their labor and their improvements.

Brothers: You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.

Brothers: You make one concession to us by offering us your money; and another by having agreed to do us justice, after having long, and injuriously, withheld it—we mean in the acknowledgment you have now made, that the King of England never did, nor ever had a right to give you our country, by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your concessions: and seem to expect that, because you have at last acknowledged our independence, we should, for such a favor, surrender to you our country.

Brothers: You have talked, also, a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the King, at the treaty of peace.

Brothers: We never made any agreement with the King, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands; and we declare to you, that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands, whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the King should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us: we have never parted with such a power.

Brothers: At our general council, held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio: and we determined not to meet you, until you gave us satisfaction on that point: that is the reason we have never met.

We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back, and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther, because the country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants; and we have therefore resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.

Brothers: We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message last fall was principally directed to obtain that information.

Done in general council, at the foot of the Miami Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.

NATIONS.

Wyandots,
Seven Nations of Canada,
Delawares,
Shawanese,
Miamies,
Ottawas,
Chippewas,
Senecas of the Glaize,
Pattawatamies,
Connoys,
Munsees,
Nantekokies,
Mohicans,
Messasagoes,
Creeks,
Cherokees.

To the foregoing answer of the Indian nations, the commissioners immediately made the following reply, and delivered it to the two Wyandot runners, who brought the answer.

To the chiefs and warriors of the Indian nations, assembled at the foot of the Miami Rapids:

Brothers: We have just received your answer, dated the 13th instant, to our speech of the 31st of last month, which we delivered to your deputies at this place. You say it was interpreted to all your nations, and we presume it was fully understood. We therein explicitly declared to you, that it was now impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your lands and the lands of the United States. Your answer amounts to a declaration, that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. The negotiation is therefore at an end. We sincerely regret, that peace is not the result; but, knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States, which, as far as you gave us an opportunity, we have explained to you, we trust that impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them.

Done at Captain Elliot's, at the mouth of Detroit river, the 16th day of August, 1793.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.
*Commissioners of the United States.*

The next morning (Saturday, August 17th) the commissioners sent, by their own runners, (being one Onondaga, and two Oneidas) the following letter, and the paper therein mentioned, to the chiefs of the Six Nations:

*To the Chiefs of the Six Nations:*

Brothers:

Two runners were sent by us, this week, with a message, dated the 14th of this month, to the Indian nations assembled at the rapids of the Miami. Our instructions to the runners were, to inform you that they had such a message from us, and to request you to assemble the chiefs of the other nations, and then deliver it to you all together. From the report of the runners, we are apprehensive that they mistook our orders, and that our message has not been communicated to you. We, therefore, now send you a copy of it, No. 1. We, at the same time, sent a letter to Colonel McKee, of which, also, we enclose a copy, No. 2.

Brothers: Our runners returned hither this evening; but a few hours before their arrival, two Wyandot runners arrived, with a written answer, No. 3, to our speech of the 31st of last month, insisting on the Ohio as the boundary between the Indian lands and those of the United States. As we had already explicitly declared that we could not make the Ohio the boundary, the business, of course, was at an end. However, we delivered a short speech, in writing, to the same runners, who set off this evening to return to the council at the rapids. We enclose a copy of it, No. 4.

Brothers: Being desirous that you should be fully informed of these transactions, we have sent you copies thereof, which you may not otherwise obtain.

Brothers: We came hither with the most sincere desire to make a peace that would be beneficial to the Indians, as well as to the United States; and, had such a peace been accomplished, we felt a confidence, that the justice and humanity of the United States, according to their present views of Indian affairs, would not only have continued, but extended their beneficence to the Indian nations, and, so far as it depended on them, have rendered the peace as lasting as the hills; and we should have been extremely happy in laying the foundation of so much good.

We have now only to return home, and report our proceedings to the President of the United States. We shall sail with the first fair wind for fort Erie.

Mouth of Detroit river, 16*th August*, 1793.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.
*Commissioners of the United States.*

Friday, *August 23d*, 1793.

This morning we arrived at fort Erie, and despatched the following letters:

*Letters to Major Craig, Deputy Quartermaster, Pittsburg.*

Fort Erie, 23*d August*, 1793.

Sir:

Enclosed are two letters to Major General Wayne, which we desire you to send to him by two separate conveyances; one of them, with all possible despatch, the other, by the next conveyance which shall present. You can best tell in what way the first letter may, with the utmost speed and certainty, be conveyed to General Wayne, and that we desire you to adopt. No expense is to be spared to effect this.

The commanding officer at Pittsburg will, certainly, give you any aid in his power. We shall send you, at least, four other letters, for General Wayne, of the same tenor, which we desire you to forward to him, one by one, as fast as conveyances shall present. We are on our way home, the Western Indians having refused to make peace.

This packet is committed to Sylvester Ash.

If he delivers it to you with reasonable despatch, he is to receive ten dollars, which we desire you to pay him. If General Knox should have given you any orders about the conveyance of our letters to General Wayne, observe them, only remembering the important points of certainty and speed. The enclosed letter to General Knox, you will forward by post, unless an earlier conveyance shall offer.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.
*Commissioners of the United States.*

### *To Major Craig.*

FORT ERIE, 23d *August*, 1793.

SIR:

We wrote you this day, and committed the letter to Sylvester Ash. The copy of our letter by him, is enclosed.

If Ash should not have arrived, then, be pleased to observe precisely, the orders expressed in our letter by him, with respect to the letters for General Wayne, sending off one, in the way which shall afford the utmost speed and certainty of conveyance.

We commit this letter to two Indian runners, to carry as far as fort Franklin, and thence the same, or others, we expect, will carry it to fort Pitt, as the commanding officer there shall think best. Whoever brings it, be pleased suitably to reward.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

### *To Major Craig.*

FORT ERIE, 23d *August*, 1793.

SIR:

We have written to you this day, one letter, by Sylvester Ash, and another, which we expect to commit to two Indian runners, of the Six Nations. In each of those letters, we enclosed two for General Wayne, to be forwarded in the manner directed in our letter by Ash, of which we enclose a copy. We, herein, send you two more letters for General Wayne, to forward agreeably to the same directions.

This letter is committed to the care of Mr. William Wilson, of Pittsburg, who goes home by way of Genesee river. If any accident prevents his proceeding, he is to forward it by an express, whom we request you to pay.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

### *Letters to Lieutenant Tinsley, or officer commanding at fort Franklin.*

AUGUST 23d, 1793—*at Fort Erie.*

SIR:

The bearer, Sylvester Ash, is charged with a letter from us to Major Craig, at Pittsburg. We desire you to afford him every necessary aid to expedite and secure his journey thither, furnishing him, if you think them necessary, such a guard of soldiers, as you deem sufficient. The business requires the utmost despatch.

The Western Indians have refused to make peace. You will, doubtless, communicate this information to all persons within your reach, lest, from an expectation of peace, they should abate of the vigilance necessary on an exposed frontier.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

### *To Lieutenant Tinsley, &c.*

FORT ERIE, 23d *August*, 1793.

SIR:

We have this day delivered to Sylvester Ash, a letter for Major Craig, at Pittsburg; he will call on you for information and assistance. We enclose a copy of our letter to you, by him; this letter we propose to commit to two Indian runners, who are to be engaged to carry it to you, and if necessary to Pittsburg. But, probably you may have some of the Alleghany Indians with you, whom you know, and can trust, and who are well acquainted with the path to Pittsburg, and will cheerfully undertake to carry the letter to Major Craig. We desire to leave this to your prudence. We suppose the passage by water more safe than the route by land; if so, it may be best for Ash to go by water, you sending with him one or two good canoe-men; then, the Indian runners can proceed by land, which we presume they may do with perfect safety. In this matter also we wish you to exercise a prudent discretion, governed by circumstances with which we are unacquainted; only we suppose it cannot admit of a doubt, that it will be best to send one letter by water, and the other by land.

We are, sir, your friends and humble servants,

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

### *Instructions to Mr. William Wilson.*

FORT ERIE, 23d *August*, 1793.

SIR:

As you propose to return to Pittsburg, by the way of Genesee river, we commit to your care two letters for General Wayne, under cover to Major Craig, at Pittsburg. We desire you to proceed with all practicable despatch, the letters to General Wayne being of very great importance; if any accident unavoidably detains you, forward the letters by an express.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

### *Letter to Colonel Clarke, or officer commanding at Pittsburg.*

FORT ERIE, 23d *August*, 1793.

SIR:

Pursuant to our instructions from the Secretary of War, we are sending letters to General Wayne, to be forwarded to him from Pittsburg. The business being directly in the Quartermaster's department, we shall enclose them to Major Craig; but the aid of troops may be requisite for their conveyance; and this aid we request you to furnish, especially in conveying the first letter to General Wayne, which should go with the utmost speed and certainty. The Western Indians refuse to make peace.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

N. B. A duplicate was sent in the packet, committed to the Indian runners.

## *Letter to Major General Wayne, Fort Washington.*

FORT ERIE, 23d *August*, 1793.

SIR:

We are on our return home from the mouth of Detroit river, where we lay four weeks, waiting for the Indians to close their private councils at the Rapids of the Miami, that we might all remove to Sandusky, and open the treaty. But, after sending repeated deputations to us, to obtain answers to particular questions, they finally determined not to treat at all. This final answer we received on the 16th instant, when we immediately began to embark to recross Lake Erie.

*Although we did not effect a peace, yet we hope that good may hereafter arise from the mission.*

*The tranquillity of the country Northwest of the Ohio, during the (supposed) continuance of the treaty, evinced your care of our safety, and we could not leave this quarter, without returning you our unfeigned thanks.*

We are, sir, yours, &c.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.

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## *Letter to General Knox.*

ON LAKE ERIE, 21st *August*, 1793.

SIR:

The Indians have refused to make peace. We have not been admitted to an interview with them, except by their deputations. The transactions with the first deputation at Niagara have been transmitted to you. Immediately afterwards we returned to fort Erie, and embarked for the mouth of Detroit river, where we arrived on the 21st July, and expected in a few days to receive notice from the Indians that they were ready to meet us at Sandusky. Captain Matthew Elliot, Colonel McKee's assistant, at whose house we were furnished with quarters, was at home, waiting for a wind to sail to the Miami. He departed the next morning, taking a letter from us to Colonel McKee, advising him of our arrival, and requesting that our meeting with the Indians might be hastened.

On the 29th, Elliot returned with another deputation of Indians, at the head of which were Packonchehelas, head warrior of the Delawares, Kakiapalathy, head warrior of the Shawanese, and Sâ-wâgh-dâ-wunk, who is said to be the head-man of the Wyandots. The next day, they presented a written message, in the name of the confederacy, demanding an explicit answer to this question: "Are you fully authorized by the United States, to continue and firmly to fix on the Ohio river, as the boundary between your people and ours?" The next day we answered the question explicitly; previously stating the reasons why the United States could not now make the Ohio the boundary. We also mentioned the principal concessions, and the ample compensations we were ready to make, and stipulate, expressing the prompt and annual compensations, not in precise sums, but in terms which we thought would forcibly strike them with ideas of their magnitude. The next morning they met us, and after making some observations on the subject, said they would lay our speech before their warriors. The speaker indeed told us we might go home; but this seemed to be a mistake, and contrary to what our interpreters heard other chiefs say, as they sat in this council. As soon as the speaker had done, Captain Elliott spoke to the Shawanese chief, mentioning the mistake; an explanation took place, and we were desired to remain where we were for an answer; this we requested to have forwarded without delay.

On the 8th of August, two of Captain Hendricks' men arrived to obtain some necessaries; by their information there seemed to be a fair prospect of peace. Some Munsees and Chippewas, who arrived the 9th, confirmed their account. On the 11th some Senecas arrived; they had come from the council by the way of Detroit, in order to go home, most of them being sick; their information corresponded with the former, in respect to all the nations, except the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, and Miamies, who remained obstinate; yet, they said, that even of these nations, near one half were for peace. They said, also, that the Six Nations, including Captain Brandt and his Mohawks, *held fast together*, and strongly urged the hostile nations to make peace.

We find that our speech of July 31st was well understood, having been interpreted to the Shawanese, &c. by Colonel McKee, to the Six Nations, by Captain Brandt, and to the Delawares, &c. by Captain Hendricks.

Having waited till the 12th of August without receiving an answer, we proposed going, in the vessel assigned for our use, to the Miami Bay, or to the mouth of Miami river, that we might, with more ease and expedition, communicate with the Indian council; but this we were not permitted to do. So, the next day, we sent two runners, of the Six Nations, (a few being with us) with a letter to Colonel McKee, a written message to the Indian council, and verbal messages to Captain Brandt and Captain Hendricks, to advise them of the written one. The object of the letter and messages was to obtain a decisive answer from the Indian council, whether a treaty was to be held or not, and to bring the business to a speedy issue

On Friday, the 16th, in the afternoon, two Wyandot runners arrived, with a final answer from the Indian council. We made, immediately a short reply, and began to embark our effects. On Saturday morning, we completed the embarkation of our stores and baggage, and in the afternoon sailed for fort Erie.

On Friday evening our own two runners returned. According to their information, the Six Nations knew nothing of the contents of the final answer of the Indian council. Their names are not subscribed to it. They had heard, indeed, of an answer, but were told it was to invite the commissioners to meet the Indian nations on the Miamies (instead of Sandusky) about five miles below the Rapids, to which place the Six Nations proposed to remove, the day or the day after our runners left them. From the same information, it seemed probable that the Six Nations were not made acquainted with our written message of the 13th, nor the letter to Colonel McKee; so we made out copies of them, of the final answer of the Indians, and of our last reply; and on Saturday morning sent them off by our runners, with directions to deliver them to Captain Brandt, and to inform the other Six Nation chiefs thereof. A letter was also written to Hendricks, referring him, for information, to those copies. We verbally directed the runners to tell those chiefs to be of good heart, and to assure them of the strong and unalterable friendship of the United States for the Six Nations.

We had thought it a matter of no small moment, that the chiefs of the Six Nations should be seen and consulted, on their return from the Miami; and our runners told us that the chiefs wished us to stay for them at Buffalo creek. This did not seem expedient; but we directed the runners to tell them, that, on their return, General Chapin would meet them at any place which they should appoint, and, without delay, transmit their information, and the result of their deliberations, to the President.

Enclosed is a copy of our letter to General Wayne; we shall send the same to him by other conveyances, and all by the way of Fort Pitt. We have written to the commanding officer there, desiring him to give Major Craig, to whose care we shall send all the letters for General Wayne, every requisite aid in forwarding them, and we have also written to the commanding officer at Fort Franklin to afford his aid in conveying them, by land and by water, to Major Craig. In all these intermediate letters, we have mentioned the fact, simply, "that the Western Indians refused to make peace." We have desired Major Craig to forward the first letter to General Wayne, in that way which shall promise the utmost speed and certainty, sparing no expense to effect it, and the others in succession, one by one, as fast as conveyances shall present; but, we added, that, if you should have given any orders about the conveyance of our letters to General Wayne, he was to observe them.

If the wind had permitted, we should have set Sylvester Ash ashore at Presqu' Isle, and prepared letters accordingly to go by him. He will now proceed from Buffalo creek. We expect General Chapin will procure two Seneca runners, to go with him as far as Fort Franklin: from thence he will proceed, by land or by water, as he and the commanding officer shall think best. But, whichever route he pursues, we have desired the commanding officer to send some trusty Indians by the other, to afford the greater certainty of conveyance. We enclose him duplicate letters for Major Craig and General Wayne, for that purpose.

Mr. Wilson proposes to go as far as Genesee river, and thence proceed to the Susquehannah, and thence to Pittsburg; by him we shall send the third set of letters for General Wayne.

Fort Erie, 23d *August.*

We arrived here between twelve and one o'clock this morning, and, our letters having been prepared on the voyage, we shall be enabled to send them off, as soon as General Chapin and Mr. Jones can cross the river. They will go to Buffalo creek, and procure two Indian runners to accompany Ash, and two more to carry this letter to Canandaigua, where General Chapin's son is instantly to procure an express to carry it to Philadelphia.

B. L.
B. R. } *Commissioners of the United States.*
T. P.

P. S. We could get no account of the numbers of the Indians at the Rapids, except from the British agents, who told us there were about fifteen hundred men. We have noted them accordingly; but suppose they were rather likely to be less than more.

### *Letter to Captain Israel Chapin, Canandaigua.*

Fort Erie, 23*d August*, 1793.

Sir:

The enclosed letter to General Knox, we desire you to forward by faithful express, whom we desire you to send off with the utmost despatch. Let him change horses to make the better speed. Nothing must prevent the prompt execution of our request. The Western Indians refuse to make peace.

We are, sir, yours, &c.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,
BEVERLEY RANDOLPH,
TIMOTHY PICKERING,
*Commissioners of the United States.*

The foregoing pages contain a just account of our transactions, in attempting to negotiate a peace with the Western Indians, now in hostility against the United States.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,
BEVERLEY RANDOLPH,
TIMOTHY PICKERING,
*Commissioners.*

Fort Erie, *in the province of Upper Canada, August* 24*th*, 1793.

Attest, CHARLES STORER, *Secretary to the Commissioners.*

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### *Statement of the non-commissioned officers and privates in the service of the United States.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Under the immediate command of Major General Wayne, including the garrisons, of fort Washington, fort Hamilton,* fort St. Clair, and fort Jefferson, | 3,229 |
| At forts Knox and Steuben, | 104 |
| On the upper parts of the Ohio, | 113 |
| Recruits on their march to Pittsburg, | 95 |
| Recruits at the several rendezvous, | 53 |
| At West Point, | 31 |
| In the Southwestern Territory, | 79 |
| In Georgia, | 157 |
| | 3,861 |
| Deficient, | 1,259 |
| Establishment, | 5,120 |

| | |
|---|---|
| * Major General Wayne, in his letter of the 5th October, states, that his effective force for the expedition, independent of sick and garrisons, will not, officers included, amount to more than | 2,600 |
| Effective mounted volunteers, officers included, under General Scott, as per return, 23d Oct. | 1,029 |
| | 3,629 |

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

War Department, *December* 4, 1793.

### *Extract of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated*

Head Quarters, Hobson's Choice, near Fort Washington, 5*th October*, 1793.

Agreeably to the authority vested in me by your letter of the 17th of May, 1793, I have used every means in my power to bring forward the mounted volunteers from Kentucky, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence with his Excellency Governor Shelby, and Major General Scott, upon this interesting occasion.

I have even adopted their own proposition by ordering a draught of the militia, which I consider as the dernier resort, and from which I must acknowledge that I have but little hopes of success!

Add to this, that we have a considerable number of officers and men sick and debilitated, from fevers and other disorders incident to all armies. But this is not all; we have recently been visited by a malady called the *influenza*, which has pervaded the whole line in a most alarming and rapid degree. Fortunately this complaint has not been fatal, except in a few instances, and I have now the pleasure of informing you, that we are generally recovered, or in a fair way; but our effective force will be much reduced, as you will observe by the scale at the bottom of the general return of the legion, which I have the honor to transmit by this conveyance, so that, after leaving the necessary garrisons at the several posts, (which will generally be composed of the sick and invalids) I shall not be able to advance beyond fort Jefferson with more than *twenty-six hundred* regular effectives, officers included.

What auxiliary force we shall have is yet to be determined. At present their numbers are only *thirty-six* guides and spies, and *three hundred and sixty* mounted volunteers. This is not a pleasant picture, but something must be done immediately, to save the frontiers from impending savage fury.

I will, therefore, advance to-morrow with the force I have, in order to gain a strong position about six miles in front of fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check (by exciting a jealousy and apprehension for the safety of their own women and children) until some favorable circumstance or opportunity may present to strike with effect.

The present apparent tranquillity on the frontiers, and at the head of the line, is a convincing proof to me, that the enemy are collected or collecting in force, to oppose the legion, either on its march, or in some unfavorable position for the cavalry to act in. Disappoint them in this favorite plan or manœuvre, they may probably be tempted to attack our lines. In this case I trust they will not have much reason to triumph from the encounter.

They cannot continue long embodied for want of provision, and at their breaking up, they will most certainly make some desperate effort upon some quarter or other; should the mounted volunteers advance in force, we might yet compel those haughty savages to sue for peace before the *next opening of the leaves*. Be that as it may, I pray you not to permit present appearances to cause too much anxiety either in the mind of the President, or yourself, on account of this army. Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation, and feeling for the honor and reputation of Government, (which I will support with my latest breath) you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily; and unless more powerfully supported than I at present have reason to expect, I will content myself by taking a strong position advanced of Jefferson, and by exerting every power, endeavor to protect the frontiers, and to secure the posts and army during the winter, or until I am honored with your further orders.

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*Extract of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated Camp, S. W. Branch of the Miami, six miles advanced of Fort Jefferson, October 23d, 1793.*

I have the honor to inform you, that the legion took up its line of March from Hobson's Choice, on the 7th instant, and arrived at this place in perfect order, and without a single accident, at 10 o'clock in the morning of the 13th, when I found myself arrested for want of provision.

Notwithstanding this defect, I do not despair of supporting the troops in our present position, or rather at a place called *Still Water*, at an intermediate distance between the field of battle and fort Jefferson, and for which I shall make the necessary arrangements, in obedience to the instructions contained in your orders of the 25th of May, 1792.

The safety of the Western frontiers, the reputation of the legion, the dignity and interest of the nation, all forbid a retrograde manœuvre, or giving up one inch of ground we now possess, uutil the enemy are compelled to sue for peace.

The greatest difficulty which at present presents, is that of furnishing a sufficient escort to secure our convoys of provision, and other supplies, from insult and disaster; and, at the same time, to retain a sufficient force in camp, to sustain and repel the attacks of the enemy, who appear to be desperate and determined.

We have recently experienced a little check to one of our convoys, which may probably be exaggerated into something serious by the tongue of fame, before this reaches you; the following is, however, the fact, viz:

Lieutenant Lowry, of the 2d sub-legion, and Ensign Boyd, of the 1st, with a command consisting of ninety non-commissioned officers and privates, having in charge twenty wagons, belonging to the quartermaster general's department, loaded with grain, and one of the contractor's loaded with stores, were attacked early in the morning of the 17th instant, about seven miles advanced of fort St. Clair, by a party of Indians; those two gallant young gentlemen (who promised at a future day to be ornaments to their profession) together with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell, after an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, being abandoned by the greater part of the escort upon the first discharge.

The savages killed, or carried off, about *seventy* horses, leaving the wagons and stores standing in the road, which have been all brought to this camp without any other loss or damage except some trifling articles.

One company of light infantry, and one troop of dragoons, have been detached this morning to reinforce four other companies of infantry, commanded by Colonel Hamtramck, as an escort to the quartermaster general's and contractor's wagons and pack-horses.

I have this moment received the return of the mounted volunteers under General Scott, recently arrived and encamped in the vicinity of fort Jefferson; I shall immediately order a strong detachment of those volunteers as a further reinforcement to Colonel Hamtramck.

I fear that the season is too far advanced to derive that essential service, which, otherwise, might be expected from them; whether they can act with effect, or not, is yet eventual.

It is reported, that the Indians at Au Glaize have sent their women and children into some secret recess or recesses, from their towns; and that the whole of the warriors are collected or collecting in force.

The savages, however, can't continue long embodied for want of provisions; on the contrary, we have, by great exertions, secured in this camp seventy thousand rations. I expect 120,000 in addition, by the return of the present convoy, unless they meet with a disaster—a thing that can scarcely happen, should my orders be duly executed, which I have no cause to doubt, from the character, vigilance, and experience, of the commanding officer.

A great number of men, as well as officers, have been left sick and debilitated at the respective garrisons, from a malady called the influenza; among others, General Wilkinson has been dangerously ill; he is now at fort Jefferson, and on the recovery. I hope he will soon be sufficiently restored to take his command in the legion.

I anxiously wait the safe return of the escort and convoy, when we shall endeavor to take new ground, which will probably be disputed; be that as it may, the legion will not be too far committed.

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3d Congress.] No. 41. [1st Session.

## THE CREEKS, CHEROKEES, AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 16, 1793.

War Department, *December 16th*, 1793.

Sir:

I have the honor to submit a variety of papers giving a view of the Southwestern frontiers, as connected with the Creeks and the State of Georgia, and the Southwestern territory of the United States and the Cherokees.

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

*The* Vice President *of the United States.*

1793.
April
27

Having received our Commissi-
-on and instructions, I left Philadelphia
April 27th 1793, and commenced my journey
for Sandusky, the place of treaty, by the route
of New York, Albany, Mohawk River, wood Creek,
Oneida Lake, Lake Ontario, Niagara, & Lake
Erie. The other commissioners, Mr Randolph
& Col. Pickering, having formed a resolution
to pass through the country directly for Niagara,
remained in the city, where they expected
to continue a few days longer, as the route
through the country was much shorter than
that by the Lakes, and be at Niagara in time
to send a vessel to meet me at Oswego.
I left the city about six o'Clock in the morning,
in a most violent storm of rain, with the
wind at North East. We passed on very well
to Bristol, where we halted for breakfast; after
which the driver and Landlord, between whom there
existed the most perfect understanding, suggested that
we must remain where we were, for that we could not
pass the Delaware at the ferry, and that there was not
any house near it where we could be accommodated. However
after being detained, from doubt & uncertainty, for some time, we came
to a resolution that we would go to the river, & make the
attempt to cross, we did, & succeeded agreeably to our wishes.
Dined at Trenton, and reached Prince town that
evening. We urged the driver to pass on to Kingston,
four miles, but the good understanding between
him & the Landlord again broke out, and we were
[illegible]

April 28 We found this morning, that from the heavy rain of yeſterday & during the night, that the water had overflowed the banks of the rivers, and that we could not paſs the Mill ſtone river, but in a boat: this we did, and procured a ſtage on the Eaſt ſide of it; we reached Elizabeth town in the Evening, and put up for the Night; there we were informed that the waters had been ſo deep on the meadows, that the bridges were deſtroyed, and that we could not paſs to Powles's hook. —

April 29 We went down to Elizabeth town point, where we found boats, which were going to New York as ſoon as the wind ſhould abate, it being at that time very high; we came to ſail in about one hour, and dined in New York — During the whole of our journey, from Philadelphia to New York, we found great delay, from a ſeeming combination between the ſtage drivers & the keepers of the public houſes; thoſe abuſes ought to be corrected. — The Lands between Philadelphia & New York are generally level and good for wheat. Vegetation was at this time very forw the Orchards in bloſsom, and the foreſt trees in foliage. — we found a great plenty of Aſparagus & Lettuce, as alſo lamb in the Cities — They have here a practice, among the keepers of public houſes, which makes our living very dear, by refuſing to ſupply the table with any thing to drink, ſaving water, other than what you call for; care is alſo taken to keep out of your way, ſmall beer or Cyder, ſo that your bill at Dinner amounts to more than the dinner itſelf. —

April 30. In New York, part of our ſtores went on board an Albany Veſsel, in which we had taken paſsage for that place. —

May 1st We this day compleated our lading of the Vessel, and about three o'clock in the afternoon went on board, with a good wind & tide in our favour. We ran the afternoon & night, & found ourselves in the
May 2d 40 miles from N. York morning, in Haverstraw bay, becalmed; this made it necessary to anchor for a short time, the wind however soon sprang up, and we went joyfully on our course.

May 3. 150 miles from N. York We Arrived in Albany about eight o'clock in the morning. The Hudson River is so generally known in the United States, that any remarks thereon may seem unnecessary. However, I will state a few facts which may not be known to all.— Flood tide is just one hour later, as you ascend the river, at the end of every ten miles; at the end of sixty miles, it will be high water in the river, and low water at the mouth of it.— Differently from all other rivers which I have seen, the waters in this continue their depth above the highlands, so that there are no considerable falls until you ascend about two hundred miles, one hundred & sixty navigable for vessels of one hundred tons burthen.— The lands on the River are generally high, and in many places the mountains ~~rocks~~ make the border of the river, there is however generally a flat between the high lands & the river, so that the greatest part of the way there ~~there~~ are handsome farms near the river. But you cannot have a just estimate of the value of the country, by sailing up the river; the valuable land and the principal settlements are some distance from it.— As we passed up the river in the night, I lost sight of the New City of Hudson, ~~the~~ [illegible] which, by common report, is in a flourishing state at present, but a few men of enterprise fixed at Albany, would, from the advantage of its situation, [illegible] [illegible] can be had in [illegible]

will not apply to Albany ſaving the
depth of water, & that the river opens in the
Spring a little ſooner. Tho' thoſe are conſiderations
of importance, yet the want of an extenſive
back country will be an evil which Hudſon
must already experience;— ~~[illegible]~~ The whole diſtance
up the river the apple trees & Cherry trees
were in Bloſſom, and the foreſt trees juſt
putting out the foliage. Many of the lands were cover-
-ed with wheat which made a very pleaſing
appearance. There are ſeveral ſmall
Villages near the banks of the river, all
very inconſiderable ſaving, ~~Hudſon,~~ ~~as~~ & Many
people are employed in fiſhing on this river
during the night, the ſhad are taken in great
numbers, the ſturgeon are ſometimes caught
with them, they are not uſed in Maſſachuſetts
but are thought very valuable in Albany.
The Navigation of this river is excellent; hardly a
rock in it which you can touch.— There
are near Albany ſome Shoals of ſand, on
which Veſſels ~~touch~~ ground at low water; but they
lay perfectly eaſy while on that ſituation. Veſſels
do not laſt many years in this river, and
what is very unuſual, the bottoms periſh
firſt. I ſaw a veſſel repairing, & the builder
taking out all the navle timbers & the futtocks,
which, were quite rotten, though the veſſel
had ~~not~~ been built but about Eight years. This
river runs far up into the country above
Albany. From New York to this place is about one
hundred & ſixty miles; the ſouthern part of the
river nearly two miles wide, the other much
leſs, hardly half a mile in ſome places. ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ It extends far into the country, and
is capable, with an attention to Canals &
locks, of forming a very intereſting navigation.
Upon a late examination [illegible] it has been diſcovered
that the waters of Wood Creek, which empty,

into Lake Champlain, may with great eaſe be united with the waters of the Hudſon near Fort Edward. ++ When this ſhall be accompliſhed, and ſome Canals & Locks made in different places, which buſineſs is now commenced, and will, I preſume, be compleated without difficulty, a water communication will be opened to a great part of the State of Vermont, which borders on Lake Champlain, ſome parts of which are nearly three hundred miles from Albany; beſides, it will open a communication by water with Quebec, ſo that the waters of the Hudſon & of St. Lawrance will be united. ++ It is alſo agreed that a communication ſhall be opened with the great lakes weſtward, which to effect is not a difficult matter, ~~This is to be effected~~ by going up the Mohawk River, nearly to fort Stanwix, now Schuyler, and uniting this river with ~~one~~ a weſtern wood Creek, ~~the waters of which are only~~ the waters of which are only eighty one Chains aſunder, through a level ſwampy ground. ++ The waters of Wood Creek empty themſelves into the Oneida Lake, those into Ontario, into which all the waters from the great Lakes paſs; ſo that when the Canals & locks ſhall be compleated, which is not a very difficult taſk, a water communication will be opened into Canada, both by the Mohawk & the Hudſon, and into theſe general communication ſmaller ones may enter. ++ One taking a general view of theſe things, the extensive advantages to be embraced by the meaſures adopted and are now carrying into execution, I cannot help ſtrolling into the uncertain field of conjecture that ſome day or other, not far diſtant from this period, Albany will be the ſeat of a great Empire. ——

I ſpent the remainder of the day in making ſome arrangements with General Schuyler respecting [illegible], [illegible], &c. [illegible] in viewing the City of Albany. ++ It is built on the banks of the Hudson; there are three streets running parallel with the River about half a mile in length; the one called Market is well paved, & there are many valuable houses, built on the English mode; but a great proportion of the others are of the ancient Dutch form, with the ends at the street. There are many streets running from the river up, & intersect the other nearly at right angles. There are five or six hundred houses in the City, the foundation of which was laid ~~about the time~~ before New York was built. The people were led thus far into the country from the allurements of ~~by~~ the Indian trade, which, at that day was very important. The original settlers were from Holland; they have retained their ancient manners & language, & have so much secluded themselves from the world at large, that their reservedness has the appearance of a want Hospitality. There are four places of public worship, The Dutch Church, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, & the Methodist. ++ It is a place of considerable business, and I think, by opening the canals and a communication by water with the different parts of the ~~city~~ country, it will soon be much more important.— The jealousy which has always existed between the Dutch and the New England people is fast subsiding; it should never have existed, It is important to the present Governing interests to put an end to these things; for the time is not far distant, when the sons of New England, & New England manners will prevail.— — If it can be said that we suffer here from want, it is because we are destitute of good water.— It is the custom of the inhabitants to take their water from the River.— It looks impure, and the practice seems to be an improper one, Where the waters are taken for common uses & from that dock into which is washed all the filth of the City. It would be more tolerable, were the people to take their water from the [illegible], but they [illegible]

7 regard to this, but take it up among the veſſels, and at the wharves. ++ There are wells in town; it is ſaid, however, that the water from them is not good.— There are juſt back of the City very high grounds, which are filled with good water, and might with great eaſe be drawn by pipes to all parts of the City, even into the upper Chambers of their houſes; ſo that inſtead of their preſent ſituation, which, if irremediable, would excite our pitty, they might enjoy the beſt water, did it not ariſe from indolence and a want of attention to an article eſſential to our well being. What makes this neglect the more extraordinary is, that the labour expended in carrying the waters from the river one year would probably exceed the expence of conducting the ~~[illegible]~~ pureſt water from the Hills in pipes the ~~[illegible]~~ thro' the whole extent of the City. However, the Citizens do not ſeem to conſider this matter an evil, conſequently do not feel as ſtrangers do on the occaſion.—

May 6th I went to Schenectady in General Schuyler's Waggon, in company with him.—‡ On our arrival there, we found our boats in forwardneſs, and had an aſſurance from Mr. Van Slyk, the contractor, that every thing would be ready on the 8th: the time originally fixed.—

I found this a Village of much more importance than I expected. It ſtands on the bank of the Mohawk River, about ſixteen miles from the City of Albany.— It is approached from high lands, from which you have a pretty view of the town, and a moſt pleaſing one of a fine body of meadows, which intervene.* The high lands are but indifferent.— The rich meadows, with the advantages of the Indian trade, with the allurements which led the people to make an early eſtabliſhment here.— It was originally a Dutch ſettlement, and the inhabitants are principally deſcendants from the first settlers, and retain their manners & language; tho' all of them speak english also. — The town, in which are three places of public worship, is prettily laid out. There are three very handsome streets running parallel with the river, and a number of streets crossing those at right angles. There are in the compact part of the town about three hundred dwelling houses, built mostly after the Dutch form. — There has been lately established among them an Academy for the instruction of the youth, in English Grammer, the dead languages Philosophy, &c. The instruction is under the direction of two preceptors in separate rooms; The one teaching the highest branches has five hundred and sixty dollars a year, and the other four hundred and twenty five. This expence is discharged by the pupils in proportion to the importance of the studies which they are pursuing, and amounts to a sum from two dollars up to fifteen for each quarter. Though this is a heavy expence on some, yet the exertion is greatly to their honour, and will promote the interest and happiness of the society. It will, however, confine the education to those families who can discharge the expence of it. Schools have been greatly neglected among them, & the people are what might be expected from that circumstance, & their being very much excluded from the world. — I left the town towards evening & returned to Albany. — It is a very unpleasant road to pass, there being but a few settlements on it, the sand deep, and the land covered with pitch pine. —

May 5, Sunday. At meeting toward evening, I came out with ſtrong prejudices in favour of my own Miniſter.*

May 6, Monday. nothing particular took place. ſpent the day in ſtrolling through the different parts of the town and on the hills in the rear of it, growing impatient that the Veſsel with part of our company & ſtores did not arrive.

May 7. I aroſe in the morning under great expectations that, as the wind had continued fair all night, I ſhould ſee our miſsing veſsel; but was again diſappointed. my impatience had now ariſen to anxiety for their ſafety who were on board the veſsel, & could I at this moment have been aſsured that all were well, I ſhould have been quite ſatiſfied that no evil would ariſe from the delay; As General Chapin had juſt come in from the Indian country, and aſsured me that we ſhould be quite in time, and on the treaty ground long before the Indians. —

May 8. In the morning the remainder of the Gentlemen and our ſtores arrived from New York.— Our next attempt was to procure teams to carry acroſs the remainder of our ſtores to Schenectady.— I left Albany towards evening for that place, (that I might be on the ſpot in the morning to direct the loading of the boats) after a long delay occaſioned by a difficulty in procuring a Horſe & carriage.— I could not apply to a Gentleman for his private carriage, though I ſhould have been exceedingly gratified had one been offered. but, as I ſaid before, they have been ſo much ſecluded from the world, that their manners are ſuch as to give the appearance of the want of Hoſpitality.— I arrived at Schenectady about Dark.—

May 9. Commenced loading our boats in the morning; completed this buſineſs about Noon & we dined, and the boats left the landing about two o'Clock. Mr. Storrs & myſelf remained behind to ſettle [illegible], knowing that, from the rapid waters in the river, the boats would be ſo long detained that we could overtake them in the morning. Mr. Van Slyck, who lay been our agent here, has offered to take us up the river in the morning in his waggon, the carriage commonly uſed in this country for travelling. — The boats paſſed on to Mr. Mayby's, ſix miles from Schenectady, where they remained during the Night. —

May 30th About ſix o'clock in the morning we went into our waggon, and proceeded up the Mohawk, on the South ſide, about four miles, through a very rich & well cultivated interval meadow, of about one mile wide. — We then croſſed the River in the waggon; here the Mohawk is about four hundred yards wide; we then continued up the River on the North ſide, generally on high ſtoney rough land, tho' ſometimes we touched on the intervals, which extend to this place, ſome times on one ſide of the river & ſome times on the other, (Mr. Mayby's) ſix miles from Schenectady, where we halted & took breakfaſt. — The intervale lands for the firſt four miles are, one place with another, One Mile wide. — Theſe ſettlements, which are juſt on the edge of the low lands, as alſo Schenectady itſelf have been often ravaged by the Indians, and they were greatly diſtreſſed as lately as the laſt war. The trees here are now in Bloſſom, & the foreſt here juſt putting out its folage. There are a conſiderable number of Apple trees, and alſo the Cherry, on every farm, & is a pretty good country for Cider. — As we continued our paſſage up, the lands had much the ſame appearance, as alſo the River, which is in general very ſhoal, the boats were frequently on the ground in the beſt water. This time of the year the river is generally paſſable by waggons, horſes, &c. — In our paſſage this day we obſerved a painted ſpot on a high rock on the margin of the river.— From this place a number of Indians ſet off in their canoes to war; none however ever returned; this painting, which is often renewed by the Indians, is continued to preserve from oblivion the important event. About five o'Clock P.M. we reached a ſmall houſe a little above Fort Hunter, where we put up for the Night.— About this place was the old Mohawk town, which was abandoned in the ſpring of the Year 1780. They left behind ſome valuable farms,* they could generally ſpeak the Engliſh language, had been in a great degree civilized, & many of them were profeſſors of the Christian religion. a very handſome Church was built for them in Queen Ann's time at which they used to attend public worſhip. They are now fixed on the ~~north~~ westerly ſide of lake ~~Ontario~~ Erie

May 11. We came to ſail about five o'clock in the morning, ſtopped, at the diſtance of five miles, at a place called *Caughnawaga, a ſettlement which has been made nearly ſixty years, which was nearly deſtroyed by the Britiſh in the year 1780 who were joined by a party of Indians, and others under the command of Sr. Wm. Johnſon.— In this action Johnſon evinced a want of feeling, which would diſgrace the ſavage.—++ The people deſtroyed were his old neighbours, with whom he had lived on terms of real friendſhip for a long while. His eſtate was among them, and the inhabitants had always conſidered him as their friend & neighbour.++ Thoſe who could walk, after ſeeing their dwellings reduced to aſhes, were hurried into captivity.++ Thoſe who could not [illegible] to the

12 Tomahawk & scalping knives. — The rocky shores, & settlements make a very similar appearance to what we observed yesterday. —

Sunday, May 12. · Continued our course up to the little falls, called so in distinction to the large fall on this River, near its junction with the Hudson. We arrived at the falls about two o'clock in the afternoon:— There are many pleasant situations on the river, and what adds to their value, are the interval lands, so often washed by the waters of the river that they need little or no manure. ++ The people in general have no pretensions to the character of farmers; their lands are not properly attended to; their Cows are very poor; half the summer will pass before they can receive much profit from them. ++ Their swine are, above all, the most indifferent; ++ many of their sheep naked; indeed, saving their horses, which were only tolerable, every thing bore the marks of poverty, ++ at a moment when, from the richness of the soil, and the extent of their possessions, the eye ought to have been gratified by a fullness which indicates plenty & happiness. — On examination of the falls, which are fifty three miles from Schenectady, I found that they extended about three ¾ quarters of a mile in length, and that in that distance the water fell about forty feet; ++ That preparations are made & are making for opening a Canal near the bank of this river, which, by the aid of a number of locks, the boats may pass with ease. ++ Part of the ground over which the canal is to pass is very rocky; but there are a number of vales which will much facilitate the business, as walls to confine the water is all which will be necessary in such places. ++ On the whole; though the work will be very important when compleated, yet the expence of doing it will be very inconsiderable compared with the magnitude of the object. ++ In examining the ground about the falls, I find that the water passed some years in a different course from its present, and that the bed of the river is twenty or thirty feet lower than where it formerly run. I could not well account for this change, as the whole bed of the river seems a body of rocks. ++ We found an excellent bridge thrown over this river by an arch of one hundred feet, a pretty piece of workmanship, which does great credit to the new settlers as well as to the workman. ++

Mon-Day, May 13. Forenoon spent in taking our boats & stores across the carrying place, about three quarters of a mile; when this was compleated, we set off for the German flatts where we remained the following night. This place which is often called fort Herkimer, where some of the block houses are remaining. ++ The inhabitants were greatly distressed during our contest with Britain, and were often driven to the fort and places of security. The Indians used frequently to lurk about them and pick off the inhabitants near the fort. +++ The people on the lower part of this river are Dutch, the upper part Germans; they all seem a very improvident race; they have paid little or no attention to the high lands, but seemed perfectly satisfied with using the intervals, which are rich and very easy of culture. The New England people have lately purchased the high lands, and are settling fast on them. One of the old German inhabitants informed me that the New England settlers had better farms in four or five years than they had in twenty; & if money was wanted, it could be procured with more ease among the new than among the old settlers. [illegible] [illegible] there is considerable white oak timber & white pine. ++ The Mohawk river is here much reduced in ſize, little more than one hundred feet wide; we lodged ſeven miles from the falls.

Tueſday
Thurſday
May 14 –

We left Fort Harkimer about 8 o'clock in the morning, and reached that evening New Fort Schuyler. a great proportion of the way we found that on the borders of the river there is a tract of valuable intervale lands.– That ſo much ſpoken of, the German Flatts, is about three miles in length & one mile in bredth. ++ although the river is here much reduced in ſize, yet it retains its common depth. ++ At Fort Schuyler we found an other bridge thrown acroſs the river, which is here about one hundred & twenty feet wide when the waters are within the banks. the workmanship of the bridge does great credit to the ingenuity of the workman, as the arch extends from ſhore to ſhore.– At this place commences Whitestown, ſo called, which lies generally back from the River about four miles. this flouriſhing ſettlement has ſprang up ſince the war, and is become ſo extensive that on twelve miles ſquare are two regiments of Militia.

wednesday
friday
May 15.

We left Fort Schuyler for Fort Stanwix in the morning. we found as before on the border of the River a large quantity of Intervale lands, annually waſhed by the water overflowing the banks of the river on the breaking up of winter. ++ Theſe lands are excellent for Indian corn & mowing, but will not do for wheat. ++ On them now is a very heavy growth of timber among it is the Button-wood, of a very extraordinary ſize; as alſo the Elm. About eight o'clock in the evening we arrived at the head of navigation of the Mohawk River, at the place where the boats are taken out of the water and carried acroſs about two miles into wood Creek

Thurſday,
May 16,

Was ſpent in carrying our boats and ſtores from the Mohawk into wood Creek. This gave an opportunity for us to view the grounds about us. the firſt thing which caught our attention was old

Fort Stanwix, the foundation of which was laid in the year 1759 by General Broadſtreet, and built upon by the troops of the United States during the late war. An attempt was made by the British to take this fort in the year 1777, but the enemy were ſoon convinced that no ſucceſsful approaches could be made, and that nothing but a warm bombardment could force the beſieged to a ſurrender. ++ A little diſtant from this fort, General Harkimer, going to the relief of it, fell into an ambuſcade of Indians and others. ++ The Indians, it is ſaid, were hardly perſuaded to engage, and could not be induced to ~~engage~~ untill they had ſurfeited their reaſon to their appetites. for It was very manifeſt that during the action they were exceedingly intoxicated. in conſequence thereof they ſuffered greatly in this action, more ſeverely than ~~than~~ they ever ſuffered before. they loſt, among others, ten or twelve of their chiefs or first Sachems. ++ The enemy however kept the field, and had the honours of the day. ++ In the late cultivation of the grounds on which the battle was fought, many parts of the remains of thoſe who fell in the action have been found: in ſome inſtances the mark of the ſcalping knife & the Tomahawk are ſeen on the ſcull bones. ++ Sad to relate, that thoſe who were made to enjoy and to communicate happineſs ſhould adopt a line of conduct ſo oppoſite to both! ++ The lands about Fort Stanwix, now Fort Schuyler, are but indifferent, and I do not ſee any thing very alluring in this neighbourhood. ++ At this place a canal is to be cut into wood Creek from the Mohawk, and that a town is to be eſtabliſhed here; from an idea that advantages will be derived to the ſettlers from the Canal. But if individuals are to be ſupported here without labour, from the profits of this paſſage, the whole will fall be impoſed on thoſe who are obliged to uſe it —

May 8. Our boats & ſtores being all in wood Creek, which at the head is little more than the width of a boat, and very little water running in it, being penned above for the uſe of boats — When we were ready to go down, the gates were opened, and the creek was soon so full of water as to float the boats, and we went down with the current, which would have been very agreeable, had not the creek been very full of timber, which had from time to time been fallen into it. There are considerable lands on each side this river which are intervale, and are often, in the spring, overflowed; they are too low for farms, and can be improved for certain purposes only. If there are lands near, on which you could build with propriety, these would exceedingly come in aid to such high lands. The lands are very similar, the whole of the distance we passed this day, covered with a heavy growth. We incamped at night, for the first time, at what is called the Oak Orchard, from its being a high point of land on which are a few oaks. Oaks are not to be seen in general in this part of the country.

May 18. We continued our passage down the river, and about two o'clock reached the Oneida lake; here we incamped, as the wind was not only against us, but too high to permit our crossing. In the afternoon, towards evening, the Revd. Mr. Kirkland and several of the Indians came to see us, and to express their satisfaction in our attempts to a general peace. In the evening, the wind having abated, we went about nine o'clock into our boats, and reached the west end of the lake, Fort Brewington, about five o'clock in the morning, having halted on our passage about two hours. It is said that the lake is thirty five miles long; I think not so much. As we passed ~~the lake~~ it in the night, I could not make any judgment respecting the value of the lands on its borders.

May 19. After breakfaſt we left Fort Brewington, and fell down a very pleaſant river, about one hundred yards wide, to three river point, where we dined, then proceeded down to Oſwego falls, twelve miles from the Lake, here we lodged. — The lands on both banks of the River are low, and the timber not very large; how they will appear when cleared, is quite uncertain; I think, however, not very well. There are a few ſettlements made on the banks of the River, but are ſo very new that it cannot be determined at preſent of what value they are. The place called the three Rivers is where the Onandago River unites with the Oneida River. Up the Onandago, about eighteen miles, are excellent ſalt ſprings, which are ſo fully impregnated, that one man, having his wood brought him, will make ſix buſhels a day. I ſaw ſome of the ſalt, which appeared like the whiteſt Liſbon. Theſe ſprings are very important to this country. Thus we ſee that the benevolent Creator of the world has provided in the centre of a Country, ~~[illegible]~~ things ~~[illegible]~~ ~~of that~~ water which by nature are ſo neceſſary to the happineſs & exiſtence of the creatures ~~[illegible]~~

May 20th. In the morning we hauled our boats across the carrying-place, about one hundred fifty feet; this we did by placing the boats on rollers, without taking out the lading. This buſineſs was compleated about two o'clock; we then ſet off for Oſwego Lat: 43.17, the diſtance of twelve miles, where we arrived about ſix o'clock. I had a letter to the commanding Officer, which on landing I immediately ſent to him in the Fort; he came out, and invited me & company in to it, where we dined, and were treated by him (Captain Wickham) with eaſe and hoſpitality. We left the Fort about 11 o'clock, went on about fifteen miles, and encamped at a [illegible] harbour, called [illegible].

We expected to have met a veſsel at Oſwego; but on the arrival of the other Commiſsioners at Niagara there was none in the harbour. after the arrival of one, ſhe was detained by head winds, ſo that we continued our paſsage along the ſhores of the Lakes. we left Oſwego Fort Monday afternoon & reached Niagara Fort Saturday morning, about one hundred & fifty or ſixty miles, as the ſhore runs; our boats were too ſmall to be at any conſiderable diſtance from it. + The wood near the lake is moſtly beach, & the lands ſeem to be pretty good. we found very few ſmall brooks running from the ſhore into the Lake. I think therefore that the country muſt be dry when cleared. + what makes this navigation dangerous, is that the banks are in many places ſteep, and when the ſea riſes to a conſiderable height the boats beat to pieces againſt it. — The waters in the lakes are now very low. It is ſaid that ~~they~~ these Lakes all fill once in ſeven years, and that they will probably be full the next year.

We were from Schenectaday to Niagara from the ~~twelfth~~ 9th to the 25th besides going acroſs the Lake in the night, the whole made ſeventeen days. we paſsed in a good time of the year, and in the beſt ſtate of the water for the rivers. — The diſtance is about 360 miles ~~for this diſtance~~ in paſsing which it will, one time with another, conſume three weeks at the leaſt; moſt as long as croſsing the Atlantic. —

May 25. Immediately on my arrival at Niagara, Governour Simcoe ſent for me, the other Commiſsioners were with him. he ſhewed me my room; we remained with him a number of days; but knowing that we occupied a large proportion of his houſe, and that Mrs Simcoe was abſent, and ſo probably on our account, we contemplated a removal, and of encamping at the landing ~~falls~~ ſix miles from this place, where the Friends were encamped; but when the Governour was informed of our intentions, he [illegible] a removal [illegible] his politeness & Hospitality, of which he has a large Share, prevented our executing ~~the designs~~ we had formed; this was in a degree painful, because we could not see a period to it, ~~from~~ as the time of assembling the Indians was uncertain.

June 4. The King's birth day; to all the ceremonies of which our duty required us to attend. At eleven o'clock the Governor had a Levee at his house, at which the officers of Government, the members of the Legislature, the officers of the Army, & a number of Strangers attended. After some time, the Governor came in, preceded by two of his Family. ++ He walked up to the Head of the Hall, and began a conversation with those standing in that part of the Hall, & went around to the whole, and I believe spoke with every person present. This was soon over, and we all retired. ++ At one o'clock there was firing from the troops, the battery, & from the ships in the harbour. ++ In the evening there was, quite a splendid ball, about twenty well dressed handsome Ladies & about three times that Number of Gentlemen present! ++ They danced from seven o'clock to Eleven. Supper was then announced, where we found every thing good & in pretty taste. ++ In all this there was not any thing very particular; the music & dancing was good, and every thing was conducted with propriety. ++ What excited the best feelings of my heart, was the ease and affection with which the Ladies met each other; Although there were a number present whose mothers sprang from the Aborigines of the country. ++ They appeared as well dressed as the company in general, and intermixed with them in a manner which evinced at once the dignity of their own minds and the good sense of others. ++ These Ladies possess great ingenuity and industry, and have great merit; for the education which they have acquired is owing principally to their own industry, as their father, Sir Wm Johnson, was dead, and the Mother retained the dress & manners of the tribe. ++

Governour Simcoe is exceedingly attentive to these public assemblies, and makes it his study to reconcile the inhabitants, who have tasted the pleasures of society, to their present situation, in an infant province. He intends the ~~the~~ next winter to have concerts & assemblies very frequently; thereby he at once evinces a regard to the happiness of the people, and his knowledge of the world; For while people are allured to become settlers in this country, from the richness of the soil, & the clemency of the seasons, it is important to make their situation as flattering as possible.

Niagara, Fort, built by the French about 1725, is in about 43°, 20' North Latitude, One degree North of Boston, yet I find the season quite as clement here, as I have found it there, and vegetation quite as forward. On the second of this month I dined in company at the landing six miles from this place; As a dessert, ~~we~~ ~~had~~ a large quantity of Strawberries were served, not propagated in Gardens, or ripened by art, but were the natural growth of the unimproved soil. It is a fact, which will I think soon be established, that moving westward in the same Latitude, the weather meliorates, as you progress on that course. To investigate the causes of this event in nature, is beyond my reach; perhaps they are among those hidden things, which may open more satisfactorily to our view, when we shall have turned over another page in the book of nature. However it is possible

June 9 Dined with Mr. Hamilton at the Landing (Queens Town) towards evening we left his houſe, and rode as far as the falls, where we lodged, nine miles. There are a number of new ſettlements on the road, and one ſmall meeting-houſe. The lands generally covered with white Oak, but they are neither ſtrong or well improved.

10th June In the morning I went to view the falls of Niagara, of which ſo much has been ſaid, the appearance was far ſhort of the ideas I had formed of them. It is ſaid that the water falls one hundred & thirty ſeven feet perpendicularly. — Had I been called to give an opinion reſpecting the falls, I ſhould not have judged that the water fell more than forty or fifty feet. From whence aroſe the deception, I know not; the fact, as to the magnitude of the falls, I cannot doubt, as the ht fall has been accurately taken, mathematically. After breakfaſt we purſued our journey towards Buffaloe Creek, a few miles up which lives a number of the Seneca tribe — we found in our route bad road, the land flat, & a great proportion of the timber white Oak. Near Lake Erie we found both better. The land, generally for the diſtance of fifteen or twenty miles, are about ſeven feet above the water, between the falls & Lake Erie, at this dry ſeaſon of the year; ſome times the water muſt be much nearer the ſurface of the Earth. On finding that we could not croſs the ferry, the water which divide the United States, from the Province of Upper Canada, we lodged about three miles below the ferry.

June 11th In the morning we croſſed over to the United States, near the mouth of Buffaloe Creek, in there we took a boat, and went up the Creek near to one of the Seneca towns. — Here we were received by the inhabitants with every mark of reſpect;

in their power to ſhow — They were under arms about Eighty of them. on our approach they fired a Feu de joy. After this was over, they aſſembled in their Council house, where they remained ſome time conſulting together: we were then invited in and ſeated, where we were addreſſed, by one of their old Chiefs, in which he expreſſed ~~their~~ their friendſhip and the great deſire they had for peace — He recommended in ſtrong language, that we ſhould attempt this important work, only on a reliance on the aid of the great Spirit; and if that was ſincerely ſought, he did not doubt but we ſhould obtain our wiſhes.— In our anſwer we echoed his ſpeech, and gave them on our part freſh aſſurances of the friendſhip of the United States, and thanked them for their kind wiſhes & good intentions; and that to promote an object ſo intereſting in itſelf, they were, many of them, undertaking a long & tedious Journey. We then aſſured them that we would make the matter as eaſy for them as poſſible, that we would give them a boat, ammunition for hunting on their route, and ſome freſh beef, that they might rejoice with their friends, before they left them.— After this buſineſs was finiſhed they ſuggeſted, that they would entertain us with a dance in the evening. this we attended, but found nothing meritorious in it, but a deſire to pleaſe.— As ſoon as the dance was over we retired to our quarters, a ſmall house being aſſigned to us.— Here we made ſome tea & eat a Cake, which we carried with us, and went to reſt on ſome ſkins, which, with our blankets, did pretty well.—

June 12. In the morning, after refreſhing ourſelves again with ſome tea & the remainder of our Cake, and having taken a large drink of ſweet meal mixed with water, (this is made from parched corn beat to flour, & in the proceſs a little ſugar mixed with it

— this meal when mixed with water makes an agreeable & nutritive drink) — we then took leave of some of the chiefs & returned in our boat to Buffaloe Creek, where we dined; then mounted our horses, recrossed the ferry, & put up at night at the house we left the morning before, three miles from lake Erie

June 13. confined by a heavy rain —

" 14th we returned to Navy-hall. —

June 15. Colo. Pickering, Mr. Dean, & my self crossed the river, and went to fort Slausser, eight miles above Queenstown, on the opposite side of the river, & just above the falls. At this place the goods, after being taken across land from what is called the landing were re-shipped and carried into Lake Erie, and thence to Detroit. Since this side is in the limits of the United States, the British have made a way on the west side of the communication between the lakes. All goods must be carried by the falls ten miles on one side, or eight on the other (U.S.) — At fort Slausser, where there is a Corporal's guard, we found Mr. Stedman, whose attentions and friendship were of such as could not fail to make our stay with him very agreeable. — We went towards evening to visit the falls on the East side, we had seen them before on the west. Here we could approach them on the same level with the water when it rolled over the tops of the rocks. In this situation the fall appeared greater to me than when I viewed it on the opposite side, for there I was on an eminence nearly one hundred feet above the level of the water. When on the east side, or looking down the bank on which I stood, the distance magnified exceedingly. I cannot account for the deception when appearing at the falls, unless it arises from their length, or from our viewing them from a [illegible] which are always [illegible]

at the diſtance of many miles
falls fifty-ſeven feet in the diſtance of one mile. — The water
before it falls perpendicularly. — It is generally
believed here, that the falls were ſix miles lower down
than what they now are, and that the change
has been produced by the conſtant operati-
-on of the water. — This idea led me to examine
as well as I could, the banks of the river, on
one ſide and the other; but did not diſcover
any marks of the operation of the water on
I therefore could not
the rocks. ~~[illegible]~~ adopt fully the
opinion; ~~[illegible]~~
the truth of the obſervation,
~~[illegible]~~, and I cannot avoid doubting;
unleſs I ſacrifice my reaſon to wild &
uncertain conjecture; whenever this
takes the direction of the mind, it becomes
unſtable, and philoſophy ſeeks her
retreat into a ſoil more adapted to her
exiſtence. — We returned toward evening
to the Houſe of our friend, Mr Stedman. Here
we were amuſed by the uſe of an air gun,
with eaſe,
with which he would kill the Robin & the
different kinds of Birds, which came
into his Garden; This machine was very
ſimple indeed, nothing more than an elder
& ſix feet long
ſtick, about one inch diameter perforated ~~with~~
through, with an opening about equal to
calabre of a
common muſket; into this is put a ſharpened
arrow at one end, the other end covered with the
Bloſſoms of Thiſtles, about three or four inches;
blowing into this tube throws the arrow with
a force ſufficient to kill a bird fifty feet
or more. — The bloſſom tied about the arrow

oppoſition, to check its force; and from its elaſti-
-city, as ſoon as it leaves the tube, it regains
its former poſition, ſo that an arrow if not
loſt will anſwer a thouſand times. — In
converſation with our friend Stedman, who
lives juſt on the bank of the River, reſpecting his
keeping Geeſe & Ducks ſo near the falls, down
which they are liable to be carried down with
the rapid current, he ſaid they had diſcovered a
method which prevented them from ſwimming far
from the ſhore, or remaining long on the water at any time,
by picking off from the breaſt all the feathers and down,
a place about the bigneſs of the circumference of a
dollar. — I minute the hint becauſe it may be
of uſe. —

June 16 In the morning we went to pay a
viſit to the Tuſkarora villages. They were about
half a mile one from the other, & about four miles
from Queenstown, or the landing. In the firſt were
thirty-odd houſes, & in the other about twelve.
Where theſe ſtand, the timber has been lately
cut off, on doing which they have diſcovered that
formerly the ſame place had been ſettled, & that
there had been an intrenchment around it, the
banks of which are viſible at this time; beſides,
as a farther proof that it was an old ſettlement,
they have found Indian ſtone axes. — The Indian
houſes are about twelve feet ſquare, built ſome
with bark and others with wood, as we build our log
huts. many of them have chimneys, in which
they can keep a comfortable fire, while others retain
their ancient cuſtom of having the fire in the
centre of the houſe. — Theſe Indians, as
well as the Senecas, are ſettled on good land,
and might live very well, and with great eaſe
if they would attend to agriculture. Some of them
now ſell a conſiderable quantity of corn for which they find

among them a number of cows, which appeared exceedingly good; but it was difficult indeed to obtain any milk, for the calves were (among the Indians) running with the cows; ——

June Nothing very particular took place from the 14 to the 25th the day our express returned from Philadelphia.

June 26 We left our lodgings at Governor Simcoe's, where we had been treated with attention. On our departure he gave a letter to those who had the care of the Indians, relative to their supplies; in which he expressed himself in the strongest terms, that in case the treaty should not produce a peace, that care should be taken that the commissioners should not be injured or insulted by the Savages, for that an injury to them would greatly affect him, the Commander in chief, the British nation, and even the King himself. ++ This, I suppose, had its origin from a report, which circulated pretty generally, that the Indians intended, if they could not make peace, that they would commence hostilities, on the first, by sacrificing the commissioners &c. We arrived in the evening at the landing, where we lodged. The common cherries, & the currants are now ripe enough to eat. ——

June 27. This day we left the landing, and travelled to Chipawa, ten miles, here we waited untill our baggage could be forwarded; On my way to this place I again visited the falls. I went down to what is called the table rock, nearly on a level with the water, where it falls in its greatest degree. It did not appear to me, notwithstanding

27, the advantageous ſituation in which I placed myſelf, that the water fell ſo much as fifty feet; the appearance was very like, as to diſtance, the water falling from a very high three ſtory houſe; a Gentleman with me, who had rode ſome hundred miles to ſee the falls, was very much of the ſame opinion. — As I ſaid before, there is a conſtant vapour aſcending, cauſed by the violent agitation of the water. through this, when the ſun ſhines, you diſcover the rain bow. — The water falls with ſuch weight into deep water that there is very little current on the ſurface of the water near the falls, not ſo great as to prevent your paſſing with a canoe over the river. — Stopped on the road [illegible]

June 28 This day we went to Lake Erie to ſee the veſſel in which we were to embark; but as we were not ready for this, we returned ſome miles, and lodged where we lodged the night before. +++

29

June 30 This day we went on board the veſſel, where I continued without going on ſhore until this Day, Sunday July 2.

July 2 I went on ſhore and examined the rocks on the ſhore, thereon they ſeemed to be a compoſition of petrified vegetables & foſsils; but from their hardneſs it was difficult to detach any particular parts of them. —

+++ While at Fort Erie, the commanding officer invited me into his garden, [illegible] was very handſomely laid out, and in excellent order, & vegetation in great forwardneſs. beſides having the common cherry, the currants, I found his potatoes in bloſsom, alſo his cucumbers, his melons, &c. +

July 3 I dined on shore with Captain Pratt. we had from his Garden pease, beans, &c as also new potatoes, which were planted about the middle of April, & were now as big as eggs. +

July 5th July the 5th the wind remaining against us, a British vessel appeared in sight with a number of Indians on board. On the arrival of the vessel, we found that in her had arrived a large deputation from the council fire at the rapids of Miami. In two points they wanted satisfaction, the first respecting the movements of our army, & the second whether we were fully authorised to run and establish a new line between us and them. ++ —

The Indians assembled and gave notice to the Commissioners that they desired to speak with them. ++ The Commissioners attending, one a Shawanese Chief (called Cats Eyes) addressed us thus. — Brothers, we are sent by the Nations of Indians assembled at the rapids of Miami, to meet the Commissioners of the United States. — We are glad to see you here. It is the will of the Chiefs of those Nations that our Father, the Governor of this Province, should be present, and hear what we have to say to you, and what you have to say to us. —

Brothers, do not make yourselves uneasy that we did not meet you, at the time you proposed, at Sandusky. the reasons thereof will be

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+ Indian beans ready to be eaten as stringed beans, the Windsor beans fully grown. These observations are of no other importance than as they shew the state of vegetation in this climate on the 2d of July.

mentioned at another time. ++ Four strings of black & white wampum delivered to the Commissioners. ++

To which the Commissioners replied — Brother, The Commissioners are glad to see you we will confer with you in presence of your Father, the Governor of this Province, at any time & place which shall be convenient to him & you.

Returned the four strings.

The chiefs having consulted a few moments by themselves, again asked the attendance of the Commissioners, and proposed that the conference should be at the Governor's, at Niagara; to which the Commissioners agreed, informing the Chiefs that they would be at the Governor's to-morrow night. —

July 7th. Before the arrival of the Commissioners at the Council House, from Navy Hall, while waiting for them Captain Brandt spoke in the name of the deputies of the western Indians, Brother, it being agreed at the rapids that we should come and meet the Commissioners in our Fathers presence, — we return our thanks to the great Spirit, for seeing your Excellency well this day. ++ Our intention and business is peaceable, and our inclination is to do what is right and just. ++ We are all of one mind, and wished your Excellency to be present. ++ A Belt of Wampum.

His Excellency in reply said, that he was happy to see them well, and as the Commissioners had expressed their wish to meet the Indians in his presence, he should be glad to hear what they had to say.

Belt returned — —

The Commissioners being assembled, with the Governour, and a number of officers of the Province, as also many military officers, — Captain Brandt, with a belt & a string of wampum; rose & said. We have met to day our Brothers, the Bostonians and English. We ~~a~~ are glad to have the meeting and think it by the appointment of the great Spirit. Brothers of the United States, we told you the other day at Fort Erie, that at an other time we would inform you, why we had not assembled at the time & place appointed for holding the treaty with you. Now we inform you that it is because there is so much the appearance of war in that quarter. — Brothers, we have given the reasons for our not meeting you, and now we request an explanation of these warlike appearances. —

Brothers, the people you see here, are sent to represent the Indian Nations who own the lands North of the Ohio as their common property, and who are all of one mind, ~~and~~ one heart. Brothers, we ~~are~~ have come to speak to you for two reasons; one because your warriors being in our Neighbourhood have prevented our meeting at the appointed place; The other to know if Brothers you are properly authorised to run and establish a new boundary line between the Lands of the United States and the Lands of the Indian

~~Lands~~ Nations. & we are still desirous of meeting you at the appointed place. & Brother, we wish you to deliberate well on this business. We have spoken our sentiments in sincerity, considering ourselves in the presence of the great Spirit, from whom in times of danger we expect assistance.

Belt of twelve Rows & 30 strings of wampum in five bunches, presented to us.

The Commissioners answered. Brother, we have attended to what you have said. & we will take it into our serious consideration, and give you an answer tomorrow. & we will inform you when we are ready.

Captain Brandt replied— Brothers, we thank you for what you have said. & you say that you will answer our speech to-morrow. & we now cover up the Council fire.

July 8

The Commissioners gave the following answer to the speech of yesterday. Brothers, by the appointment of the great Spirit we are again met together. & we hope he will assist us on both sides, to see and to do what is right. & It gives us pleasure that this meeting is in the presence of our Brothers, the English. & (Here we repeated what was said by Capt. Brandt yesterday, this repetition is customary, that you may evince to them that you understand their speech. & we after proceeded.) Brothers, now listen to our answer in behalf of the United States —

Brothers, you have mentioned two objects of your coming to meet us at this place; — one to obtain an explanation of the warlike appearances on the part of the United States [illegible] northern ſide of the Ohio; + the other to learn whether we have authority to run & eſtabliſh a new boundary line between your land, and ours. ——

Brothers, on the firſt point, we cannot but expreſs our extreme regret that any reports of warlike appearances on the part of the United States ſhould have delayed our meeting together at Sandusky. + The nature of the caſe moſt irreſiſtably forbids all apprehenſions of hoſtile incurſions into the Indian country north of the Ohio during the treaty at Sandusky. + Brothers, we were deputed by the great Chief and the great Council of the U. S. to treat with you of Peace: — And is it poſſible that the ſame Great Chief and his Great Council could act ſo deceitfully towards us their Commiſſioners as well as towards you? Brothers, we think it not poſſible. — But we will quit arguments, and come to facts. ——

Brothers, we aſſure you that our great Chief, General Washington, has ſtrictly forbidden all hoſtilities against you, untill the event of the propoſed treaty at Sanduſky ſhall be known: — Here is the proclamation of his head warrior, General Wayne, to that effect. + But Brothers, our great Chief is ſo ſincere in his profeſſions for peace, and ſo deſirous of preventing every thing which could obſtruct the treaty and prolong the war, that besides giving thoſe orders to his head warrior, he has informed the Governors of the ſeveral States adjoining the Ohio of the treaty propoſed to be held at Sandusky and deſired them to unite their powers with his to prevent any hoſtile attempts against the Indians north of the Ohio, until the result of the treaty is made known. + These Governors have accordingly issued their orders, strictly forbidding all such hostilities. + The proclamations of the Governors of Virginia & Pennsylvania we have here in our hands.—

Brothers, if after all these precautions of our great Chief, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of Justice or public good can restrain: but we hope and believe that no such will be found. +

Brothers, After these explanations, we hope you will possess your minds in peace, relying on the good faith of the United States that no injury is to be apprehended by you during the treaty. + We now come to the second point Whether we are properly authorised to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands & ours?

Brothers, we answer explicitly that we have ~~that we~~ ~~[illegible]~~ have that Authority. + Where this should run, will be the great subject of discussion between you and us at the treaty; And we sincerely hope and expect that it may then be fixed to the satisfaction of both parties. Doubtless, some ~~[illegible]~~ concessions must be made on both sides, In all disputes and quarrels both parties usually take some wrong steps, so that it is only by mutual concessions that a true ~~reconciliation~~ settlement can be effected.—

Brothers, we wish you to understand us clearly on this head, for we mean that all our proceedings should be marked with candour. We therefore repeat and say explicitly, that some ~~[illegible]~~ concessions will be necessary on your part, as well as on ours, in order to establish a just & permanent peace.

Brothers, after this great point of the boundary line shall be considered at the treaty, stipulations we shall know what concessions it will be proper to make on the part of the United States; and we trust they will be such as the world will pronounce reasonable & just. ——

Brothers, you have told us that you represent the Nations of Indians north of the Ohio, and whose chiefs are now assembled at the rapids of the Miami. +

Brothers, it would be a satisfaction to us to be informed of the names of these Nations, and of the number of Chiefs of each so assembled. ——

Brothers, we once more turn our eyes to your representation of the war like appearances in your country, and to give you compleat satisfaction on this point, we now assure you that as soon as our Councils at this place are ~~over~~ ended, we will send a messenger on horseback to the great Chief of the United States, to desire him to renew & strongly repeat his orders to his head warrior not only to abstain from all hostilities against you, but to remain quiet at his posts while the event of the treaty shall be known. + Belt & strings delivered by us.

July 9th: See page 36 + In council, present as yesterday. Captain Brandt arose with the belt & strings in his hand, which were delivered by the commissioners, and addressing himself to the English & Americans, said. —

Brothers, we are glad the great spirit has preserved us in peace to meet together this day

35

Brothers of the United States,
Yesterday you made an answer to the message delivered by us from the great Council at Miami in the two particulars we had stated to you.

Brothers, you may depend on it that we fully understand your speech. We shall take with us your belt and string, and repeat it to the Chiefs at the great Council at Miami. Then laying down the belt & string, he took up a white belt and said

Brothers, we have something farther to say, tho' not much. We are small, compared with our great Chiefs at Miami; but tho' small, we have something to say. + We think, Brothers, from your speech, that there is a prospect of our coming together. We who are the Nations at the Westward are of one mind; and if we agree with you as there is a prospect that we shall, it will be binding and lasting. +++

Our prospects, Brothers, are the fairer because all our minds are one. You have not spoken to us before unitedly. ++ Formerly, because you did not speak to us unitedly, what was done was not binding. Now you have an oppy. to speak to us together + and we now take you by the hand to lead you to the place appointed for the meeting. ~~+~~

A white Belt of seven rows. ++

Brothers, this is all we have to say. +

Afterwards Captain Brandt arose again, recollecting that he had not answered one request respecting ~~[illegible]~~ the Nations and Chiefs aſſembled at Miami, and ſaid, Brothers, one thing more we have to ſay. + Yesterday you expreſſed a wiſh to be informed of the names of the Nations and Number of Chiefs aſſembled at the Miami. ++ But as they were daily coming in, we cannot give you exact information you will ſee for yourſelves in a few days. When we left it, the following nations were there, Viz.

| | |
|---|---|
| Five Nations, | Ottawas, |
| Wyandotts, | Chippeways, |
| Shawaneſe, | Potawatemies, |
| Delawares, | Mingoes, |
| Munſies, | Cherokees, |
| Miamis, | Wawtiahokes. |

The principal men of all the above nations were there. Next page

+ Brothers, the Bostonians, attend! We have heard your words. our fathers, the English people, have alſo heard them. ++ We thank God that you have been preſerved in peace, & that we bring our pipes together. The people of all the different Nations here ſalute you. They rejoice to hear your words. It gives us great ſatiſfaction that our fathers the English have alſo heard them. + we ſhall for the preſent take up our pipes and retire to our encampments, where we ſhall deliberately conſider your ſpeech, and return you an anſwer to-morrow. [This was from a Shawaneſe, called Cats Eyes.]

The Commissioners then said to the Indians, Brothers, our ears have been open to your speach; it is agreeable to us. We are ready to proceed with you to Sandusky where, under the direction of the ~~good~~ great Spirit, we hope that we shall soon establish a peace on terms equally interesting and agreeable to all parties —

The council fire was then covered up. —

July 10th Left Navy Hall. lodged at Chippaway.

July 11. Arrived on board, where we now are waiting for the return of the Indians & a fair wind. —

According to our promise, we wrote to the President on the complaints made that our army was approaching, and sent to the Secretary at war, copys of all our official transactions which had a tendency to shew the real state of matters respecting the treaty. In addition thereto I wrote him the following private letter. —

Niagara 10th July, 1793.

My dear Sir,

I wish you would cause the inclosed to Mrs. Lincoln, to be lodged in the post office as soon as may be after it shall come to hand —

Having any fears in my mind

I cannot help making an observation or two relative to appearances here, which may not be so fully ~~explained in~~ expressed in in our public communications. ——

At at our several meetings, with the delegates from the tribes assembled in Council at the rapids of the Miami, a great number of people attended the hearing; among which many were from the United States. + Yesterday, after we covered up the Council fire, all classes of men seemed to unite in the idea that a peace would be established; perhaps they are too sanguine in their expectations; I hope they are not; however that may be, such a sentiment will spread; for many of our people are on their return, and will doubtless give their opinion on the state of matters. It becomes therefore, if possible, of infinitely more importance than ever, that no movements of our army should intervene and destroy the present favourable appearance of things. —— For after the people are once flushed with the hope of peace, they will not be easily satisfied, if by any improper conduct on our part, they should be reduced to the painful necessity of sacrificing the pleasing hope that the war will soon terminate.

If the reports which circulate here from different quarters are in any degree true, General Wayne must have violated the clearest principles of a truce. Certainly we expected that, from the nature of all the transactions of the United States, they considered themselves as bound by its laws, as established by the different Nations. The commissioners would not have painted to themselves any hope of personal security but in such a balance. For if there is no truce existing, they are just throwing themselves into the hands of the Savages at open & active war. —

The commissioners are not so apprehensive for themselves, as for the honour of the United States, and the success of their mission.

If the the present treaty, in this stage of it, should be broken up by the movements of our army by the advancement of stores, other than those necessary for the several Garrisons, by cutting of roads, or by any Military transaction against the Laws of war, our country will be highly irritated, and the blame will fall some where, not on the President, you know. — The eyes of our country, as well as the eyes of our neighbours, are upon you.

Adieu believe me, &c

Subject war

Note while at Navy hall, a deputation from the seven Nations of Canada arrived; they amounted to two hundred & eighty. — They appear in their colour, manner of dress similar to those in this neighbourhood. — Indeed, all the tribes which have fallen under my notice, from Annapolis Nova Scotia On the North, to the Creek nations on the south, are very similar in their dress & in manners. the same mode of attending their children in lacing them on a board &c. runs through the whole. — I think it is very probable, that when the Levitical laws were promulgated, that the dress of the priests, & perhaps all the tribes, were similar to the dress of the Indians. In those Laws it is provided that they shall not ascend the altar by steps, lest their nakedness should be discovered. Elijah mantle was probably of the kind the blanket, as the word mantle [illegible] some of the tribes at this day.)

July 14 We left Fort Erie early in the morning; as we sailed on our course, an extensive Lake opened to our view, and a pleasing appearance of the Land, on shore. — The eye was carried on from those which were level, to those which gradually swelled, thence on to hills of easy ascent, which terminate our sight. — This lake is about three hundred miles in length, and sixty broad; the Depth of the waters are from seven to seventeen fathoms deep, & generally a clayey bottom. — The waters in this Lake are locked up by a body of rocks extending across the mouth of it, and from the appearance of the rocks on the shores there seems to be a petrifying quality in those waters; if so, the wasting hand of time will hereby be in some measure, if not fully, counteracted, and the barrier remain unimpaired; which would not be the case without such a quality in the water. — This Lake is connected by Navigable water for large vessels with the Lakes of St Clair, Huron, & Michegon; besides, the waters from the Lake Superiour & the Lakes above empty into these, and between them there are communications by boats. From all these Lakes the waters pass the great falls of Niagara into the Lake Ontario, thence down the St Lawrence. In the Lake Ontario there are a plenty of salmon; but in the Lakes above the falls there are no fish which nature directs their annual return to the sea; for in this

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a blanket. I think that the garment with which Noah was covered by his two Sons was probably of this kind.

attempt they would be lost at. They safely should they be carried over by art. ++ In all the upper lakes there are various kinds of fish, which are taken in great numbers, at certain seasons of the year; & at all times they are to be had, but not in such plenty.— On the borders of those waters, so far as I could see, and from all I heard, there are vast tracts of excellent lands, which are capable, under proper cultivations, of yielding not only the necessaries of life but many of the luxuries of life. Those waters are a very important deposit, as they facilitate the passing from one part to the other; they give an opp.y to the inhabitants to correspond one with the other, and of exchanging articles, the natural production of one part, for those peculiar to an other, by which the happiness of the whole is promoted. +++

When I take a view of this extensive country, and contemplate ~~contemplate~~ the clemency of its seasons, the richness of its soil, see the saccharine, & ~~so~~ greatful to our tastes, and necessary, perhaps, from habit, to our happiness, flowing from the trees of the forests; and observe the fountains of salt water and spots of earth impregnated with the finest particles, called salt licks, to which the beasts resort, from the former of which a full supply of salt can be drawn for all the inhabitants at a very moderate price while their situation is so far inland as to make this article, so important to the well being of man and beast, too expensive to be obtained in any other way; ~~[illegible]~~ When I further consider

42

the many natural advantages, if not peculiar to, yet possessed by this country, and that ~~[illegible]~~ it is capable of giving support to an hundred times as many inhabitants, as now occupy it, (for there is at present little more to be seen on the greatest proportion of the lands than here and there the foot step of the savage;) I cannot persuade myself that it will remain long in so uncultivated a state; especially when I consider that to people fully this earth was in the original plan of the ~~deity~~ benevolent Deity.— I am confident that sooner or later there will be a full accomplishment of the original ~~[illegible]~~ system; and that no men will be suffered to live by hunting on lands capable of improvement, and which would support more people under a state of cultivation; so that if the savages cannot be civilized and quit their present pursuits, they will, in consequence of their stubborness, dwindle and moulder away, from causes, perhaps, imperceptable to us, until the whole race shall become extinct, they shall have reached those climes about the great Lakes, [illegible] from the [illegible] I am strengthened in this belief, when I carefully ~~consider~~ examine the first laws given to man by his kind and watchful Creator, and the consequences which resulted from their being kept or rejected.

& where the moccasin may fall the foot steps of the husbandman will not be seen. There they may find an asylum fixed to their life, in the enjoyment of [illegible] none will envy them.

The first injunctions from Heaven to man were, "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the Earth, and subdue it." Had it not been for the last injunction "subdue", and man had been left to no other course of life for obtaining his bread than that of seeking it from the lap of nature, the world would soon have been filled with inhabitants; few, indeed, compared with its present numbers, would have filled it.— When Adam was placed in the Garden of Eden, he was not fixed there to be an idle spectator of the spontaneous productions of the earth thus furnished with "every tree pleasant to the sight,"## but he was directed "to dress the Garden & keep it."#

In the family of Abraham, in which "all the Nations of the Earth were to be blessed, and whose seed was to be multiplied as the Stars of Heaven, and as the sands on the sea-shore, the Blessing descended on Isaac, the younger branch; this being the case, the progress of the family of Ishmael, the elder branch, of consequence must have been limited; It was therefore left to [illegible] from the natural effects of their own choice.— He was declared to be a wild man, to be at war with all & had his dwelling in the wilderness, where, as necessary to his support, he became an Archer, in a state similar, wild and uncultivated.+ We find in the account of Esau and Jacob, that the former was a cunning hunter, a man of the field, while Jacob was represented as a plain man, dwelling in tents. From the different employments, adopted by each, the younger was able to supply the wants of his brother, to which he was exposed from the nature of his pursuits, at a moment when he was willing to barter all future prospects for a temporary relief. Under these circumstances Jacob contracted with him, and gave the compensation stipulated for his birthright: thereby he obtained, by the free consent of his brother, a right to

# Feeling the power of these injunctions, he taught them to his children and assigned different employment to each. One was a keeper of Sheep, while the other was a tiller of the ground.

+ The family remains to this day limited to the deserts of Arabia.

that blessing which seems to have been obtained from Isaac by fraud.× However hard the terms ~~[illegible]~~ which Jacob imposed on Esau, (and how little we know of the whole transaction at this day,) yet he secured by contract a right which, God designed he should ~~[illegible]~~ afterwards ~~to~~ enjoy; for in the branch of his family the blessings promised to Abraham were ~~to~~ deferred. ~~[illegible]~~ The pursuits of the other, tho' a cunning hunter, were such as forbad his entailing on ~~this~~ his posterity that happiness which seems to be reserved to men of different ideas.

If the general complexion of these recitals should appear to be such as will strengthen the opinion that a cultivation of the earth was in the original constitution established as the duty of man, I shall have answered my design in adducing them.

I think it was also in the original constitution, that the earth should be fully peopled. The benevolent Creator of the world early counteracted a different idea, which was taking place among men. When a plan was formed by the inhabitants of this ~~earth~~ globe of their becoming one great people, an attempt was made to arrest their minds & to contract their views to the same objects. this they suppose would effectually secure them from scattering abroad through the whole earth;* but the God of nature, who will cause his plans to be fully executed, at a moment when flushed with the hope of success, put an end to a design, arrogant and vain, in a manner wonderful, and kind, & important;

45 so that at once a period was put to their follies, and the tribes placed in a situation which perfectly forbad a continuation of their mad and unwarrantable project. No longer speaking one common language, they separated themselves and became different nations, each pursuing its own views.

I am strengthened in these ideas by a late writer, ~~on the law of~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Who is of opinion that to cultivate the earth is a duty imposed on mankind by the laws of ~~his~~ their nature; that the whole earth is assigned for the nourishment of its inhabitants; that every nation is obliged by the laws of nature to cultivate the ground which has fallen to its share # that there are some who to avoid agriculture would live by hunting;— that although this might have been allowed in the first ages of the world, when the earth without cultivation produced more than was sufficient to feed its few inhabitants, but at present, when the human race is so greatly multiplied, it could not subsist if all nations resolved to live in the same manner;— that those who still retain this idle life, usurp more extensive territories than they would have occasion for were they to use honest labour, and have therefore no reason to complain, if other nations, more laborious and too closely confined, come to possess a part # that the establishment of many colonies of North America may, on their confining themselves within just bounds, be extremely lawful # that the people of these vast countries rather over ran than inhabited them

Lle

All I mean to suggest is an opinion that the present inhabitants of this country will become tillers of the ground, and sacrifice their present pursuits to that important & natural object; or they will become extinct or retire as before mentioned, & thereby make way for those who will subdue the Earth and dress it.

July 21. We arrived at the west end of Lake Erie, where we landed, and the Vessel pursued her course up the river to Detroit. The Commissioners could not obtain permission to visit it, although we were within eighteen miles of the Garrison. Upon our landing we were conducted to the House of Captain Elliott, who received us with hospitality, and gave us the use of his house, garden, &c. — The morning after our arrival we had a full supply of boiled green corn, which was well grown. Elliott has the best farm I have seen in the country by far. He has in possession the ground on which the Indians formerly lived, and where the French first sat down to open a trade with the Natives. — The savages afterwards cutt off the settlement, & the French then began at Detroit, where they always maintained their ground, and which I hear is now a handsome settlement, within the limits of the United States. — As the people have not settled far from the River a full view is had of their improvements as you sail up, and the whole may be seen ~~at a moment~~ — as you sail up past. — —

July 29th Captain Eliot arrived with a deputation of upwards of twenty Indians from the Nations assembled at the foot of the rapids of the Miami: & He delivered us a letter from Col. McKee, acknowledging the receipt of one &c which we had sent him.

July 30th. In Council at Captain Eliot's at the mouth of Detroit River

Present the Commissioners and other Citizens of the United States;

The Deputation of Indians, &

The British officers & Inhabitants.

The deputation addressed the Commissioners as follows, viz: A Wyandot Chief (whose name signifies "carry-one-about" being their speaker.

Brothers, listen. We are glad to see you here in peace, and thank the great spirit that has preserved us to meet you again. —

Brothers, we were sent to speak something to you some time ago at Niagara — Some chiefs are now here who were then present. —

Brothers, we did not explain ourselves to each other, and we did not rightly understand each other. Brothers we desire that we may rightly understand each other. We have thought it best that what we had to say should be put into writing, and here is the meaning of our hearts, (presenting the paper to the Commissioners.) —

The above speech was interpreted by Simon Girtie, a British interpreter. —

The Commissioners received the paper, and told the Deputation that they would consider the subject of it and return an answer in writing, and give them notice when they were ready to deliver it — The contents of the paper were as follows, Viz:

To the Commissioners of the United States.

Brothers, The deputies we sent you did not fully explain our meaning; we have therefore sent others to meet you once more, that you may fully and explain the great question we have to ask you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing.

Brothers, You are sent here by the United States in order to make peace with us, the Confederate Indians. —

Brothers, You know very well that the boundary line which was run between the white people and us, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, was the river Ohio

Brothers, If you seriously design ~~mean~~ to make a firm and lasting peace, you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that River. +

Brothers, We therefore ask you, are you fully authorised, by the United States, to continue and firmly fix on the Ohio River as the boundary line between your people and ours? —

Done in general Council at the foot of the Miami Rapid, 27 July, 1793. In behalf of ourselves and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in full Council. —

Signed Wyandots, —— Bear.
Delawares, — — Turtle.
Shawanese, — — — a Snake.
Miamis, — — — Turtle
Mingoes, —— Snipe.
Pottawatimies, — a Fish.
Ottawas, — — — an Otter.
Connoys, — — — a Turkey.
Chippeways, —— Crane.
Munseys, — — —

July 31st At the cloſe of the afternoon, the commiſsioners delivered the following anſwer to the deputation, Viz.:

Brothers. You yeſterday addreſsed us, mentioning a former deputation who met us at Niagara. At that meeting you ſaid that we did not come to a right underſtanding;— That your deputies did not fully explain your meaning to us, nor we ours to them;+ That you deſired that we might rightly underſtand each other, and therefore thought it beſt that what you have to ſay ſhould be put into writing; then handed us a paper. You ſaid, here is the meaning of our hearts.

Brothers, that paper is directed to the United States, and ſpeaks to them theſe words; Viz. (here is repeated their written addreſs, as mentioned on the preceding page)

Brothers, the deputies here preſent,— we have now repeated the words contained in the paper which you delivered us; and thoſe words have been interpreted to you. we preſume the interpretation agrees with your ideas of the contents of the paper. +. It is expreſsed to be given by the Wyandots, &c (here we repeated the whole) in behalf of themſelves and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in full council.—

Brothers, we are a little ſurpriſed at the ſuggeſtion that in the conference at Niagara, we did not come to a right underſtanding, and that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning.— Thoſe deputies appeared to be men of ſound under-

58 in public council more distinctly, or
behave with more propriety. — We could
not therefore suppose they could mistake
your meaning or ours. + Certainly, we were
sufficiently explicit; for in plain terms we
declared,* "that in order to establish a just &
permanent peace, some concessions would be
necessary on your part as well as ours."
These words, Brothers, are a part of our speech
to your deputies, and that speech they assured
us they fully understood. — What those ~~concessions~~ concessions
should be on both sides, and where the
boundary line should be fixed, were proper
subjects of discussion at the treaty, where we
should speak face to face. — This we are certain
would be the best way to remove all difficulties.
But your nations have adopted an other
mode, which, by speaking at a distance, preven
our knowing each other, and keeps alive those
jealousies which are the great obstacles to peace
We are desirous of meeting your nations in
full council, without more delay. — We have
already waited in this province sixty days, beyond
the time appointed for opening the treaty. —
Brothers we have now expressed our opinion
of a proper mode of settling the differences betw-
een you and the United States. — But as your
nations have desired answers to certain questio
previous to our meeting, and as we are disposed
to act with frankness & sincerity, we will give
you an explicit answer to the great question
you have now proposed to us. — But before
we do this, we think it best to look back to
some former transactions, and we desire you

of Fort Stanwix, twenty five years ago, the River Ohio was agreed on as the boundary line between you and the white people of the British colonies; and we all know that about seven years after that boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your father, the King of Great Britain, and the people of these Colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the treaty of peace made with the King about ten years ago, by which the great Lakes and the waters which unite them were by him declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

Brothers Peace having been made between the King of Great Britain and the United States it remained to make peace with them and the Indian Nations who had taken part with the King — For this purpose commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all the Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace. — The first treaty was held about nine years ago with the six Nations at Fort Stanwix, which has stood firm and unviolated to this day. —— The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort Mc.Intosh, with the half King of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas and Chippewa nations. — Afterwards treaties were made with divers Indian Nations South of the Ohio River; and the next treaty was made with Kakiapilathy here present, & other Shawanoe Chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanoe nation, at the mouth of the great Miami, which runs into the Ohio. ——

Brothers The Commissioners who conducted these treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the great Council of the States, who supposing them satisfactory to the Nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of the lands thereby ceded; and a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States and settled upon them. Also, many families of your ancient fathers, the French, came over the great waters, and settled on parts of the same lands: —

Brothers, After some time it appeared that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaty of Fort McIntosh & Miamis. Therefore the great Council of the United States appointed Governor St Clair their commissioner, with full power, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and settling boundaries between the Indian nations in the Northern department of the United States. ++ He accordingly sent messages inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a Council fire which he kindled at the falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out; so he kindled a council-fire at Fort Harmar where near six hundred Indians of different tribes attended, + The Six nations then renewed & confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix and the Wyandots & Delawares renewed & confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh. Some Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatamies & Sacs were also parties to this treaty of Fort Harmar. —

53 Brothers, all these treaties we have here with us. We have also the speeches of many Chiefs who attended them, and who voluntarily declared their satisfaction with the terms of those treaties.

Brothers, after making all these treaties, and after having their chiefs freely express their satisfaction them, the United States expected to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly large tracts have been sold, and settled, as before mentioned.

And now Brothers, we answer explicitly, that, for the reasons here stated to you, it is impossible to make the River Ohio the boundary between your people and the people of the United States.

Brothers, you are men of understanding, and if you consider the custom of white people, the great expenses which attend their settlements in a new country, the nature of their improvements in building houses and barns and clearing and fencing their land, how valuable the lands are thus rendered, and thence how dear they are to them, you will see that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the North side of the Ohio. Your brothers, the English, know the customs of white people, and they know that under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

Brothers, you seem to consider all the lands in dispute on your side of the Ohio as claimed by the United States; but suffer us to remind you that a large tract was sold by the Wyandots & Delaware Nations to the State of Pensylvania. This tract lies East of the line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek, at the Ohio, due North to Lake Erie. This line is the western bound of Pensylvania as claimed under the Charter given by the King of

54 England to your ancient friend, Wm Penn.
Of this ſale made by the Wyandots & Delaware nations to the State of Penſylvania we have never heard any complaint. —

Brothers we are on this occaſion obliged to ſend a long ſpeech. We again deſire you to hear us patiently. The buſineſs is of the higheſt importance; and a great many words are neceſsary fully to explain it, for we deſire you may perfectly underſtand us; and there is no danger of your forgetting what we ſay, becauſe we will give you our ſpeech in writing. —

Brothers we have explicitly declared to you that we cannot now make the boundary Ohio the boundary line between us. This agrees with our ſpeech to your deputies at Niagara, "that in order to eſtabliſh a juſt and permanent peace, "ſome conceſsions would be neceſsary on your "part as well as ours."

Brothers, the conceſsions which we think neceſs. on your part are, that you yield up and finally relinquiſh to the United States ſome of the lands on your ſide of the Ohio. — The United States wiſh to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar; and alſo a ſmall tract of lands at the rapids of the Ohio claimed by General Clark for the uſe of himſelf and his warriors. And in conſideration thereof, the United States would give ſuch a large ſum in money or goods as was never given at one time for any quantity of Indian lands ſince the white people firſt ſet their foot on this Iſland. And becauſe thoſe lands did every year furniſh you with ſkins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other neceſsaries, the United States will furniſh the like conſtant ſupplies; and therefore, beſides the great ſum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of ſuch goods, as are beſt ſuited to the wants of your ſelves, your women & children.

Brothers, If all the lands before mentioned cannot be yielded up to the United States, we ſhall deſire to treat and agree with you on a new boundary line; and for the quantity of land you relinquiſh to us within that new boundary line, we ſhall ſtipulate a generous compenſation; not only for a large ſum to be paid at once, but for a yearly rent, for the benefit of your ſelves and your children forever.++

Brothers, here you ſee our firſt conceſſion, which we are willing to make on the part of the United States. Now liſten to another of a claim which probably has more diſturbed your minds than any other whatever.

Brothers the commiſſioners of the United States formerly ſet up a claim to your whole country ſouthward of the great lakes, as the property of the United States, grounding their claim on the treaty of peace with your father, the King of Great Britain, who declared, as we have before mentioned, the middle of thoſe lakes and the waters which unite them to be the boundaries of the United States.

Brothers, we are determined that our whole conduct ſhall be marked with openneſs and ſincerity;+ we therefore frankly tell you that we think that thoſe Commiſſioners put an erroneous conſtruction on that part of our treaty with the King. As he had not purchaſed the country of you, of courſe he could not give it away;+ He only relinquiſhed to the United States his claim to it.+ That claim was founded on a right acquired by treaty with other white nations, to exclude them from purchaſing or ſettling in any part of your country; and it is the right which the King granted to the United

States. Before that grant, the King alone ha a right to purchase of the Indian nations any of their lands, between the great Lakes, the Ohio & the Mississippi, excepting the part within the charter boundaries of Pennsylvania; and the King, by the treaty of peace, having granted this right to the United States, they alone have now the right of purchasing.) So that now neither the King nor any of his people have any right to interfere in any respect to any part of those lands. — All your brothers, the English, know this to be true: and it agrees with the declaration of Lord Dorchester at Quebec two years ago. —— See page 73

Brothers, we now concede this great point. We by the express authority of the President of the United States, acknowledge the property or right of soil of the great country above described, to be in the Indian nations, so long as they desire to occupy the same. — We only claim particular tracts in it, as before mentioned, and the general right granted by the King, as above stated, and which is well known to the English and Americans, and called the right of preemption, or the right of purchasing of the Indian nations disposed to sell their lands, to the exclusion of all other white people whatever.

Brothers We have now opened our hearts to you. we are happy in having an opportunity of doing it, tho' we should have been more happy to have done it in the council of your nation. We expect soon to have this satisfaction, and that your next deputation will take us by the hand and lead us to the treaty. When we meet & converse with each other freely, we may more easily remove any difficulties which may come in the way.

At Captain Elliot's, at the
mouth of Detroit River,
July 31st, 1793.

B L
B R
T P

Commissioners
of the
United States

This Speach was read by paragraphs, and interpreted by Mr Jones into the Seneca tongue, and then delivered to the oldest Chief with a White belt & with thirteen strings of black wampum —

The deputation said that it was too late to make any reply, but they would speak to us in the morning —

August 1st 1793.

Present as yesterday

The Wyandot chief arose and spoke, which was interpreted by Simon Girtie. —

Brothers, we are all Brothers you see here now.

Brothers, it is now three years since you have desired to speak with us. — we heard you yesterday and understand you well, & perfectly well. we have a few words to say to you

Brothers, You mentioned the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver Creek, and other places. those treaties were not compleat. — There were but few chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands, they belong to us. & You tried to draw off some of us.

Brothers, many years ago we all know that the Ohio was made the boundary, it was settled by Sir Wm Johnson. & This side is ours; we look upon it as our property. —

Brothers, You mention General Washington. he and you know you have houses and people on our lands. — You say you cannot move them off; and we cannot give up our lands

Brothers, we are sorry that we cannot come to an agreement — The line has been fixed long ago —

Brothers, We do not say much there has been much mischief on both sides. we came here

upon peace, and although you did the same
We shall talk to our head Warriors; ++ You
may return whence you came, & tell Washington.

The Council here breaking up,
Captain Elliot went to the Shawanese Chief,
Makaipalathy, and told him that the last
part of the speech was wrong. + That Chief
came back and said it was wrong. + Girtie
said he had interpreted truly, what the Wyandot
Chief spoke. ++ An explanation took place, &
Girthie added as follows, Viz:

Brothers, Instead of going home, we wish
you to remain here for an answer from us.
We have your speech in our breasts, and
shall consult our head Warriors. +

The Commissioners then said
that they would wait to hear again from
their Council at the Rapids; But desired
that their answer might be without delay.

Augt 2d: . . . I walked, towards evening, on the bank
of the river; was discovered by a man of observation,
who met me and carried me to his house. from
him I learned that a little distance therefrom,
West in a new field, he had discovered a large
circular fortification, which must have been
erected very many years since; for, besides very
large timber trees standing therein, there were
many, which having come to maturity, had
fallen down, and appear to have remained in
that situation for a long time. + The fortification
embraced about four acres. He also added that a
fortification, of some kind or other, would be
discovered in every four miles square in all
this part of the country. + In tilling the land,
they plow up parts of earthen pots & some stone
ware. hence it is evident that the people who

(59) erected these works were not in possession of Iron tools. Works similar are to be found throughout this Western World. + What puts this business in a more perplexing point of light is, that the lands in this neighbourhood, about three miles from the river, are swampy and full of water; yet on these low lands fortifications are to be found, as on the higher, with the ditches full of water. + These facts must serve to silence the conjectures of Mr. Webster when speaking of those works on the Muskingum, wh. he supposed that they were thrown up by the Spaniards, in a route they took thro' that country. ——

This country at the time the works were thrown up, was doubtless much fuller of Inhabitants than at present. + It is now too thinly inhabited to effect any such works as are discovered, though they should make use of all the knowledge & advantages which they have derived from Civilized nations; for such is their mode of living, that to obtain a very indifferent support consumes most of their time, and especialy ~~at a~~ that season of the year in which only ~~our~~ works in this Cold Climate can be erected. ——

It is an observation and I think from all appearances it is well founded, that when America was first discovered by the Europeans, there were many Millions of Natives in that tract of Country now claimed by Great Britain, Spain and the United States, East of the Mississippi. At this day, by a supposed ~~an~~ exaggerated computation, there are but about 300,000, the whole number of souls, Viz. men women & Children in all the territory above mentioned, which contains one million 1,000,000 of square miles. This ~~sd works~~ tract, cast into Acres, makes ~~[illegible]~~ ~~Over~~ 364,000,000 of Acres which divided by the number of the present inhabitants

60 Some of the tribes have been reduced ~~one~~ ~~to that~~ two thirds since the memory of people now living, and from causes not yet investigated. They yet rapidly waste, and nothing in my opinion will prevent their ~~becoming~~ extinct, or retiring as aforesaid ~~from gone~~ to such lands as will not bear cultivation unless they become civilized & till the ground and receive their support from the cultivated earth. The savage manners ~~place~~ will check that progress which is the ~~natural~~ effect of civilization. See page 61 ✠

✠✠ It is a mistaken idea embraced by some, that one cause of the reduction of the native tribes in this country is owing to their being driven into narrow limits; certainly they are not; it is thinly inhabited, compared with what it formerly was, and one hundred and twenty thousand acres cannot be considered a small allotment, ~~[illegible]~~ which is supposed to be, at least, the share of each individual, the present occupants of this uncultivated world. —

I know that it is an opinion commonly adopted that the Indians are destroyed by their intemperance. — That they are intemperate, none will deny; but, it is certain that they use a very small proportion of ardent spirits compared with the white inhabitants in general, they have not the means of obtaining it; if they could procure it, they would make an improper use of it, I have no doubt. I see nothing among the different tribes which bespeaks a want of health, or that they, in a ~~pec~~ peculiar manner die before they have lived out half their days. ✠ There appear as many old men among

6

~~[illegible]~~

+ pa 60 It may, I know, with propriety, be asked me, why this country will not support as many inhabitants as it manifestly did some centuries past. a solution of this question appears to me very easy. — When this country was filled with inhabitants, prior to their connexion with the Mercantile part of the world, none of the wild beasts of the forest were destroyed for any other purpose than to give food to the hungry & cloathing to the naked. + Now they are destroyed in the most wanton manner & it is probable that not one twentieth part of the flesh is eaten of those beasts which are killed for the sake of their skins. Of the truth of this we can all judge, when we know that it is not uncommon for a single huntsman to kill ~~one~~ one hundred deer in a few months, while out on one hunt. + The temptation to this is that the present inhabitants find a market for that peltry, to which the former inhabitants were perfect strangers. — These skins are bartered mostly for mean baubles, and for some articles even worse

See page 60 ~~[illegible]~~ — The temptation to this kind of life is such, that it engages the whole attention of the most active ~~and~~ and hardy part of the tribe, and so destroys the game, that at times ~~the tribe~~ they suffer greatly from want; this operates as a discouragement to the sex. + The sufferings of the wives ~~[illegible]~~

~~suffering~~, in bringing up their Children, practise every act to prevent their rearing; and authorizes, in their mind, the destruction of those which are in any degree imperfect or deformed. ++

The mode of hunting now practised by the Indians operates much to their disadvantage. By the use of firearms they have it in their power to destroy many more of the wild beasts than they could before; and generally speaking, the more they kill, the worse it is for them. Besides, the report of their guns terrifies the Game, & keeps it in a shy & wandering state, frequently driven from its necessary feeding ground; by which means it is impoverished and rendered less valuable. +

The Indians must have suffered and now suffer greatly from their having abandoned their former mode of covering + viz. that of furs & skins, for the linens & Calicoes of Europe, while they retained the savage mode of life; by which they are exposed to many hardships. + They have not any covering from the waist up, saving a linen or Calico shirt; and occasionally a blanket thrown over their shoulders. + Besides, they all have Indian stockings, made of woolen ~~cloth~~ cloth; + the males a ~~[illegible]~~ Breech cloth & the females a woolen petticoat, generally blue, but sometimes Black, & sometimes scarlet; this comes down to the knee, and keeps tight around their waists and hips. + This doth not appear to be a sufficient covering to preserve them from the inclemency of the weather, with insufficient huts, in those high northern latitudes, and in the various situations to which, from their mode of life & the nature of their employments, they are too frequently exposed.

+ Their intercourse with the Europeans must [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] for them

63 the consequence of which is that they get repeated colds, which falling on the lungs bring on consumptive habits, which now carries off a great proportion of them. + This disorder, I am informed, was not known among them untill after they became connected with the Europeans. hence I conclude, that their former dress, which consisted of furs & skins, was more consonant to the savage life than the mode of dress now adopted by them. + Facts also establish this point beyond controversy; for the more northern Indians, still retaining their original dress of furs, they are more robust and live longer than those who inhabit this milder climate

It is said, that by their connexion with the Europeans they have contracted a disorder which proves in its consequences exceedingly injurious to them, & to which, they say, that before such ~~connexion~~ communication, they were perfectly strangers. It is supposed by some that they have an easy method of cure. + But I believe, from all I can learn, that what they call a cure is often but a palliative, and only corrects the virulence of the disorder for a time, and that it finally so affects the whole system that it is conveyed from the mother to the child, whose tender frame soon yields to its malignity; and the Parents also, in a short time, fall a sacrifice to the obstinacy of the disorder. To evince how little the Indians understand the nature of the disorder or mode of cure, I need but add, their last resort, in these cases, is the Powow. This differs, as I am told, in nothing from the modern animal Magnetism but the awkward howlings & gestures of the Actor.

Allthough I am persuaded that from the foregoing observations we may account in part for the reduction of the Natives, yet it appears to me that its progress has been too rapid for me to account for it fully, at present, from any natural causes which have fallen under my observation. I therefore must leave the subject as it is untill I turn over one page more in the book of nature. perhaps there I shall find the matter plainly ingraven. If not, I can believe, that others are to possess this country, who will pursue a course of life different from the one followed by its present inhabitants, & that a way will be opened in proper time, for there introduction of that System founded in wisdom & Justice.

Nothing particular, of a public nature passed from the first untill

Thursday Aug. 8th

this evening, when there arrived two of Capt. Hendricks men, with letters requesting some necessaries may be sent to him, and informing of the proceedings of the Indian Council at the Miamis and the disposition of the Indian nations relative to peace and war after our speech of the 31st. Ult.o had been interpreted to them. — By the information of the letters and messenger, it appeared that all the Nations were for peace except the Shawanese, Wyandots, Miamis and Delawares: that these had at length yeilded to the opinion of other nations; and that peace would probably be made explain

Hendricks also expressed his opinion that we should receive an invitation from all the confederated nations to meet them near the mouth of the Miami this week.

Aug 9th. Twelve Munsees and Chippewas arrived. they said that they came to this side of the river on purpose to see the commissioners of the United States. + They confirmed generally the the information of Hendricks' men; they said that they were on their way home (except a Munsee who lives at Sindusky) for they had worn out their clothes, and were tired of the long continuance of the treaty; and they expected that the greatest difficulties being got over, the chiefs (some of all the Nations remaining at the Council) would now make peace. Two of the oldest of them said, that when the warriors, who were going home, were about to leave the Council, they enjoined it on their chiefs to make peace, that they might without fear or interruption return to their hunting.) +

Captain Bunbury (one of the British officers who accompanied the Commissioners) says that one of the twelve Indians who arrived today is an Ottawa (or Tawa, as the name is often spoken,) and that he said that the Shawanese and others are strong for war, and will not abide by a peace into which they shall be dragged by the other nations. +

Sunday Aug 11th. The King's vessel, called the Chippewa, arrived from Detroit, ~~[illegible]~~ bound to Fort Erie. Twelve Senekas, including women and children, and most of them sick, from the Indian Council at the

66 rapids of the Miami, came in hither; these Senekas are well known to General Chapin & Jones, the interpreter. One of them, an intelligent man, gave us the like information about the proceedings of the council upon our last speech, with that received from Hendrick's men and the Munsey and Chippewas; only that the four nations, who inclined to continue to ~~continue~~ the war, remained obstinate when he departed from the Council; that the six nation chiefs had twice addressed them, urging them to agree to a peace; were going to speak to them a third time; and if they were still obstinate, would exceed their usual custom, and speak a fourth time; and if without effect, that they would then leave them and go home. — He says the Farmer's brother told him and his company that they might expect to be overtaken by messengers to the Commissioners before they (the foremost of his company) reached Detroit; but if none arrived before they got down to the Commissioners' quarters, that then they might conclude no peace would be made. — This Seneka said that excepting the four Nations before mentioned, the Indians were for peace. — He particularly mentioned the six nations, and the seven Nations of Canada as strongly recommending to the hostile Indians to make peace; and that, for this purpose, Captain Brandt and the Farmer's brother spoke a great deal in Council. He added that of the four excepted Nations near one half were disposed for peace; and that the Messasaugues, Chippawas and Ottawas are as strong for peace as the Seven nations of Canada

Monday Aug. 12 No deputation or official information from the Indian Council having yet arrived, the Commissioners judged that it would be

67 expedient to proceed without more delay to the Miami bay or river, that they might more easily & expeditiously send to, and receive an answer from them. — They accordingly wrote the following letter to Captain Ford, commanding the ~~[illegible]~~ vessel assigned by Governour Simcoe for their accommodation

Sir, "Mouth of Detroit River, Aug. 12, 1793.

"We have been waiting here twelve days for a reply to our last answer to the Indian Nations assembled at the rapids of Miami. We can think of no sufficient reason for this delay and must therefore take measures for to obtain their speedy reply, or to ascertain whether we ought any longer to expect it. For this purpose, we judge it proper to proceed ourselves to the Miami bay or river, that the necessary communication, with the Indians, may be easy and expeditious; for it is time that the business of our mission be brought to an issue. — We therefore request you, to be prepared to sail tomorrow morning, when we propose to embark."

We are Sir, Yours, &c.

Captain W. J. Ford,
commanding the
Dunmore —
B L
B R
T P } Commissioners of the United States.

Captain Ford having read the letter, came and informed the Commissioners that he was instructed to attend the Commissioners, but to receive his orders from Captain Bunbury; and desired us to speak to him. — We spoke to Capt. Bunbury & told him that Governour Simcoe had assigned the Dunmore, Capt. Ford, to the use of the Commissioners, and that from what the Governour ſaid and his Secretary had repeatedly ſaid, we had a right to conclude she was under our direction; to go when & where we thought proper for the purpoſe of the treaty; except to Detroit. + He ſaid he had his orders from Governour Simcoe, and that by thoſe orders he could not conſent that the Commiſſioners, or any deputation from them, ſhould go to the Miami bay or river untill Col.o McKee ſhould give notice, that the Indians were ready to receive them. + But ſays he, if the Commiſſioners chooſe to go to Sanduſky, I will order the Dunmore to proceed thither. + He read ſome paſſages in Governour Simcoe's letter to him. + The Commiſſioners aſked if he would give an extract of the letter containing his orders. + He anſwered, that Mr Storer might take an extract. + They retired together; [illegible] Bunbury read, & Mr Storer wrote down from his mouth, the following words as an extract from the Governour's letter. +

Extract of a letter ~~to~~ from Col.o Simcoe to Captain Bunbury, dated at Navy hall 28th June, 1793. + "The directing the King's veſſel to carry them (the Commiſſioners) thither. She will anchor, therefore, as conveniently as poſſible to the Northern Shore of the river, on the banks of which they propoſe to remain untill they hear from Col.o McKee. The ~~commiſſioners~~ Indians do not wiſh they ſhould viſit the oppoſite Shore."

Detroit river, 12 Aug.t 1793. The above extract was this day verbally given me by Capt. Bunbury, who, tho' deſired, refuſes to Sign it.

69

Sunday, August 13. Being thus prevented from proceeding to the Miami bay, the commissioners concluded to send a message to the Indian Nations at the rapids, and a letter to Col.o McKee. The message & letter here follow.

"To the chief warriors of the Indian nations assembled at the foot of the rapids of the Miami river."

Brothers, it is now fifteen days since we delivered our speech to your deputies at this place, in which we explicitly answered the written question presented by them from you, and gave our reasons why we could not make the Ohio the boundary between you and the United States. We also mentioned the terms of ~~heads~~ of the engagements we were willing to make in behalf of the United States. These particulars, together with other stipulations for your benefit, we judged proper to reserve to be explained to you in full council, when we should meet face to face.

Brothers, the next morning your deputies spoke to us, said they would lay our speech before you, and desired us to wait for your answer, which we expected desired might be speedily given.

Brothers, we have waited fourteen days, and no answer has yet arrived.

Brothers, it is time to bring the business to a conclusion; the summer has almost passed away, and we do not yet know whether we are to have a treaty.

Brothers, you know that we came to treat with you of peace; we earnestly again tell you that we earnestly desire to make peace; and in the terms of peace we are disposed to do you ample justice. But if no treaty is to be held, if peace is not to be obtained, we desire immediately to know it, that we may go home.

Signed by the
Commissioners

fo 71°

Mouth of Detroit river, 11 Aug.

Copy of a letter to Col. McKee.

Sir,

To the speech delivered here to the deputation of the Indian nations assembled at the rapids of the Miami, we expected an early answer. we have waited fourteen days, & no answer has yet arrived. we have therefore dispatched runners with a speech to the chiefs and Warriours, manifesting our wishes to begin the treaty without more delay, and desiring to know immediately their decision on the subject. + a copy of our speech is inclosed.

We presume that it will be in your power to forward the business. Your aid therein will be greatfully acknowledged. The mode in which the Negotiations have hitherto been conducted is new, and as improper as new. + All the questions which have been stated might have been proposed to our faces, and have received prompt answers. we must soon close the negotiation, unless substantial reasons demand procrastination; + in that case we may think ourselves justified in giving further proof of our patience. + we again request your assistance to expedite the business which is the object of our mission,

And are, Sir, Yours, &c.

B L } Commissioners +
B R } of the United States.
T P }

These papers were forward by two runners, with seven strings of black & white wampum, with instructions to inform Capt Brandt, the Farmer's brother, the Corn-planter, the Fish carrier p 1 and Great Sky, that they had the speech, and request that the Chiefs might be assembled, that it might be immediately delivered. — They were then to deliver the letter to Col. McKee. — After this they were to find Capt. Hendrick, and notify him that they had brought a speech, &c. and let him, Brandt & Col. McKee know when they were to return: They were instructed also not to divulge their business on the road.

Lord Dorchester's speech, to the Chiefs & Warriors deputed by the Confederated Indian nations of the Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatamies Hurons, Shawanese, Delewares, Tustens & the Six Nations.

Brothers, when I heard your speech yesterday on behalf of your Nations, I told you, that your words were of great moment, that I should weigh them, and give you an answer ~~to~~ this day.

Brothers, I am now ready. —

Brothers, you mentioned two speeches yesterday, which you said had passed at a meeting with Mr. McKee at the foot of the Miami rapids, and which you supposed I had received. —

Brothers, These speeches have not reached me. I therefore called together some of your chiefs last evening, and found that I had had some information of their general purport before by a letter from Col. McKee, in which he mentions that a meeting had taken place, which was called at my desire for the purpose.

of informing you, that I ſhould be glad to be inſtrumental in reſtoring peace between you and the United States, if it ſhould be in my power, and that therefore I wiſhed to know the terms on which you were diſpoſed to make peace —

Brother, Although in general I know your mind, on that ſubject, I wiſh to be accurate, and therefore ſhall order your meaning to be taken down at a convenient time, that there may be no miſtake, in the repreſentation of your wiſhes to the King your Father, to whom I ſhall give an exact account of your ſituation, on my arrival in England.

Brother, You tell me that when you were aſſembled at the Miami Rapids, to treat of peace, the people of the States came in arms into your country, intending to deſtroy you; that they heard you were ſtrong and prepared, and then they turned off on a ſudden to the Wabaſh, ſurpriſed your unprotected villages, maſſacred your old men, and carried off your women & children. —

Brother, This was unfortunate, and I was very ſorry to hear it; But I cannot tell whether theſe people knew, that you were there aſſembled to deliberate on the means of peace —

Brother, You have told me, theſe were people who ſay, that the King, your Father, when he made peace with the

73 United States, gave away your Lands.

Brothers, I cannot think the Government of the United States would hold that language, It must come from ill-informed individuals. —

Brothers, You well know that no man can give what is not his own, & when the King made peace, and gave independance to the United States, he made a treaty in which he marked out a line between them and him; this implies no more than that beyond this line he would not extend his interference.

Brothers, The posts would have been given up long since, according to the treaty, had the terms of it been complied with on the part of the States; but they were not; the King therefore remains in possession of the posts, and will continue to hold them, until all differences between him and the States shall be settled. But Brothers, this line which the King then marked out between him and the States, even supposing the treaty had taken effect, would never have prejudiced your rights.

Brothers, the King's rights respecting your territory were against the Nations of Europe; these he resigned to the States. But the King never had any rights aga against you but to such parts of their country as have been fairly ceded by yourselves with your own free consent, by public convention and sale. & How

74 then can it be said that we gave away your land,? So careful was the King of your interest, so fully sensible of your rights, that he would not suffer his own people to buy your lands without being sure of your free consent, and of compleat justice being done you. He therefore ordered his Superintendent, General Sir Wm. Johnson, the father of your friend, to be present at all treaties between you and his Colonial Government, to see that you were fairly dealt with. Bargains with private individuals were forbid, and considered as void —

Brothers, when the King, your Father, discovered that, notwithstanding his care, there had been encroachments, or on your lands, by some of his people, that you were made uneasy, and that you had reason to complain, what did he do? He called the Leading people of these Colonies, between whom and you the differences had arisen, together, to meet your nations at Fort Stanwix, to settle the dispute, and to fix a final ~~line~~ Boundary. —

Now Brothers say, is it possible that so good a Father could ever mean to give away your land, which ~~he~~ he had no right to do? certainly he never did it, nor never meant it. —

Brothers, You remind me of your friendship and attachment to your King, your father —

Brothers, The King has not forgot your friendship, — He never [illegible] forgets his faithful friends

Brothers, You deſire the King's protection; you deſire his power and influence may be exerted to procure you peace, and to ſecure your rights. —

Brothers, You expect my aſſiſtance, and that you will be relieved in your diſtreſſes.

Brothers, when the western people of the States had made an inroad into your country, and burnt the Shawaneſe town, of which I was informed not long after my arrival in this country, I made known your Father's ſentiments, with respect to you, and pointed out the line of conduct to be obſerved by me and all under my command towards you. —

Brothers, I cannot better explain myſelf now than by the words of the letter I wrote at that time to Sir John Johnſon, which is nearly five years ſince ago. Letters of the ſame effect were by him ſent to the Officers of this department, and by me to the Commandants of the King's Posts in the Upper Country. — —

The letter was to the following purport.

"If the Indians require aſſiſtance in their "wars, you will take proper means to make "them underſtand that this country is a "ſmall part of the King's Dominions; that "that with us in Canada no power is "lodged to begin a war, nor ought we to "have ſuch a power, which might in-

„volve half the Globe, with all the Seas,
„in blood and destruction; That at presen
„the King is at peace with the whole world
„and desires to remain; besides, according to
„our manners, that peace cannot be
„broken without injury and wrong receiv
„and redress refused. But though we have
„no power to begin a war, the Indians have
„our friendship and good wishes, and if we
„could be useful in procuring them a solid
„peace with the thirteen States, our best
„endeavours should be employed for that good
„purpose."

Brothers, these Sentiments have ~~often~~ no doubt been often explained to you, and if they had not, you must have perceived them from our conduct. + Now you know them from my own mouth

Brothers, You see that it is not in our power here to begin a war, if we are attacked, then we must defend ourselves, and may return hostilities.

Brothers, you see that though we have no power to begin a war, you have our friendship and good wishes; and if we can be useful in procuring you a solid peace with the United States, our best endeavours shall be employed for that good purpose. — + You see that the King has not forgotten you, that he is solicitous of your comfort, and that he has ordered his servants to take care of you, and to give you every mark of his bounty and friendship consistent with the general Laws of the European nations. —

In a few days I expect to sail for England. I am very glad I have had an opportunity of seeing you before, that I shall fully represent your wishes to the King, your Father —

Brothers, I leave the command of this country in the hands of Majr General Clarke, who will take the same care of you that I have done, for that is the will of the King our master. His benevolence and friendship for you are always the same, and whoever is the instrument of the King's power in this country, will always fulfill his intentions. —

Brothers, Here is Prince Edward, son of our King, who is just arrived with a chosen band of his Warriors, to protect this country. I leave him second in command of all the King's Warriors in Canada, & he will also take care of you. —

Brothers, It would give me great pleasure, while I am in England, to hear that peace is established in your country upon a just & solid foundation, and that you live in comfort and security with your families, sowing your fields, & following such habits to our mutual advantage. —

Brothers, I recommend it to you not to lose sight of this desirable object. —

Brothers, could I be instrumental in bringing this good work about, my pleasure would be still greater. —

Brothers, I wish health, wisdom & happiness to you and all your nations, whom you will assure of the friendship of the King, your father and of the affection of his subjects, and his people in general, as well as my own in particular.

Farewell, and may the supreme Being protect you. —

Delivered at Quebeck, the 15th
Day of August, 1791. —
(Signed) Dorchester

By his Excellency's command
(Signed) Henry Motz —
(Copy)

Aug 16th. To the Commissioners of the United States. —

Brothers, we have received your speech dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different Nations. We have been long in finding you an answer because of the great importance of the subject, but we now answer it fully, having given it all the consideration in our power.

Brothers, you tell us that after you had made peace with the King, our Father, about

79 two years ago, + "it remained to make "peace between the united States and the "Indian nations who had taken part with "the King; for this purpoſe commiſſioners "were appointed, who ſent meſſages to all "thoſe nations inviting them to come and "make peace" and after reciting the periods at which you ſay treaties were held at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh, and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgement, were for the ſole purpoſe of making peace. You then ſay, —

"Brothers, the commiſſioners who conducted "thoſe treaties, in behalf of the United States, "ſent the papers containing them to the "General Council of the States, who, ſuppoſing them ſatisfactory to the nations "treated with, proceeded to diſpoſe of the lands, "thereby ceded" +

Brothers; this is telling us plainly, what we always underſtood to be the caſe, and it agrees with the declarations of thoſe few who attended thoſe treaties, viz. that they went to meet your commiſſioners to make peace, but through fear, were obliged to ſign any paper that was laid before them; and it has ſince appeared, that Deeds of ceſſion were ſigned by them, inſtead of treaties of peace. —

Brothers, you ſay "after ſome time it appear"ed that a number of people in your nation "were diſſatiſfied with the treaties of Fort "McIntoſh and Miami; therefore the Council "of the United States appointed Governour "St. Clair their commiſſioner with full power, "for the purpoſe of removing all cauſes of controverſy relating to trade, & ſettling boundaries between the Indian nations and the Northern department of the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire he kindled at the falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out; so he kindled a fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians of different nations attended. The six nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix. ~~and the Wyandots and Delawares~~ some Ottawas, Chippawas, Pattawatamies and Sacs were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar." -

Now, Brothers, these are your words, and it is necessary for us to make a short reply to them. -

Brothers, a General council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788 at this place; and that general council was invited by your commissioner, General St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh. -

Brothers, we are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion between those deputed by the confederate Indians & Governor St. Clair, the commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the General council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands, would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a General Council, nevertheless persisted in collecting

a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and
with them held a treaty for the Ceſsion of an
immense country, in which they were no more
intereſted than a branch of the general confederacy,
and who were in no manner authorized to make
any grant or ceſsion whatever. +

Brothers, How then was it poſsible for you to expect
to enjoy peace, and quietly hold theſe Lands, when
your Commiſsioner was informed, long before
he held the treaty of Fort-Harmar, that the
conſent of a general Council was abſolutely
neceſsary to convey any part of theſe lands
+ to the United States. The part of theſe Lands which
the United States wiſh us to relinquiſh, and
which you ſay are ſettled, have been ſold
by the United States ſince that time. +

Brothers, you ſay "the United States wiſh to have
" confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the
" treaty of Fort-Harmar, and alſo a ſmall tract
" at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General
" Clark for the uſe of himſelf and his warriors.
" And in conſideration thereof the United States
" would give ſuch a large ſum in money
" or goods, as was never given at any one time
" for any quantity of Indian Lands ſince the
" White people firſt ſet their feet on this Iſland.
" And becauſe theſe Lands did every year furniſh
" you with Skins & furs, with which you bought
" clothing and other neceſsaries, the United States
" will now furniſh the conſtant ſupplies. And
" and therefore, beſides the great ſum to be
" delivered at once, they will every year deliver
" you a large quantity of ſuch goods, as are beſt
" fitted to the wants of your ſelves, your women
" and Children."

Brothers, money to us is of no value, and to
most of us unknown; and as no conſideration
+ [illegible]

whatever

82 What ever came a due us to ſell our lands on which we get ſuſtenance for our women and childr. We hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your ſettlers may be eaſily removed, and peace thereby obtained. + —

Brothers, we know that theſe ſettlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever ſince they croſſed the Ohio — Divide therefore this large ſum of money, which you have offered to us, among theſe people; give to each alſo a proportion of what you ſay you would give us annually, over and above this very large ſum of money, and we are perſuaded they would moſt readily accept of it in lieu of the lands you ſold to them: If you add alſo the great ſums you muſt expend in raiſing and paying armies with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than ſufficient for the purpoſe of repaying theſe ſettlers for all their labour and improvements. —

Brothers, you have talked to us about conceſſions; It appears ſtrange that you ſhould expect any from us, who have only been defending our juſt rights againſt your invaſions. — We want peace Reſtore to us our country, and we ſhall be enemies no longer. —

Brothers, You make one conceſſion to us by offering to us your money, and another by having agreed to do us juſtice, after having long and injuriouſly withheld it; — we mean in the acknowledgment you have now made that the King of England never did, — nor ever had a right to give you our country by the treaty of peace: And you want to make this act of common juſtice a great part of your conceſſions, and ſeem to expect that becauſe you have at laſt acknowledged our independence, we ſhould for ſuch a favour ſurrender to you our country. —

83 Brothers, you have also talked a great deal
about preemption, and your exclusive right
to purchase the Indian Lands, as ceded to you by the
King at the treaty of peace. —

Brothers, we never made any agreement with
the King, nor with any other nation, that
we would give to either the exclusive right
to purchase our Lands: And we declare to you
that we consider ourselves free to make
any bargain or cession of Lands whenever
and to whomsoever we please. — If the white
people, as you say, made a treaty that none
of them but the King should purchase of us,
and that he has given that right to the
United States, it is an affair which concerns
you and him and not us: we have never
parted with such a power. —

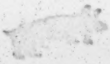
Brothers, at our general Council held
at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet
commissioners from the United States for
the purpose of restoring peace, provided they
consented to acknowledge and confirm
our boundary line to be the Ohio; And
we determined not to meet you, untill you
gave us satisfaction on that point; that
is the reason we [illegible] have never met. —

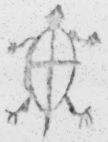
We desire you to consider, Brothers, that
our only demand, is the peaceable possession
of a small part of our once great Country.
— Look back & view the Lands from
whence we have been driven to this spot.
— We can retreat no farther, because the
Country behind us hardly affords food for its
present inhabitants; and we have therefore
resolved to leave our bones, in this small place
space, to which we are now confined. —

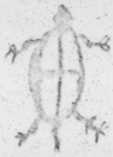
Brothers, we shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. — If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary: This is the great point, which we hoped × would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message last fall was principally directed to obtain that information.

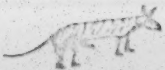
Done in general council at the foot of the Miami rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.

Marks

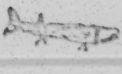
Wyandots, ----------


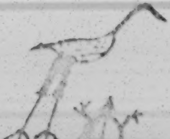
Seven Nations of Canada, ----


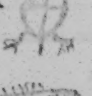
Delawares, ----------


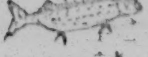
Shawanese, ----------


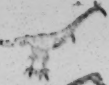
Miamis, ----------

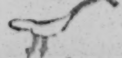
Ottawas, ----------


Chippawas, ----------


Senecas of the Glaize, ----


Pontawatamies, ----------


Connoys, ----------


Munseys, ----------


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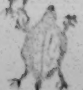

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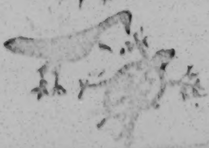
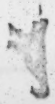


Messasagues, ----------


Creeks, ----------

Cherokees, ----------

To the chiefs and warriors of the Indian nations assembled at the foot of the Miamis rapids.

Brothers, we have just received your answer, dated the 13th instant, to our speech of the Thirty-first of last month, which we delivered to your deputies at this place. You say that it was interpreted to all your Nations, and we presume it was fully understood. We therein explicitly declared to you that it was now impossible to make the River Ohio the boundary ~~line~~ between your lands and the lands of the United States. — Your answer amounts to a declaration that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. — The negotiation is therefore at an end. — We sincerely regret that peace is not the result. — But knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States, which, as far as you gave opportunity, we have explained to you, we trust that impartial judges will not attribute ~~[illegible]~~ the continuance of the war to them.

Done at Captain Eliot's at the mouth of Detroit river, the sixteenth day of August, 1793.

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.
Commissioners of the United States

As the commissioners supposed that the Six Nations were strangers to the last speech from the council at the Rapids of Miami, — they thought it their duty to write to the Chiefs of those Nations in the following viz.

To the Chiefs of the Six Nations.

Brothers, — Two runners were sent by us this week, with a message dated the 6th of this month, to the Indian Nations assembled at the rapids of Miami. our instructions to the runners were, to inform you that they had such a message from us; and to request you to assemble the Chiefs of the other Nations, and then deliver it to you altogether. From the report of the runners, ~~from the report of the runners~~ we are apprehensive that they mistook our orders, and that our message has not been communicated to you (See page 69) we therefore now send a Copy of it. We at the same time sent a letter to Col. McKee of which also we inclose a Copy. (See page 70) ——

Brothers, our runners returned hither this evening: but a few hours before their arrival, two of Wyandot runners arrived with a written answer to our speech of the 31st of last month (See page 78) insisting on the Ohio as the boundary between the Indian lands and those of the United States. — As we have already explicitly declared that we could not make the Ohio the boundary, the business of course was at an end. However, we delivered a short speech in writing to the same runners who set off this morning to return to the council at the Rapids. we inclose a Copy of it (See the left hand page) ——

Brothers, being desirous that that you should be fully informed of these transactions, we have sent you copies thereof, which you may not otherwise obtain.

Brothers, we came hither with the most sincere desire to make a peace that would be beneficial to the Indians as well as to the United States. And had such a peace been accomplished, we felt a confidence that the justice and humanity of the United States, according to their present views of Indian affairs, would not only have continued, but extended, their beneficence to the Indian Nations; and so far as depended on them, have rendered the peace as lasting as the Hills. And we should have been extremely happy in laying the foundation of so much good. We have now only to return home, and report our proceedings to the President of the United States. We shall sail with the first fair wind to Fort Erie.—

Mouth of ~~Detroit~~ Detroit River,
August 16th 1793.—

B L
B R
T P— } Commissioners of the United States.—

Captain Wellbank, who arrived at the Miamis rapids with the Creeks & Cherokees, went to Detroit. there he demanded of the commanding officer a passage to Fort Erie; which was accordingly granted him. His wishes were to see Govr. Simcoe, with whom he had business, or for whom he had letters.+ He returned to Detroit in the Chippawa, and came down to the mouth of the river the Eleventh instant.+ On the 13th. he called on the Commissioners & dined with us.+ As he had lived among the Indians of the Creek nation, and was conversant with the Cherokees, we made inquiries into the causes of the hostility, and what were their complaints. The information was in substance as follows.

## Of the Creeks.

That formerly the Creeks, in a grand Council repeatedly declared they were willing to confirm their lands, ceded by treaty to the United States, as far as the North fork of the Oconee: But not to the South fork. + He doth not take upon himself to say what they would now do. + (The difference between a cession to one fork or the other, he says comprehends a tract of country about 300 miles in length & from 30 to 70 in width, according to the course of the rivers.)

That in June or July, 1791, Mr. Gillivray wrote to Govr. Knox, informing him that the Creeks would not agree to relinquish their Lands South of the North fork. Capt. Wellbank then repeated the following as a passage in McGillivray's letter, viz. "At our last May
"Meeting the articles of the treaty were ex-
"plained to the Nation at large; and with
"respect to the Apalachee, or main South branch
"of the Oconee, it turned out as I told you it
"would at New York; they will not agree to that
"but unanimously agree to the North fork; &
"hope Congress will require no more." And then he goes on to describe (says Capt. Wellbank) the country between the two forks, mentioning the quantity of land, as well as its extent. He says Thomas Gegg, in the Cherokee nation, gave him a copy of the letter, in his own hand writing; and that at the head it is mentioned to be transcribed from a South Carolina

89 news paper. + He farther obſerved that the letter had ſome how or other been intercepted, and perhaps, as he believed, had never reached General Knox. + Gegg, he ſays, has now a commiſſion for the peace from Governor Blount. + [N.B. Thomas Gegg is the name of one of the witneſſes to Governor Blount's treaty with the Cherokees.]

Our informant farther ſays it is the diſpute about the land, lying between the two forks of the Oconee, which induce the Creeks to refuſe to run the boundary line between them and the United States; and that after the treaty of New York, when Mc Gillivray was at New Orleans, the Spaniſh Governor blamed the Creeks for giving up ſo much of their country to the United States. McGillivray ſaid that the Chiefs had done it;— That the Governor of New-Orleans ſent among the Creeks a captain Olivier, (a Frenchman) in the Spaniſh ſervice,) who enquired the Chiefs why they had given away ſo much of their country to the United States. The chiefs laid the blame on McGillivray, & he, to excuſe himſelf, ſaid that when the treaty was made, he was in the interior part of an enemy's country, and was compelled to give up the ~~country~~ land; +

That the Governor of new Orleans ~~that~~ told McGillivray that he could not ſerve two maſters; that he muſt renounce the Spaniards or the United States; that Mc-Gillivray then renounced the latter, and was going to burn his commiſſion of Brigadier, received from the Preſident; but the Governor told him that would be improper, and that if he meant to relinquiſh it, he ought to return it incloſed in a letter.

9°

Captain Wellbanks says that he heard that a Richard Pendleton, a half breed of the Cherokee, now living or being on Cumberland, was at New Orleans when McGillivray was there, and could relate what he said, or some part of it. He had however mentioned the same thing which he (Wellbanks) now related. + Wellbanks describes McGillivray as a debauched & mercenary man, and extremely timid. + He died on the 17th or 18 of Feby last. + General Bowles had not arrived in the Creek nation, to his knowledge. + He assured us that Bowles was really friendly to the United States.

Of the Cherokees. —

Captain Wellbanks left their Council the 24th of May, 1793, to come with some chiefs to the Northward. This nation object to the treaty with Governor Blount for the following reasons.

First. That one line is stated to pass forty miles distant from Nashville when they agreed only for ten miles and that in the interpretation they were told that it was ten miles. +

2d. That the Governor promised them 2000 Dollars annually; that they demanded 3000; that the Governor said that he had not authority to grant so much; but would apply to Congress to allow them the third thousand dollars; when in fact the treaty stipulated the annual payment of 1000 Dollars, + contrary to the interpretation to them

3d. That they never agreed to the road, or to the Navigation of the Tenassee for the people of the United States, as mentioned in the 5th Article

4th. That they did not agree to submit to Congress the regulation of their trade as stipulated in the 6th Article.

91 That the interpreters were bribed by Gov.r Blount; in conſequence of which Carey had fled the Country: + That Thompſon, who is an Indian, the other interpreter, ſtands his ground; but has in effect acknowledged the Bribery; and has acknowledged that his fee was Eighty Guineas. + He informed ſome of his acquaintance that he expected to bring in the value of two Negroes, ſo he had ſo much due for private ſervices. — Captain Wellbank ſays that he charged Carey with bribery. In excuſe he ſaid that he told Thompſon that he did not interpret right: Thereon Thompſon checked him, and ſaid "Hold your tongue; 'tis none of your buſineſs; I am a native of the land." Wellbank ſays that Carey ſpoke this in preſence of Sir John Neſbitt and another gentleman from South Carolina. + Captain Wellbank thinks the United States have not yet received juſt information of the diſpute with the Cherokees: all the perſons, he ſays, are land jobbers, and intereſted to miſrepreſent. + He alſo ſays that as ſoon as Gov.r Blount was appointed Governour of the territory, General Pick..s told the Cherokees that a worſe man for them could not have been appointed; that he loved land; and would have all their land. + He farther obſerves that Gov.r Blount has erected three ſtations (or three ſtations are erected) in the Cherokee country, over the line ſettled by the treaty. He particularly mentioned Major Craig's ſtation at Nine-miles Creek, between twenty & thirty miles from Knoxville. —

Aug aft the 14th. Capt. Wellbank being with us, ſaid that his buſineſs in coming was of a mercantile nature, relative to ſupplying the Indians with goods; That he wiſhed for peace; but deſired that juſtice might be [illegible] the Indians; + That the [illegible] have

been diſſatiſfied with the high price of go
they received from the Spaniards; but they would
ſoon obtain relief; for the chiefs had applied
to the King of Great Britain, praying that
they may have their ſupplies from the Britiſh;
That an act of Parliament had been paſſed
for the purpoſe; and that a port about
ſeven miles weſtward of the mouth of Apalachi-
-cola river, was to be the place of entry;

That the houſe of Panton, Leſlie & Co
of Penſacola, at the cloſe of the war in the year
1783, obtained permiſſion from the King of Spain
to ſupply the Indians with goods, for the ſpace
of ten years.

Cherokees

Captain Wellbank ſaid that the Bloody Fellow
& other chiefs, who went to Philadelphia, to
repreſent the grievances of the Nation, reported
on their return that the Preſident & authority
of the States promiſed redreſs; that the nation
waited ſix months and found none.

The Bloody Fellow then ſaid, "Congreſs are
liars, General Waſhington is a liar, & Govr
Blount is a liar"

Captain Wellbank, while in conver-
-ſation with us, ſaid that the Spaniards
had erected a fortification on the Eaſt ſide of
the Miſſiſſippi, within the territory of the United
States, on what is called the Walnut Hills; That
when the Indians firſt had notice that works
were erecting, they ſet off in order to demoliſh
them; but they were met by a runner who
gave them a ſtate of facts; thereon they returned.

*

Augt 17th Our buſineſs ~~[illegible]~~ being over, we left
the mouth of Detroit River for Fort Erie, where
we arrived the 21st

Aug.st 23. ~~Co~~ Company the Col.o Pickering & Mr. Randolph having commenced their Journey for Philadelphia by the way of the Mohawk river, Albany, & New York, I left Fort Erie and went to Queens-Town, where we remained at Mr Spencer's to the 28th. + We then went down to Navy hall, and there waited for the return of Capt. Bunbury of the 5th Regt who set off on the 24th to see the Governour & to receive his commands for me if any he had; but being informed that he had not arrived at York where the Governour was, on the twenty ~~first~~ eighth and the wind being fair, we left Niagara the ~~29~~ 30th of August, at four o'clock in the morning. We made that
Aug.st 30 day the Greatest part of our passage to Kingston, formerly called Frontenack, where we arrived on the 31st day, about ten in the morning. In this Town a Garrison is kept up of one Company
Aug.st 31 for the defence of the King's stores, where they are lodged as a place of deposite. part of old Fort Frontenack is now standing; the best part is the Magazine. It is said that there are towards one hundred houses in the town. Below this ~~place~~ large vessels cannot well pass; therefore the stores & Merchandize go up in boats to this place. + About one o'clock the same day we went on board of a returning boat, conducted by four Frenchmen; this boat was, as all boats for the transportation of goods, ~~are~~ without decks. we immediately set off for Mont-real. about dark we entered what is called the Thousand Islands, so called from the great number of small Islands in the river. + We passed on all night without any other covering that the Heavens. Some of the company threw themselves down on the baggage; but this mode I did not like; I thought it best to sit up. In the morning
Sep.t 1 we found ourselves clear of the Islands, in a clear open river, little more perhaps, than a mile wide. + We went on shore and took

breakfast, and immediately after pursued our route, and continued our course the whole day, in which we passed several rapids, the most material of which was the long Sue. At five in the afternoon we reached Cornwall, a town on the bank of the river, which contains a little Church & thirty-odd dwelling-houses. we then passed on by Sumile Island, on which some of the Coghnawaga Indians reside if they can be said to reside any where. at evening we entered Lake St. Francis. about ten o'clock the boat-men were alarmed by the appearance of a very heavy squall rising. They immediately took down their little sail the wind soon struck us, attended with a very heavy storm and extreme darkness we found it necessary to attempt landing at the nearest shore. This we effected after some time, as we could see the shore when there was a flash of lightning the magnitude & frequency of which gave us great relief — we reach an uninhabited Island accordingly went; we got on shore, and attempted making a fire which was not effected without great difficulty, and not untill we had been in the rain for about three hours. About Midnight we began to warm and dry ourselves as well as we could. we remained on the Island untill about Sun-rising the next morning. — The part of our situation during the Night was very uncomfortable. — After passing on about

Sept 2' two miles we crossed the lines of Upper & lower Canada. — At Nine o'clock we

95 halted at Mr. Mc Intires for a few minutes;
we then proceeded to the Island of Montreal
a little before we reached this Island,
we passed the rapids at the Cedars. they
are the most considerable of any, but
they are all too high painted. there is
nothing very alarming in passing any
of the Rapids on this river, notwithstan-
ding what has been said by many
people. — we put up at Night at Grant's
Sept 3. tavern, and in the morning we went
is ~~[illegible]~~ twenty miles, 200 miles from
down to Montreal City ~~[illegible]~~ around which
Kingston & 350 from Niagara; the
there is a pretty good wall, built by
Lewis 14th of France, and perhaps five
hundred houses, few of them elegant.
A regiment of men are stationed there.
The government borders much on the Mili-
tary; the citizens seemed to be controuled
thereby. This we discovered in an order
issued in our favour, to the Commanding
Officer of the Militia, ~~[illegible]~~ on the South
shore opposite to Montreal, who was
directed to supply us with as many carriages
as we needed to transport us and our baggage
across land to Saint Johns. In consequence
of this order he called on his neighbours
for carriages, who could not refuse a supply,
or set a price on their own Labours. ~~befor~~
Before evening we passed across the St Lawrence
and remained at a House near the Ferry
4th Augt. untill the morning. on the arrival
of the carriages we passed on to St. Johns,
twenty Eight miles, where we dined. In
our passage we observed the lands to
be very flat, and Canals to draw off the
water thro the whole distance of the first

Twelve miles, & there we met the River
Chambly; on the banks of this river we
traveled the other sixteen miles, the road
pretty good. & soon after we arrived on
the borders of this river we passed Fort Cham-
bley, a handsome, well-built fort. & This
river is made up of the waters which issue
out of Lake Champlain, and are of a sufficient
depth for rafting lumber, &c Spring & fall;
the river is now shoaly and about three hun-
dred yards wide. — We left St Johns in
the afternoon of the same day, after clear-
ing out, giving in our names, &c. went
on about four miles with a head wind
and went on shore. The next morning
Aug 5th we proceeded, and ~~to~~ contend all day
with a head wind & current. went on
about eight miles and again went
Augt 6th on shore. the next morning we went
on, called at Isle Noix, there reported our-
selves again to a British Garrison. —
after we continued our course with
a good wind to point o fair. here, tho
in the United States, we had to call and
report ourselves again to a British
Garrison, thence to ~~an~~ a British armed vessel
which was anchored near the Fort.
These embarrassments being over,
we proceeded down the lake to the American
Custom-house after our report was
over here we proceeded to ~~[illegible]~~ Gillons
Creek, off which we anchored, as there
was not water enough to enter the
river. In the morning of the seventh,
Aug 7th at day light, we made sail, and
reached a little house eight miles from

Aug 8th – from Skeensboro: We left this place
early in the morning of the Eighth &
took breakfaſt at Skeensboro, where
we ſpent the day. + Our paſſage acroſs
Lake Champlain was unpleaſant, as
our Captain was ſick, & left on the way;
the other hand, a ſmall boy, was attacked
with the fever and ague, ſo as that
he could not do any thing on board
the veſſel. however we made a ſafe
voyage, tho' ſome painful circum-
Aug 9th – ſtances attended it. —

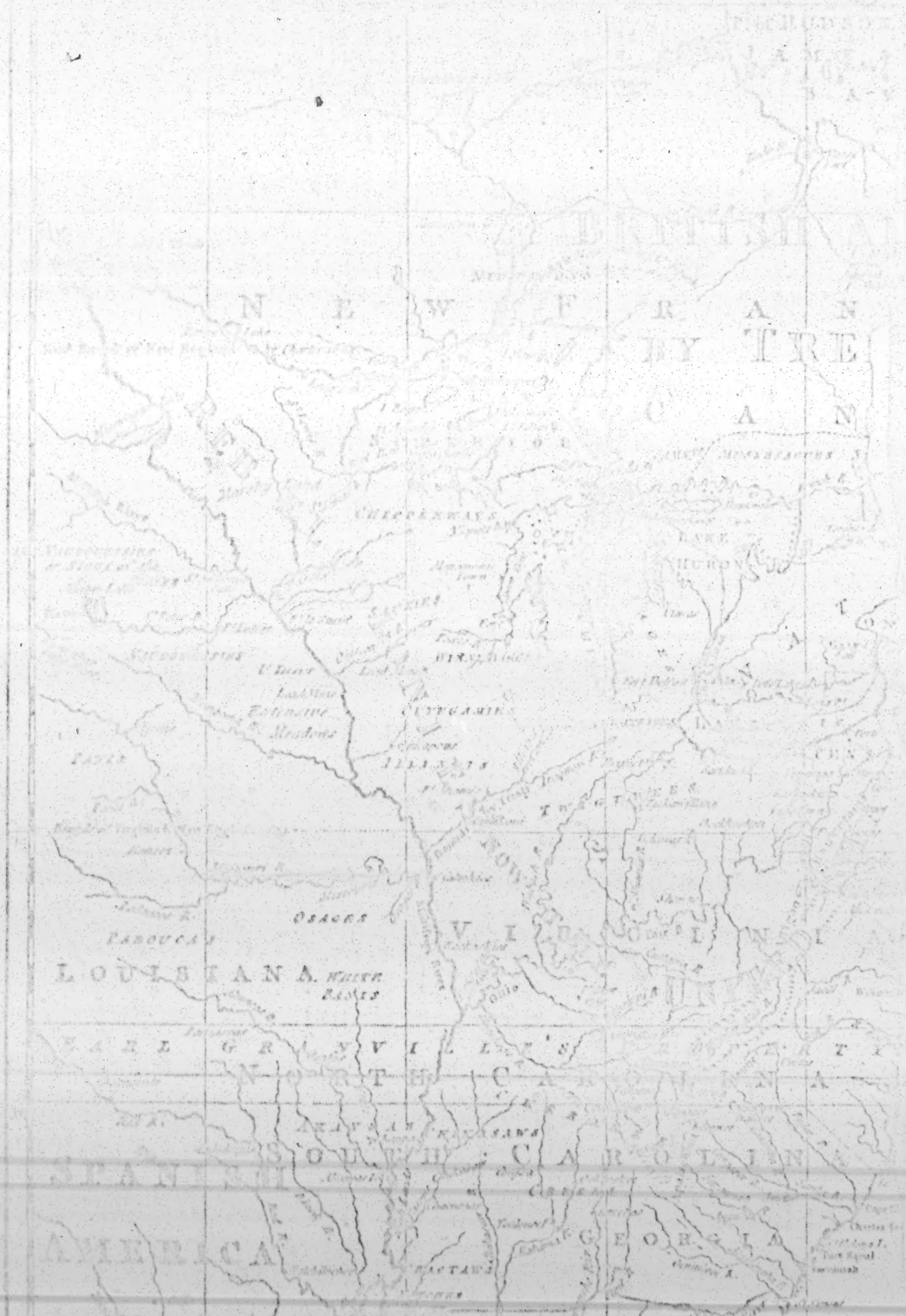
This morning we left Skeensboro
in the public ſtage for Albany in
our way we paſſed Fort Ann, on Wood
Creek & Fort Edward, on the Hudſon; juſt
at dark we paſſed by Fort Miller; ſoon
after we croſſed the Hudſon, and lodged
Aug 10th – at Saratoga. In the morning we
proceeded, again croſſed the Hudſon
at Stillwater. in our way down
we viſited the Canal, above this place,
when their whole plan ſhall be
executed, it will be an important work,
and connect the waters of Lake Champl-
-ain with the Hudſon; but it will
be a work of great labour & expenſe. +
We paſſed in our way the New City &
the City of Troy, three miles one from
the other; they appear in a flouriſh-
-ing ſtate.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Blancs, Barbus or White Indians with beards | | 1500 |
| The Assiniboels | Far north near the Lakes of the same Name | 1500 |
| The Christeneaux | | 3000 |
| The Ouisconsins on a river of that name which falls into the Mississippi on the East side | | 550 |
| The Mascoutins | South of Puans Bay | 500 |
| The Sakis | | 400 |
| The Machecouakis | | 250 |
| Folle Avoine or the wild Oat Indians | Near Puans Bay | 350 |
| The Puans | | 700 |
| The Powtowatamies near S. Joseph's River & Detroit | | 350 |
| The Missesagues or River Indians being wandering tribes on Lakes Huron & Superior | | 2000 |
| The Ottawas | Near Lake Superior & Michigan | 900 |
| The Chipewas | | 5000 |
| The Weandots near Lake Erie | | 300 |
| The Six Nations on the frontiers of New York (Iroquois) | | 1500 |
| The round head Indians near the head of Ottawa River | | 2500 |
| The Algonquins near the above | | 300 |
| The Nipissins near the above also | | 400 |
| The Chalas | St Lawrance Indians each | 130 |
| The Amelistes | | 550 |
| The ~~Black~~ Micmacks | of Nova Scotia &c | 700 |
| The Abenaquis | | 350 |
| The Conaway ~~[illegible]~~ Iroquois near the Falls of St Lewis | | 200 |
| Total amount | | 58930 |

The Names of all the different Nations in North America hitherto discovered, the situation of their Countries with the number of their fighting men

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Choctaws or Flat heads | On the Mobile | 4500 |
| The Natchez | & Mississippi | 150 |
| The Chickasaws | | 750 |
| The Cherokees | South Carolina | 2500 |
| The Catawbas between North & South Carolina | | 150 |
| The Peantias, a wandring tribe on both sides of the Mississippi | | 800 |
| The Kaskuskquias or Illinois in general on the Illinois river and between the Ouabache and the Mississippi | | 600 |
| ~~The Kaskuskquias or Illinois~~ | | |
| The Piankeshaws | On the Ouabache | 250 |
| The Ouachtenons | | 400 |
| The Kickapous | | 300 |
| The Shawnese on the Sioto | | 500 |
| The Delawares on the west of the Ohio | | 300 |
| The Miamis on the Miamis river falling into Lake Erie of the Miniamis | | 350 |
| The Upper Creeks back of Georgia<br>The middle Creeks back of west Florida<br>The lower Creeks in East Florida | | 4000 |
| The Caouitas on the East of the river Alibamous | | 700 |
| The Alibamous, west of the Alibamous | | 600 |
| The Akansaws on the Akansaw River falling into the Mississippi on the West Side | | 2000 |
| The Ajoues North of the Missouri | | 1000 |
| The Nadouesians west of the Mississippi | | 500 |
| The White Panis | South of the Mississippi | 2000 |
| The Freckled or Freckled Panis | | 2000 |
| The Canses | South of Missouri | 1600 |
| The Osages | | [illegible] |
| The Grand Eaux | | 1000 |
| The Missouri upon the River Missouri | | 3000 |
| The ~~[illegible]~~ Sioux of the woods | toward the heads of Mississippi | 1800 |
| The Sioux of the Meadows | | 2500 |

[illegible]


JAMES
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NEW FRANCE
BY TRE
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OSAGES
PADOUCAS
LOUISIANA
WHITE PANIS
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FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 2.] FIRST MONTH, 1832. [VOL. II.

# JACOB LINDLEY'S ACCOUNT,

*Of a Journey to attend the Indian Treaty, proposed to be held at Sandusky, in the year* 1793; *interspersed with various observations, remarks, and circumstances, that occurred on this interesting occasion.*

## INTRODUCTION.

As preliminary information to the reader, it may be proper to state, that about the year 1791, a misunderstanding existed between the United States, and several of the Indian Tribes. On this occasion, the Meeting for Sufferings held in Philadelphia, addressed a memorial to Congress, the object of which was, to show the expediency of pursuing pacific measures, towards settling the disputes with the Indians. Their representation was well received;—but the measures they recommended were not then adopted, and the calamities of war still continuing to prevail, on the Western frontiers of the States,—the Yearly Meeting held in 1792, appointed a large Committee, to unite with the Meeting for Sufferings, in deliberating on this momentous subject, and if practicable, to recommend such measures, as would be most likely to promote peace and friendship with the Indians.

Early in the year 1793, deputies from several Indian Nations, visited Philadelphia, with a view of forwarding an accommodation of differences with the United States: and, Government having agreed that a Treaty should be held in the Indian country, near Detroit, during the summer following,—those Indian deputies repeatedly urged that some Friends should attend the negociations, stating, that "the Nations they represented, had a special confidence in Friends, as a people who, from their first settlement in America, had manifested a steady adherence to the maintenance of peace and friendship with the Natives." In accordance with the desire which Friends had long felt, to promote peace, the proposal was acceded to; and six Friends were deputed to accompany the Commissioners, appointed by government, on this occasion, after having obtained the President's approbation.

The Commissioners appointed on this embassy were, General Benjamin Lincoln, Colonel Timothy Pickering, and Beverly Randolph, Esq. The Friends who accompanied them, were, John Parrish, William Savery, and John Elliott, of Philadelphia, Jacob Lindley, of Chester county, and Joseph Moore and William Hartshorne, of New Jersey.

See Halliday Jackson's valuable work, lately published, entitled, "Civilization of the Indian Natives," page 7, 8—Oliver Paxson's Letter to John Simpson, page 31, vol. 1—also, the interesting "Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren, among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians," by John Heckewelder, printed 1820—page 401–3.

## JOURNAL, &c.

I left my dear wife and family on first-day morning, the 28th of the 4th month, 1793. It was a close trial to both, and the more so, as our youngest child was much indisposed. But the resignation and fortitude with which my beloved companion was supported, helped me to bear the separation beyond my expectation.

My beloved friend, Joshua Pusey, accompanied me from home. The morning was wet and windy. When we came to Brandywine, it was high. We ferried over, and got to Concord meeting; which opportunity tended to stay and quiet my mind.—After meeting we went on to Darby, and lodged at our kind friend John Hunt's, where, by him and his beloved Rachel, we were tenderly cared for.

29th. We went to Philadelphia, where I met with John Parrish, William Savery, John Elliott and Joseph Moore, who were to be my fellow travellers in the journey. They informed me, that Timothy Pickering and Beverly Randolph, proposed to set out on horseback next day. On which information, it was mutually agreed, that John Parrish, Joseph Moore and John Elliott, should proceed with them to Niagara Falls: and William Savery and myself, proceed by way of New York to accompany Benjamin Lincoln, who had gone to New York some days before.

30th. I felt my mind not quite easy to proceed, without having an interview with the President of the United States, which I suggested to William Savery, and found he was under a like impression.—Accordingly, James Pemberton, William Savery, John Elliott and myself, went about nine o'clock; met with a favourable reception, and had a full opportunity to relieve our minds: which we thought tended to his satisfaction, as well as ours. About one o'clock, our three friends, and two Commissioners, set out on horseback.

1st of 5th mo. William Savery and myself, with five other passengers, set out in the stage for New York. Got to Brunswick about dark, having rode sixty miles. Next day in the afternoon, we arrived at New York.

3rd. Waiting for the baggage to come on by water from Amboy, and providing for our journey. I think I never saw Friends so active and heartily disposed, to comfort and assist, as were a number of our brethren and sisters of that city.

4th. Went on board the Schenectady sloop, Capt. Lansing. Our beloved friend William Hartshorn, one of our companions in this journey, met us here, and went on board also, at the Albany pier in the East river. The wind at south west, we got round the point, and about five miles up the North river, when the wind shifted, and a violent gale ensued from the north east. The tide also leaving us, we were obliged to cast anchor, and lay tossing all night, just in sight of the city. The wind increased so much that our vessel dragged her anchor, and ran almost ashore. About day-light our captain ran in to the wharf again. We took the opportunity of going to forenoon and afternoon meetings. At the last of which, William Savery desired to see Friends and others, at seven o'clock in the evening. About which time, the streets being crouded with people going to meeting, the captain sent a messenger to call us on board. The strait indeed was great; but William and I agreed, let the consequences be what they might, we would attend the meeting; we did so, and a favoured time it was. About nine o'clock, several Friends, merchants of the city, accompanied us to the vessel, where the passengers and captain were in a heat; but we kept down, and it blew over. Capt. Lansing told me afterwards with seriousness, he did believe the storm was permitted, in order to give us time for the meeting.

About midnight they weighed anchor, and stood up the North river. Our progress was slow and tedious, which gave us opportunity to view the rugged margin of that great water, which exhibited subjects for awful contemplation. The rocks and mountains rise from the water several hundred feet high; on the tops of divers of which, are the remains of fortifications made in the time of the late war; at some of which places, bloody contests had been held. We passed West Point, Fort Putnam, and divers others on the tops of the highest hills, commanding the prospects of different reaches of the North river.

7th. We passed a stream tumbling over the rocks into the river, called the Buttermilk Falls—a good seat for a mill. But the barren appearance of the banks, with the prospect of the divers dark habitations of death and destruction, brought me into a humbling sense of the excellency of that holy religion, which breathes peace on earth, and good will to men. The situation of these strong holds on the tops and peaks of mountains, perhaps three or four hundred feet high, were associated with ideas which more strongly confirmed my mind, in the approach of that day, in which the King of kings will exalt his holy mountain above them all.

Passed by New Windsor, New Marborough, and Barnagat. At the latter are many lime kilns, which burn lime for New York. The kilns are in the bank, close to the river. Poughkeepsie is a village on the east side of the river. The land appears barren and shrubby, especially where the limestone mostly abounds.

8th. About six in the morning, arrived at Albany, having sailed one hundred miles in twelve hours. Last night we passed the city of Hudson, where a number of Friends reside. At Albany we met with great civility. The minister of the congregation introduced himself to us, and said he wished our errand crowned with success; and that he would make it his care, publicly to offer up his prayers for us, which would be joined by ten or eleven hundred others, and he hoped would be available. He appeared a good natured, tender spirited man. His name was Bassett.

In the afternoon, five Indians passed through this town. I stopped them at the city tavern, gave them some refreshment, and money to bear their expenses. Their company consisted of an old woman, a son, two daughters, and a grandson. One of the young women was named Mehetable, the other Keturah. Our secretary, Story, sent a written message to Captain Hendricks, at the Oneida Lake, by one of the young men, one hundred and twenty miles distant: which he engaged to deliver in three days. They all appeared simple, and their countenances innocent. Their name and visage impressed my mind with a remembrance of good old Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

The city of Albany is chiefly settled with the descendents of emigrants from Holland. They are generally a recluse, busy people: which bears the appearance of inhospitality, or want of sociability and attention to strangers. When we arrived at the city tavern, we found General Lincoln nearly alone. He was very anxious to move forward that afternoon, for which purpose a horse and chair was sought and procured: the horse was a poor old gray, such as I have seen turned out to die. This treatment of the general roused my feelings for the honour of our government, and the regard due to its respectable officers: of which number I considered him as one—especially on the present intended peaceful embassy. I then went out, and represented the reflections it must draw upon the reputation of the place, to Capt. Lansing and some others, who had exulted much in the antiquity and reputation of their city. They pretty soon procured a better horse and sulkey, and the old friend proceeded that evening to Schenectady. We staid all night at Albany, and observed their manner of burial; where no women attended: neither do they on any such occasions, attend the corpse of the nearest relative, to the grave. The females assemble at the house, and immediately after the coffin is borne out, they proceed to eat cakes, drink wine, and smoke tobacco for a short time; and then all clear out before the men return. The men resume the feast, made in consequence of the decease of their neighbour or friend, regale themselves, and return home.

9th. We got into a wagon, and rode sixteen miles to Schenectady, situated near the Mohawk river.—We passed about ten houses on the road, each a tavern. The land very poor and covered with pines, the whole of the way. The town of Schenectady is supposed to consist of about three hundred houses, mostly Dutch built, except some modern houses of more elegant construction. It appears strange to see the manners and customs of the people, and the face of the country: yet my mind is mercifully preserved in great quietude, and every place looks and feels like a temporary home. Dined at a public house in Schenectady, where we had the pleasure of General Schuyler's company. After dinner, we went on board a batteau, accompanied by seven others, loaded with our baggage and stores, and embarked on the Mohawk river, in the presence of more than one hundred spectators. Two of our boats were manned with six men each, the other six boats with three men each. We proceeded about four miles, and stopped at a house, where the mother and three children were entirely insane. The three children never learned to speak, being idiots—the mother went distracted, and was confined in chains. The several circumstances attending this distressed family, deeply affected my mind, and caused me secretly to acknowledge, that I was not thankful enough for the manifold favours and blessings, mercifully dispensed to me.

The bed of the Mohawk river, I suppose to be about two hundred yards across, and averaging three feet deep; some places shoal and rapid, where the poor boatmen had very hard work to make headway against the current. The river winds across a valley about half a mile wide; alternately washing the southern and northern hills. The bottoms in the bends, and on the banks of the river, are rich black sand, exceeding fertile, and tolerably improved, producing wheat, Indian corn, peas, flax, &c. in abundance. We had an agreeable prospect of a range of fine plantations, interspersed with an abundance of fruit trees in blossom. Vegetation appeared about as forward here as when I left home. It is an old settled country: the inhabitants mostly the descendants of Low Dutch emigrants, and generally, speak that language, also, tolerable English. They say it was settled before Schenectady or Albany; which must be more than one hundred and twenty years. One young woman told me, her father's great-grandfather was born on the place where she then lived. The banks of the river, in general, rise about twelve or fifteen feet above the surface of the water, and obscure, in a great measure, the pleasing prospect of its fruitful margin from travellers who go in boats.

10th. Our little fleet, consisting of eight boats, worked by thirty men, exclusive of twelve passengers, set out, and with great exertions, opposed the rapids of the Mohawk for about sixteen miles, through a champaign country. Passed by many banks and points of land, memorable for having forts and fortifications, in time of war; particularly the old residence of Sir William Johnson, whose mansion house is now in ruins—the lands confiscated, and in possession of strangers. This estate was said to have been obtained from tho Indians by chicanery. Such is the uncertainty of the most extensive worldly possessions, more especially when obtained through unrighteous channels. This day we passed a rock projecting out of the bank of the river, whereon was painted, with great ingenuity, in red colours, a canoe with the representation of seven men in it.—Which is said to be done annually, by Indians, coming several hundred miles for that purpose, in order to commemorate the slaughter of seven Indians, who went off from that neighbourhood in some former wars, and were all destroyed. We passed the mouth of the Schoharie, and stopped about a mile higher up the river, on a beautiful bank, where we proposed to lodge. Here I saw a plough with two wheels, about eighteen inches diameter, just before the coulter. They are in general use in this neighbourhood, and appear to answer the end well. Their land is level, light, and rich near the river. Their field peas are just coming up, and appear luxuriant, and beautiful.

11th. Had a fine wind, our little fleet hoisted their sails, which propelled the boats against the current at about four miles an hour, without the help of setting poles or oars. Passed the Canajoharie, and a mountain called the Nose, where is a remarkable cave, into which one of our boatmen said he entered about five perches, but found so much wind issuing out of it, that he was afraid to proceed any further. The land in this day's rout, is very good. The settlers here were greatly distressed, about the year 1780, by the Indians and white people who were opposed to the principles of the revolution, and were influenced, and, in some instances, commanded, by John Johnson (son of Sir William) who took refuge with the British, and came on with a party of Indians, &c. into his old neighbourhood, burnt their houses, took off many prisoners, and others they killed. Where we breakfasted, the man of the house told us, his father and father-in-law were both killed by them, on the same morning. Where we dined, the woman's husband had been killed, in like manner. This day we passed several old fortifications, block houses, &c. which appeared a weak defence: and breathing aspirations were raised, to become an inhabitant of a city whose walls are salvation, and whose light and glory the Lord of hosts is. We also passed several places for worship. The whole journey of this day was about twenty-three miles. The country very fertile, and capable of abundant improvement, which may increase the useful trade of Schenectady and Albany, keep up the sound of the millstones near the North river,—largely occupy the merchants of New York,—and freight their ships with heavy burthens for distant climes. Vegetation appears nearly the same from day to day, as we proceed to the north west, which is the general course of the river thus far.

12th. Which was the first of the week, we set out from Esq. Nellis's, which is about fifteen miles north of Otsego lake, the head source of the north branch of Susquehanna, and about fifty miles north of the boat and raft navigation of the Delaware. Proceeding up the river we found the water very shoal; in many places not more than fifteen inches deep. The navigation is exceedingly hurt by the river being divided into many parts by islands, some less, and some larger, from one to seventy acres in size. We landed and tarried awhile at Fort Hendricks on the south side of the river. Opposite, on the north side, comes in, a large stream, called Canada creek, about the size of Brandywine. This place was the seat of an old Indian king. We noticed many large old apple trees, said to have been planted by the Indians.

This day, the wind blew very brisk, and directly against us; which made our progress slow, and the labour of the men exceeding hard. With considerable difficulty, we stemmed the current ten miles, to the falls of the river, which are thirty-eight and a half feet in three quarters of a mile. It is a very romantic spot. In one place, the water pitches down about seven feet. Here is a fine grist mill, saw mill, and fulling mill. A Scotch gentleman, named John Porteous, is the proprietor of the seat. It will, some time, in all probability, become a great interest.— Here are great preparations making to open a canal, which I think they will complete, as nature has done abundance toward facilitating this very important object. The river is contracted by rocks and hills to one hundred feet wide, at the falls, and for some distance below. At this place, a spacious wooden bridge is erected across the river. On the north side, are evident marks of nature having, at some very remote period of time, undergone a great revolution. I think it appears to a demonstration, that the river once ran among the rocks, that are now thirty perches from the present bed of the water, and twenty feet above its level. Rocks and stones are lying in a very irregular position, but so smoothed, and worn into curves of many shapes, like ovens, large kettles, and some worn down like a hollow gum, six or seven feet deep, and bear every appearance of the rocks in the bed, and on the sides of the river, at present. This afternoon, we engaged seven wagons to transport our stores and boats, one mile across these falls. We were kindly received by our friend Porteous, and the superintendant of the canal, a very intelligent man, Major Frederick Augustus De Zang; where I drank tea, and lodged. He emigrated from Saxony, and married Caleb Lawrence's daughter, of New York. Though this place is so rocky and wild, it is said a rattle snake has not been found at any time, north of Canada creek. On the east side of that water, about seven miles distant, they abound to such a degree, that the settlers there, are obliged, in their own defence, to keep large herds of swine, of three or four years old—and such is the sagacity of the swine, that they will set their foot on the head of the reptile, and begin at the tail to eat.

Below these falls, for three miles, the water is an amazing depth—perhaps eighty feet deep. Here our setting poles were of no account, and our oars and paddles were not sufficient to propel the boat against the wind; so that at one time I did not know but we should here have made our beds. But through the abounding mercy of Him "who holdeth the winds in his fists, and measureth the waters in the hollow of his hand," we got through to comfortable lodgings. The three preceding nights we lay on our mattresses, except the general, who was accommodated with a bed.

13th. The wagons assembled about sunrise, took our baggage and boats about one mile, to the still water above the falls. We dined at our friend Porteous's—embarked in the afternoon—passed the wolf riffle and one other piece of strong water—about six miles, to the German Flats—on the way, passed several block houses, and one meeting house. Here we were but six miles north of the head waters of the Susquehanna. But it felt to me, a land of darkness, and a land of blood. Many of the people had had their relations killed and scalped, whose spirits remain rough, and much exasperated against the Indians.

14th. Proceeded forward, and that evening reached Fort Schuyler, where is erected a wooden bridge, whose arch is one hundred and twenty feet wide, without any support from below. The butments are of framed timber, without stone in any part of them. The sweep of the arch appeared to be about seven feet. The land in this day's progress, was very rich; and the whole face of the country, as far as I could see, was flat, and abounding with very large sugar trees, elm, white walnut, beech, &c.—The water, in this day's journey, which was about twenty-three miles, was a fine, deep, still run, great part of the way, without using our oars. This country settles rapidly. I was much perplexed for miles, with the continued smoke from the fires on shore, where they are clearing the lands, and manufacturing pot and pearl ash, and maple sugar. The potash is a great article of trade, selling at from forty-five to fifty pounds per ton. At New York, one merchant, I was told, procured one thousand tons, the last year.

15th. The morning clear, and the air cold. Here the earth is very dry, having had but little rain for two months. Several of our company took horse at Whitestown, and rode to Fort Stanwix, at the head of the boat navigation, on the Mohawk river. The fort stands on the highest ground between the waters which run to the sea southward, and those which run into the Oneida lake, and empty into the St. Lawrence river. Our journey this day by water, was twenty-four miles. Those who rode by land, about sixteen miles. They passed the ground where a battle had been fought with the Indians, in the last war; in which many fell on both sides; but the Indians kept the ground. The skulls of divers remain on the ground, having the marks of the tomahawk and scalping knife evidently upon them. One of our party brought a skull along with him. The land as we came up the river, appears rich. The river about one hundred feet wide, and exceedingly crooked, much resembling a worm fence—the reaches about fifty perches long. The country very little settled. We dined in the woods, on the bank of the stream. The timber very large,—sugar trees are here in abundance—also buttonwood and white walnut of large size. Here, and for thirty miles below, hills and mountains quite disappear. The land on the dividing ridge, stony and thin, much covered with pitch pine. But when the earth shall disclose her blood, and no more cover her slain, a tremendous account must be settled, for the blood shed on the banks of the Mohawk. One skeleton, and a gun by his side, is said to have been harrowed up, a few days past—the remains of a beaver hat, decayed stockings, &c.

16th. It took up this day to get the boats and baggage across the carrying place, one mile, to Wood creek, a small stream about ten yards wide, and very shoal. Five of our company, on the morning of the 17th, took wagon, and proceeded down Wood creek by land. But such a ride I never had before. Pole bridges, slotches of mud and water, and short nob hills, sometimes one side, then another, like to overset; and the wagon very shackling, made the tour very disagreeable. However, in about three hours, we arrived at Captain Ranney's, at the junction of Canada creek. The whole of the eight miles, a dreary hemlock and beech wilderness, without inhabitant that I saw, except musquetoes in thousands.

It appears well adapted for their existence. At the mouth of Canada creek we re-embarked, and proceeded down Wood creek eight miles to the Oak Orchard, where General Amhurst's army encamped on his way to the Canada expedition, in the French war. Here our little camp pitched their tents. I rested well on the bank of Wood creek.

Struck our tents early in the morning of the 18th, and proceeded down the stream about six miles; then kindled up a fire on the bank, and cooked a breakfast of tea and chocolate. The land continues low, level, and rich, abounding with sugar trees and white walnut. The navigation of the creek is abundantly obstructed by vast quantities of timber.—Here the stream is about fifty feet wide. These waters abound with fish, of which we caught some, with a gig, from the bow of our boat, and some trout, with hook and line. About noon, we dined at the Big Bend, four miles from the lake, on the bank of the creek, not having seen a cabin for twenty-five miles. The banks abound with lofty timber, sugar trees, elm, some large oaks, and shellbark hickory, in which the pigeons innumerable build their nests. Here and there a small fox squirrel appears,—a few robins, blackbirds, and jays. About three o'clock, we came to the entrance of Oneida lake, which, though among the number of inferior lakes, makes an awful appearance, and is doubtless a wonderful display of that infinite Wisdom and Power by which the worlds were made. Our course along this little ocean appeared to be a little north of west; and the wind being brisk from that point, we raised our tents, as no habitation appeared.

This evening, a number of Indians came to our camp, viz. Col. Lewis, Capt. John, and a very old chief, named Beechtree, or King Doe, and several young warriors painted red, with black streaks.—Some had their ears cut in strings, with trinkets in them; and they mostly had bobs of wampum, metal, or bright shells, hung in their noses. They had two of their wives with them—each had a child laced with its back to a board—the front side made of skins, lined with soft flannel, and a canopy of curious work like embroidery, overhead—of like workmanship, were the laces and bandages with which the infant was fastened in—these they loose with great facility, and take out the babe. The whole has the appearance of a case, narrow at bottom, and widens upwards—it is about two feet in length, and has a bow to the front side of it, to go over the mother's breast, when she carries the child. There were about eleven Indians in this company; Kirkland, their missionary, was with them, and interpreted for us. The old chief said he heard we were there, and with trembling knees, leaning on his staff, he had come to see us; as we were on the work of peace, he rejoiced to see us on that errand, and hoped the Great Spirit would bless our endeavours, with which he united, and did not know what he lived for, except it was to see it. Captain John spoke to like import, and said he was glad some of the sons of Onas were along. We imparted some small tokens of respect to the women and children, who after a visit of about two hours, went away, with some of the young men. The old ones staid and supped with us on the bank of the lake, and then departed.

About eight in the evening, the wind lulled, we struck our tents, and hurried on board. The lake was smooth, and the moon shining. We went with our oars, beautifully, about twelve miles. Suddenly there appeared a cloud rising in the south-west, which soon spread, and obscured the light of the moon. It began to rain, with a heavy gale of wind, and the scene was soon changed, from serenity and calmness, into a foaming tempest. Our little fleet got scattered—the swells became so great, as to render oars useless. The water being shoal, and the shore rocky, we durst not attempt to run in. Our boatmen proposed to raise the mast, and hoist sail; which, with great difficulty, from the beating of the waves, and the extreme darkness, was effected.—After which, our little bark ran violently before the wind, rocking over the swells like a tub on the water. But through the providence of Almighty power, about break of day, we got into the mouth of the Oneida river, though several of our boats did not arrive for some hours after. This lake is about thirty miles long, and eight wide. In crossing which, I underwent a close and searching baptism, not only respecting the present embassy, but all the actions of my life: for eternity appeared very near.

19th. Being first day, we resumed our navigation down the Oneida river about eighteen miles, to the junction of the Seneca or Onondago river. It is about as large as the Oneida; each perhaps three hundred feet wide. At this place we met three families of new settlers, who were glad to see us, as were we to see them. Here also we met several Indians, mostly young men and women, marvellously trimmed with cut ears, ear-rings and nose jewels.—

Amongst them, was a young warrior, grimly painted; even his hair painted and plaited, and stood out on each side in opposite directions.

Here we had conversation with a man who lives at the Salt Springs on the Cayuga Lake, which is about ten miles long and seven broad. He related that when wood was provided, and two kettles set, of sixty gallons each, he could make five bushels per day; that the fountain appeared inexhaustible; that excellent fresh water springs were found within twelve yards of the salt; and that eighteen miles land carriage would take it to the Chemung river, a branch of the west fork of the Susquehanna.

We resumed our voyage—passed about a mile of rapid water—and afterwards eleven miles of still water, to Oswego Falls. Here the river is about two hundred yards wide, and the water at one pitch all across the river, falls eight feet, and forms a strong, foaming rapid for one mile below. The banks of this river are low, and subject to be overflowed. The land apparently rich.

20th. Drew our boats across the carrying place, about sixty yards, launched in below, and proceeded to Oswego garrison, held by the British. They expecting us, we were admitted, and dined with the commanding officer, Capt. Wickham. After dinner, we pursued our journey on the sea of Ontario, fifteen miles to a harbour, called Little Sodus. Grand indeed is the prospect of this great lake. About the middle there is no view of land northward, eastward or westward in the clearest day.

21st. We sailed and rowed, passed the mouth of Great Sodus, to Apple Boom harbour, twenty-seven miles from Little Sodus. This day was exceeding warm on the lake, and the journey very lonesome. Day after day not a face to be seen, but our own company. The water of the lake is clear and cold; much more so than the rivers which empty into it. Our navigation is along the southern margin of Ontario. The land appears well timbered and habitable; but I could perceive no springs, or small rivulets emptying into the lake. The shore is composed of high banks for miles together; then low vallies in succession, which form bays and harbours for the boatmen in case of sudden storms of wind, which are very frequent, and make a surprising commotion in the waters. In these storms many adventurers, after enduring amazing difficulties, have perished; and others have marvellously escaped. We did not venture more than one mile from shore. The water is from three to ten feet deep—the bottom, appeared as if paved with close jointed flag stones of seven, ten, or twenty feet square—or like a street paved with round smooth stones.

22nd. The wind was high and the water rough. We lay in the harbour, till four in the afternoon, when we journeyed forward, rowing about eight miles, and after sundown, made the shore. Where also a boat from Niagara came with several passengers on board—a clergyman, Townsend Speakman's brother's six orphan children, and a Delaware Indian man, who could speak some English; he seemed pleased with the prospect of peace; and said, he was at no time for war.

23rd. Set out a little after daylight. The wind being against us, about eight o'clock, we put in to shore a little eastward of the mouth of Gennessee river; struck up fires and breakfasted; then passed on—and arrived at the White Oak Orchard Harbour about dark. Here we encamped amongst a number of Indian graves. Here also came a boat, with two families, removing from Gennessee to Upper Canada, on account of the sickly situation of the Gennessee country. In this day's journey the margin of the lake appeared very low, the timber small and shrubby, abundance of bays, and swampy ground. Bradee's bay is the most beautiful of any I saw on the sides of the lake.

24th. The air sharp and cold, we stood up the lake with a fair, gentle breeze, which gradually increased, and carried us with velocity past Golden Hill, Cag Inlet, &c. over many a foaming wave, which at length ran so high, that the boats began to ship water, and we put into eighteen mile creek harbour. Here I walked out, and met with what appeared to me to be a piece of antiquity. A mound fifty yards in circumference, raised to more than six feet high. On the elevation about two feet above the base, is a white oak tree, of two feet diameter, which I suppose has originated since the formation of this artificial mount. But the design remains matter of conjecture. Perhaps some kind of fortification, or to commemorate some great achievement, or more probable the sepulchre of ancient kings.

25th. We struck our tents, and journeyed on eighteen miles to the garrison of Niagara, a strong fortification, but a dark, noisy, confused, dirty place. We ferried over the river to Navy Hall, in the dominions of the king of Great Britain.

26th, and first of the week, we visited governor Simcoe, who received us in a friendly manner. It was now confirmed to us, that the Indians would not assemble before the 1st of 7th mo. It proved a close trial, to be so long separated from the dearest connexions in life, and driven into the sickly season of the year, so that I found a necessity for the exercise of faith and patience. My mind was turned to the Lord for counsel, in this proving season. Several things revolved in my mind—whether to return home, or to try to seek out some of the scattered sheep in Canada.

27th. Governor Simcoe came to see us at our lodgings. He conversed with freedom and candour, on the subject of the treaty,—holding the posts of Niagara, Oswego, Detroit, &c. As also respecting certain laws which he wished to take place in the province, where Friends might be exempted from military requisitions. To which we replied according to the understanding given. He is a plain man, and much beloved in the government.

After breakfast, we moved out of our lodge in Newark, embarked on board the boats, and with a fair wind, stood up the river eight miles to a landing below the great falls, where is a carrying place of eleven miles to Chipaway creek, three miles above the falls. The river or outlet of lake Erie, is about half a mile wide to this place; where it is contracted to half that width. The bank from Niagara up here, is about forty feet high, and very steep to this place, where the elevation is greatly increased. On our way, we were hailed from the bank by our beloved friends, John Parrish, Joseph Moore and John Elliott, whom we were glad to see. They returned to the landing, and we all dined together at Captain Smith's quarters, in the mess house, with five or six of the officers of the regiment of Queen's rangers.

There being no house where we could lodge, we pitched our tents in a lot of one Phelps.

28th. Joseph Moore and myself went four miles to see Jeremiah Moore's family. They related the dreadful circumstances they were reduced to, in this country, by scarcity of bread, and provisions of all kinds, in the year 1789—when they came to an allowance of one spoonful of meal per day, for one person—eat strawberry leaves, beech leaves, flaxseed dried, and ground in a coffee mill—catched the blood of a little pig—bled the almost famished cow and oxen—walked twelve miles for one shive of bread, paid twelve shillings for twelve pounds of meal. One of the lads, who was hired out, carried his little sister two miles on his back, to let her eat his breakfast, and they gave him none till dinner. The children leaped for joy, at one robin being caught, out of which a whole pot of broth was made. They eat mustard, potatoe tops, sassafras root, and made tea of the tops. The relation was deeply affecting. The case being general, one could not help another. Which brought to my mind, the many thankless meals, enjoyed in the land of plenty.

This place is situated within four miles of the grand falls; the noise of which, resembles the roaring of the waves of the ocean, in the time of a storm. One Indian and a white man, have been carried down this amazing cataract, within two years. The white man tumbled out of his canoe just at the beginning of the rapids, and was hurled down. The poor Indian was asleep, in his canoe, which was tied to the bank; it is supposed some wicked person loosed it, and it glided down into the rapids, when some person hollowed to him; on which he stood up, struck a few strokes with his paddle to no effect, then wrapped his head in his blanket, and laid down in his canoe, to meet his horrid destiny. He was found two miles below; but none of his bones were broken.

Here I saw the skin of a porcupine, an animal about as large as a well grown ground hog, with a bushy tail, and claws like that animal. His body interspersed with a vast number of stiff, pointed quills; which are its defence when attacked. Here is a beautiful odoriferous little tree, called the Balm of Gilead. It resembles the lombardy poplar. Here also, the juniper abounds. They are natives of this latitude. Gooseberries and currants of divers colours and kinds, are found here.

My route in all, thus far, seven hundred and twenty-one miles.

29th. A wet day—which is a blessing to the earth and its inhabitants hereaway, as it has been exceeding dry.

30th. Joseph Moore, John Elliott and myself, went about two and a half miles, to visit that phenomenon in nature—the great Falls of Niagara, whose thunders, for several days, had with awfulness, reached mine ears. When I approached this tremendous cataract, it truly appeared amazing, and with the voice of thunder, proclaimed the majesty of its sublime Architect. When we came to the margin of the river below the falls, we descended the almost perpendicular bank, by several windings, from one rock to another, and with the aid of several Indian ladders, at length reached the surface of the water, I suppose at least one hundred and fifty feet below the summit. The irregular position of multitudes of huge rocks, which no doubt had tumbled from their ancient seats, made our progress up toward the pitch, rough and difficult. We found logs, pieces of canoes, &c. in abundance, twelve or fifteen feet above the present level of the water—also ducks, loons, cormorants, catfish, pickerels, and various kinds of fish and water fowl, which had been killed by the dashing of the columns of water, tumbling off a precipice not less than one hundred and twenty feet perpendicular. The rocks and stones are mostly excellent limestone, as are the stones in the banks for six or seven miles below, where, from every appearance, I think it is not absurd to suppose, the falls once were, but have worn up to the present barrier, where the river makes a bend, and the water is divided by an island; though two thirds of it, or more, pass on the north side of the island. I think it is not improbable that the lands adjoining, derive considerable advantage to vegetation, from the misty vapours which arise, and are exhaled to the clouds, or blown by the varying winds, on the neighbouring farms. Some of these are exceeding fertile; abounding with grass and grain. After spending an hour or two, almost lost in admiration, we ascended by the way we went down, and rode eight miles to the landing, where we dined at Benjamin Canby's.

31st. This forenoon Capt. Hendricks, Little-man, and three other Oneida Indians came to our camp, whom we were pleased to see; we refreshed them, and had friendly conversation, confirming the principles of peace and good will to all men.

Here we were within the sound of the martial trumpet, where I did adopt the Israelitish lamentation, "by Babel's streams we sat and wept, when we remembered Zion, and hung our harps on the willow trees."

This afternoon, Capt. Hendricks and myself took boat, and were rowed eight miles down to Navy Hall, to see the commissioners. After some conversation on Indian affairs, we returned the same evening.

1st of 6th mo. Used some endeavours to get our tents and baggage removed to Chipaway creek; but could not get wagons because of the late rains. This is a place of considerable business, which is principally engrossed by Hamilton, Street, and Phelps—the former having planted five hundred bushels of potatoes this year, to supply the troops. This morning, an Onondago chief came to our camp, and breakfasted with us.

2nd of the month, and first of the week. A meeting being appointed about five miles distant, I set out on foot to attend it. On the way, in the woods, I looked back, and at a few perches distance, were two Indians coming after me, on a trot—one of them frightfully painted from below one eye to the middle of his forehead, with a vermillion red; the other side, jet black. His cheek and chin under the black, was painted red, and the other side, under the red, was painted black. He had a tail of hair, and skins of beasts, and birds with the feathers on, which hung down below the calves of his legs, and blew out behind him. He had his scalping knife in his hand. His stature was middle sized; but his visage was exceeding fierce and grim. I was quite alone. I turned sideways, and stood till he came up, I believe without visible emotion of fear, and accosted him thus: Which way in such a hurry? He said, Hooch king, Buffaloe creek! and passed along. I went on to the meeting, where my companions and divers Friends, and other settlers in this new country, came, to the number of about one hundred. The meeting was solid and satisfactory. We went to Jeremiah Moore's to dine, had a solid opportunity in his family, and went to our kind friend William Lundy's, to lodge.

3rd. Walked to Squire Birch's mills, on the rapids, above the unspeakably amazing cataract; where I had a second view of this standing awful monument of the mighty power of Him, who created the heavens and the earth, the seas and fountains of water. The rapids above, are about one mile square. Pleasingly grand is the prospect—the waves dashing, and tumbling from rock to rock, and altering their appearance every moment. Here also are seen the misty vapours from the great falls, rising in curling columns to the clouds, resembling the smoke of numerous furnaces. Such are the friction of the particles of water descending, and the inconceivable weight of the mass of water, dashing on the rocks below, that it more resembles smoke than mist.—Our kind friend Birch has, perhaps one of the grandest situations for water works in the world; and I think, if he opens his front door, he need never pay the clergy for preaching. He is kind to Friends, having in early life, contracted an esteem for Samuel Emlen at sea.

Chipaway creek is about as large as Brandywine, and boatable fifty miles to the northward. I walked from Birch's to Chipaway. Here is a block house and piquet, garrisoned by a number of soldiers.—Lodged at a public house, where we paid a shilling for a floor to spread our mattresses on, and other things equivalent.

4th. Went on board one of our boats, and rowed eighteen miles to Fort Erie, in sight of the lake. Here is a store house, garrison, &c. The water from Chipaway to this place, is smooth, and a good run for boats. Here lay three schooners, waiting a fair wind, bound for Detroit. We went on board the Dunmore that evening.

Next morning, near sixty Indians came on board, on their way to Sandusky; among whom were Capt. Hendricks, Capt. John, and a number of principal men and warriors, much painted, ears cut, &c.

5th. Quite becalmed. I felt renewed occasion for the exercise of faith and patience. Expenses of boarding alone, twelve shillings per day.

The waters of Lake Erie are three hundred feet higher than those of Ontario, thirty-seven miles below, and are restrained from deluging the country by the same power which bounds "the sea by a perpetual decree." Opposite this place, on the side of the United States, comes in Buffaloe creek, where a council of several Indian nations was held a few days past, preparatory to the general treaty.

In the afternoon, a gentle breeze sprung up, we hoisted sail, and stood out into the lake. Passed Point Ebono, the Sugar Loaf, and Long Point on the north, and Presque Isle on the south.

6th. Ran all last night under a brisk quarter wind. This morning several of our passengers were very sick. I felt a little dizzy; but toward noon it subsided. This lake is, in general, about fourteen fathoms water. As we navigated the middle, from whence we could only just discern the opposite shores, we could make no observations respecting the soil.

7th. Passed the mouth of Cuyahoga river, forty or fifty miles above Presque Isle. The scene rather dull. No variety appearing, neither fish, fowl, nor any thing else, save a few gulls flying this morning, over the waters of this formidable ocean, which has a barren prospect.

8th. A gentle breeze from south west, made our progress toward Detroit tedious, yet afforded time for conversation and contemplation. There being representatives of five different Indian nations on board; some French, British, German, Scotch, and American United States men; some soldiers, sailors, merchants, mechanics, and farmers. Yet, notwithstanding all the variety of prospects and interests, a perfect harmony and decorum were observed. In the observation of which, my faith and hope were a little revived, in the approach of that glorious day, when thousands and tens of thousands, yea, nations and kingdoms, shall repair to Zion's holy and peaceable ensign; notwithstanding the many opposing strong holds of mystery Babylon, yet held up and maintained, in the strong reasoning part of the natural, fallen wisdom of man.

9th of 6th month, and first of the week. Last night was a solemn, awful season. The preceding day was very warm. The thermometer at eighty. A little before sunset, the wind lulled into a perfect calm. A dark cloud arose south westward, and slowly approached us. About midnight it came on, with terrible wind, thunder and lightning,—to a humbling degree to me and the rest, more especially, as we had fifty barrels of gunpowder on board, and between eighty and ninety passengers, divers of whom had been fierce warriors, both Indians and white men. Under every consideration, I felt my own righteousness as filthy rags, and dare not indulge a secret thought that it would be unjust, if the schooner should be blown up. I had no where to rest my confidence, save in the unspeakable mercy of Israel's mighty God, by whose power we were preserved. The noise, and exertions of the seamen, were great. Their care and activity was as commendable, as it was admirable. My spirit visited my habitation, to take a solemn leave of my dear companion, and tenderly beloved children. I felt the peace it would be, to yield up life at home. I remembered, I had been baptized into death, and brought under great awfulness, even unto tears and trembling, before I set out on this journey: and upon the whole, I was favoured with a good degree of quietness and resignation. We now approached near the islands at the west end of Lake Erie. Our captain lowered sail, and stood eastward till morning, then put about and passed the first island about noon. The wind very unstable, frequent squalls succeeded by little breezes and calms. In the afternoon, came in sight of nine smaller, and some larger beautiful islands. This day we had a solid, religious opportunity on board. Capt. John, Capt. Hendricks, and other Indians and passengers, present—I believe to good satisfaction. The two Indian chiefs dined with us.

10th. A fair wind—stemmed the heavy current eighteen miles up Detroit river to the garrison. Many plantations are on both sides the river, mostly occupied by French people. On our arrival, I went with three other Friends, to the citadel, to produce our passport from Governor Simcoe to the commanding officer, Colonel England, a cheerful, open countenanced, masculine soldier, who received us like a gentleman, and kindly offered civilities to us,—for which we acknowledged obligations to him.

Here are fine banks, well improved. The oldest orchards appear luxuriant—apples, peaches, pears, cherries, &c. But no springs of water, nor streams with falls: being obliged to have recourse to windmills to manufacture their grain. Of these mills they have a number in sight. The inhabitants are a mixture of French, German, English, Irish, Scotch, Yankees, Indians and Negroes.

11th. Held a conference with Capt. John and several other Indian chiefs and principal men; in which our peaceable mission was more fully explained, than heretofore. Notwithstanding our disinterested, and universal principles of love and good will to mankind, we are sensible our path is narrow, and our situation delicate—the eyes of four different interests being open towards us;—British, United States, Indians, and the reputation of our religious society.

This afternoon, walked three miles down the west side of Detroit river; to a spring, at which I was refreshed, not having drank any other than river water for ten days. On our route to the spring, we called at a French house, to keep out of a gust of rain. The family appeared polite, loving, and pleased to see us. On our return, we called to see an old noted Indian trader, Isaac Williams, who is well acquainted with the Indian affairs, and their dispositions. He related many alarming circumstances of Indian cruelty; and said they were at present more haughty and insolent, than heretofore. He rehearsed an instance of a riot which happened that day week, with a violent party of Indians: in which he interfered, to prevent murder, but he got wounded in the arm, with a scalping knife. He insinuated doubts of our ever returning from Sandusky, unless the commissioners submitted to the Indian demands, which were very high. These were also the sentiments of divers persons acquainted with Indians, in this place. All which conspired to our deep humiliation, and dependance on the Omnipotent Arm, having none other to lean to.

We frequently meet Indians here, where they get too much strong drink; in which state they discover a very alarming, and disagreeable ferocity. Here, are divers persons who have been prisoners amongst them, some of whom recite shocking accounts of their cruelty, in many instances; others speak more favourably of their treatment. However, upon the whole, under all the circumstances of the approaching treaty, it evidently appears a serious business; and little, if any thing, short of offering up life, by those who attend it. We have hitherto found very few of the natives, who have any knowledge of Friends, or their principles.

This evening we met Col. England, and a number of the officers, on the bank of the river; with whom we had considerable conversation; in which, I hope, we acknowledged, and supported the peaceable principles of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. They treated us on every occasion, like gentlemen, in their way,—polite, and courteous to strangers, at least to us. Col. England told us, he had, with much pains, and expense, procured more than fifty prisoners from the Indians, clothed them, and forwarded them homeward; many of whom discovered little sense of gratitude for the kindness; yet he felt a reward, as being the friend of humanity. At night, returned to Matthew Dobson's where we have taken lodgings.

12th. Had a solid conference with David Kennedy, a half Indian, a man of learning, and a man of influence; having been educated in Scotland, he visited London, Jamacia, &c. He lives with the Indians, and professes christianity; is well versed in the Scriptures, and says he has initiated divers into the Christain faith, by a medium widely contrasted with our mode. He told us, some Indians used to mock and ridicule his going to church; but at a certain time, he undertook to drub them severely, and ordered them and their families to attend church in future, or he would be under the necessity of dealing more sharply with them. On which they appeared the next day of public worship, and had continued steady ever since; he supposed it the most substantial method of making converts, as also of ending quarrels or disputes. To all which I opposed several texts out of the New Testament; to the validity of which he assented, and strongly avowed his friendship for us, and promised to use his influence, in order to open our way amongst the other nations of his acquaintance, which is extensive.

We had to dine with us, a religious Dunker and his wife, settlers hereaway, with whom we had fellowship. They felt near to us; which I believe was reciprocal. In the afternoon, we had a visit from Capt. John, Young Peter, and another Indian; to whom we read Friends' address, with which they expressed satisfaction, renewed their professions of friendship, and wanted a copy of our epistle, which we waived, until the general assemblage at the great Council. In the evening, had a visit from two respectable, intelligent British officers, who behaved with politeness and civility.

13th. Had an interview with Capt. Elliott, deputy under Col. McKee, the British superintendant of Indian affairs, who has been, for several weeks, engaged with numerous tribes of Indians, in their councils at the rapids of Miami, preparatory to the great Council. Elliott has great influence with the middle hostile nations of Indians, and being an intelligent person, and I thought, well disposed, might be extensively useful in promoting the desirable work of general peace. We suggested to him, as the supplies for the treaty came through his hands, to guard against spirituous liquors being furnished. To the propriety of which, as well as to divers other remarks, he assented. We received an invitation to dine with the British officers at the mess house to-morrow. Through the variety of company and visiters, my mind is preserved in a quiet, humble hope, that the Lord is preparing our way.

Here I met with a Quebec Calendar, wherein was inserted the names, situation, and supposed number, of such Indian nations as have hitherto been discovered in North America—being as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| The Choctaws or Flat-heads, and the Natches—situate on the Mobile, and Mississippi, | 4500 |
| The Chickasaws, | 750 |
| The Cherokees—South Carolina, | 2500 |
| The Catawbas—between N. and S. Carolina, | 150 |
| The Piantias—a wandering tribe, on both sides the Mississippi, | 800 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The Kasquesasquias, or Illinois—in general, on the Illinois river, and between the Wabash and Mississippi, | 600 |
| The Peankeshaws—on the Ouabache, | 250 |
| The Ouachtenons, do | 400 |
| The Kikapous, do | 300 |
| The Shawnese—on the Sciota, | 500 |
| The Delawares—west side Ohio, | 300 |
| The Miamis—on the Miami river, falling into Lake Erie—and the Miniamis, | 350 |
| The Upper Creeks, back of Georgia—the Middle Creeks, behind West Florida—and the Lower Creeks, in East Florida, | 4000 |
| The Canitas—on the east of the river Alibamous, | 700 |
| The Alibamous—west of the Alibamous, | 600 |
| The Arkansawas—on the Arkansaw river, falling into the Mississippi, on the west side, | 2000 |
| The Anjoues—north of the Missouri, | 1000 |
| The Paddoneas—west of the Mississippi, | 500 |
| The White Panis—south of Mississippi, | 2000 |
| The Freckled Panis, do | 2000 |
| The Canses, do | 1600 |
| The Osages, do | 600 |
| The Grand Eaux, do | 1000 |
| The Missouri—on the river Missouri, | 3000 |
| The Sioux of the Woods—towards the heads of the Mississippi, | 1800 |
| The Sioux of the Meadows, do do | 2500 |
| The Blancs Barbus, or White Indians with beards, | 1500 |
| The Assiniboils—far north, near the lake of the same name, | 1500 |
| The Christaneaux, do do do | 3000 |

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|---|---|
| The Ouisconsins—on a river of that name, that falls into the Mississippi, on the east side, | 550 |
| The Mascoutins—south of Puans Bay, | 500 |
| The Sakis, do do | 400 |
| The Michecouakis, do do | 250 |
| Tolle Avvine, or the Wild Oat Indians—near Puans Bay, | 400 |
| The Puans—near Puans Bay, | 700 |
| The Powtowatamis—near St. Joseph's river and Detroit, | 350 |
| The Messesaques, or river Indians—being wandering tribes on the Lakes Huron and Superior, | 2000 |
| The Ottahwas—near Lake Superior and Michigan, | 900 |
| The Chipawas, do do do | 5000 |
| The Wyandots—near Lake Erie | 300 |
| The Iroquois, or Six Nations—frontiers of New York, | 1500 |
| The Round Headed Indians—near the head of Ottahwa river, | 2500 |
| The Algonquins—near the above, | 300 |
| The Nepessins, do | 400 |
| The Chalas—St. Lawrence Indians, on the back of Nova Scotia, | 130 |
| The Amelistes, do do do | 550 |
| The Miemacks, do do do | 700 |
| The Abenaquis, do do do | 350 |
| The Canawayhunas—near the falls of St. Lewis, | 200 |
| Total, | 58680 |

This being the number of men fit for bearing arms; to which add about one-third that number, old and superannuated—the amount of which number multiplied by six, is estimated to be the whole number of men, women, and children, of the native Indians now discovered.

This evening, had a visit from Capt. Keasy, brother to Capt. Brant, and brother-in-law to Capt. John. He professes Christianity—and spoke of the flood—also mentioned Noah's name—and said—"good man build ship like house—take in two and two pigeons—other things—rain twelve days first—bad men drink grog—dance—laugh at good man—rain fall very heavy—bad men frightened—run up to the top of mountains—water rise—rise—bad people get canoes—come to ship—Noah say—go away—ship full—All drown then. Ship fall on top mountain—break—all come out. Great Spirit say, no more drown all world. Next, make all gone; fire—rivers come—powder, lakes too—star fall—set fire—Pooh! all come to Great Spirit—to all good people—say—come my right hand—go up there to the light—bad people—say—go left hand—go down dark, fire, brimstone—never see candle. Got this big book—come from old England—King George—good man. Mr. Steward, my father, give me sacrament—tell me, pray—sing. I sing hundred psalm, you please. (Then he tuned melodiously.) And I am Captain Keasy, Captain Brant's brother—O yes, Captain Keasy"—putting his hand on his breast. Thus our interview ended. I was pleased, nay, thankful, to find his mind a little cultivated by a sense of right and wrong, and a belief in future rewards and punishments.

14th. Breakfasted with Captain Elliott and Captain Cowen, who hospitably entertained us at table, also with agreeable conversation. On our return, we called to see about twenty Chipawa Indians, just arrived from Michilimackinack, about three hundred miles north west of this post, near the west end of Lake Huron. To which place vessels can sail from Fort Erie, without interruption of carrying place or falls. These remote Indians were dressed, and painted with black, red, green, and blue; having turbans round their heads, with pikes and prongs of skins, feathers, hair, sticks, &c. projecting eighteen inches out from the sides of their heads—frightfully painted and cut—the Squaws and others, with tails of wild beasts passing over the top of their heads, and hanging down their backs. But my genius, pen, and even imagination in its strongest picturesques, must fall short of the shocking, striking, curious prospect of these northern inhabitants of the wilderness. They had drunk rum to excess, before we reached them. Several were much disguised. The more sober shook hands, and appeared friendly, to whom I gave a small present. Yet two very stout, grim, middle-aged men, were raised into rage and anger at us, loudly saying—shemochteman! shemochteman! I said no; not shemochteman—brothers, from Philadelphia. At which they rose higher, and more clamorous. We found they could understand little or none of our conversation. Some of the young Indians, meanwhile, were singing the hair off a small animal over a fire, preparing for breakfast. We conjectured it to be a puppy.

My heart felt exceeding sorrowful, and the language of my soul was, how much owest thou unto thy Lord! The picture of these poor degraded animals in human shape, involved many serious considerations respecting the approaching Council; where would probably be many hundreds, more wild and ferocious than these. My mind was covered with lamentation respecting the cause of such degradation, which, at least in part, appears to arise from abandoned and profligate white people having the greatest intercourse with them in their trade, and towns; to which, stimulated by the love of money, they resort, at the risk of their lives—carrying their vices, immoralities, and bad example with them. These, the poor uncultivated Indians easily imbibe; and, taking root in a soil, adapted to receive evil seed, produce fruit, dreadful to behold.

The greatest discouragements attending from day to day respecting the desired peace, arise from a query or doubt, that a neglect of religious duty towards these poor people in earlier time, might be rewarded by a continuance of unrelenting, savage chastisement on our borders, from the old inhabitants of the land; whose murderous practices and their cruel instruments of death, and engines of destruction, I tremble to relate—such as rifles, bayonets, scalping knives, and tomahawks of brass and steel; and the bodies of some almost covered over with silver, tin and other plates, broaches, bobs, &c. as hostile ensigns. In all which, may I not say with sorrow and blushing, they have been equalled, if not exceeded, by the professed followers of the meek and humble Jesus, whose holy kingdom and divine law suffer violence and depression, to a mournful degree.

This day, we dined at the mess house, with about sixteen respectable British officers; all young gentlemen from Great Britain and Ireland: several of whom were estated men, to great amount. They behaved with a modest civility, far exceeding my expectation from military characters. The entertainment was luxuriously sumptuous, and hospitable, as to flesh, fish, fruit, and vegetables, with variety of wines and excellent London porter. We dined at four o'clock, and spent till near sunset in agreeable conversation, on various subjects—such as religion, governments, war, peace, theatrical exhibitions; and, at the conclusion, they begged leave to drink a toast; which, out of complaisance, they dispensed with, except the King's health. We told them we could not encourage the practice, as it frequently proved an inlet to intemperance, and sometimes intoxication; which they granted—nevertheless they took the liberty to drink, success to the Quakers in the present honourable, and disinterested undertaking.

After night, a lad named Daniel Frazer, came to our lodgings. He told us he was taken prisoner by the Indians, out of Russell county in Virginia. Here came also, James Henry, a smart young man, a prisoner with the Blind Chief, near the mouth of the river Roosh, twelve miles from Detroit. He is adopted; which renders his case difficult. They have put jewels in his nose and ears, and figured him like an Indian. He is desirous of returning to his relations near Georgetown, Eastern Shore of Maryland. In this house is hired a young woman, whose name is Field, taken from Ohio, below Fort Pitt, where her father lived when she was taken. We have met with divers others, whose cases excite sympathy and concern, and to which attention has been paid; but we thought it most prudent not to make strenuous exertions at present, lest it might operate to our disadvantage at the treaty, in procuring the enlargement of prisoners more generally.

15th. Abiah Park came to see us. He is a trader with the Indians. He entertains doubts of a peace; yet says, if one can be made, it will be permanent. This forenoon felt easy to appoint a meeting, to begin at ten o'clock to-morrow, at a shop in the ship-yard, under the direction of William Baker, a Friend in principle, and cousin to George Baker of Philadelphia.

In the evening several Indians of the Wyandot tribe came to our lodgings to see us. They live about twenty miles from this place, at a town called Mogogam. One Samuel Sanders, a Scotchman, who lives with them, interpreted. They told us they had heard their fathers say, the Quakers were honest, and never wronged them; and they hoped, we would stand for justice, and not see them wronged, at the treaty. We informed them we came in love to see them, and to renew old friendship; that the power did not lay with us—but we believed the commissioners were sincerely disposed for peace. There also came to our lodgings, a party of the Chipawas—an old chief and several warriors, one of whom had a human scalp, with beautiful fair curled hair on it, tied to his ear. These were some of those, who, a day or two before, had treated us so roughly. A white man who stood near us at that time, and understood their language, told us they had a desire to have our scalps. They appear to be a terrible nation, fierce, insolent and warlike; and, I believe, exceedingly injured by their intercourse with the white people, especially the French, many of whom are little more refined than they. Their almost incessant importunity for rum, made the interview not so agreeable. We mostly evaded giving them liquor, and substituted pipes and tobacco, to put them off.

16th. First of the week. Went to meeting, where a large number of the inhabitants of the town, and military men, assembled. I believe it was a solid season, and truth's testimony was exalted over all opposition; notwithstanding rawness and dark insensibility were painfully prevalent. We came to our lodgings, and dined with two Wyandot chiefs, who had been to see us the preceding evening.—They behaved with decency at table, equal to any of us; handled their knife and fork well, eat moderately, drank two glasses of wine, and through the whole, conducted with a decorum that would do honour to hundreds of white people. We afterwards went down the river in Col. England's boat, about six miles, to the house of Judge Powell, where we had appointed a meeting. The Judge and his family being gone to England, his steward had kindly offered his house. A considerable number convened, and I was comforted in a belief that the everlasting gospel was preached in Canada. After which we returned to our lodgings.

17th. This morning there were many unfavourable reports respecting the hostile dispositions of the Indians, passing on to the treaty. The circumstances of things appear very critical, and alarming. Even our personal safety is called in question, and much doubted, unless the commissioners have very extensive powers. As I was writing in the chamber where I lodged, two Wyandots, much in liquor, came up into the room, and teazed me for rum. I put them off. After some time they laughed, shook hands and departed. At which I was glad, as I was alone. Dined with Capt. England, Capt. Leaburn, Maj. Andrews and several other military gentlemen, and two of their ladies. They were very courteous and polite.

18th. We wrote a letter two days ago, in order to hasten the commissioners to come forward to this place, being more contiguous to Sandusky, and more in the way of information. This morning we wrote a few lines to Col. McKee, at the great preparative council at Miami rapids, expressive of our peaceable mission.

Ten principal Indians, Senecas and Cayugas, came to see us. Several of them old men, with gray hairs, and furrowed brows; evident marks of a round of years, attended with variety of hardships, exercise, sorrow and pain. Their depressed countenances awakened all the compassionate feelings of my mind, towards them. But my agency seemed so feeble, I could only retire into solemn quietude, and intercede the common Father, to be the comfort and prop of their declining years. The old Fish-carrier was one of the number.

This day, my exercise of mind was heavy, and my heart sorrowful, in a feeling of the sufferings of the pure Seed in this place, and the cruelty and oppression which reign among the children of men, even of the most polished nations. What enormous salaries are given to military officers, both sea and land, as also to officers in civil government, who too generally stand opposed, with thousands of others in more inferior stations, to the spreading and increase of the kingdom and government of the Prince of Peace. In a little interview with Capt. Munsey, a sprightly British officer, I took the liberty to mention the possibility, that when the broils in France should subside, the African slave trade be abolished, and a permanent peace concluded with our American Indians, all this globe might be at peace; and that swords (of which he had one by his side) might be beaten into ploughshares. He quickly replied, he hoped not to see such a time, as it would also beat up his bread and butter, (meaning his living.) Such are the views of too many, in this day.

A middle aged Indian, of the Delaware tribe, dined with us. He talked a little English, by which we understood he was in possession of several sheets of ancient writings; that he had heard of Friends, and just faintly remembered Z. Heston and John Parrish being at their town. He said there were but Buchongeholas, Pipe, and two other chiefs, belonging to their nation; that we might depend, if they said peace, it would be peace; but if they said war, it would be war. Also said, we would find the middle tribes more faithful and manly than the Chipawas and Wyandots; for they were treacherous. I told him, they had called us Shemochtemon, or Big Knife, and said they wanted our scalps; at which he laughed.

19th. Crossed the river, and went down the eastern bank four miles, to the house of John Missiner, where we had a solemn season, with a number of his neighbours, to the contriting of the hearts of divers present. Lodged with him that night.

20th. This morning, had a religious opportunity in his family, in which, and the preceding meeting, dear John Parrish was favoured, in an extraordinary manner. After parting with them, we walked up the river about a mile, called at the house of Francis

Cornwall, and had conversation with him and his precious wife Anna, on the subjects of water baptism, the bread and wine,&c.; which they endeavoured, for a while, to defend; but at length gave it up. We likewise had a close conversation with a French militia captain, on the subject of war, which we held to be incompatible with the purity, spirit, and precepts of the gospel. To the general scope of which, he assented; but alleged, that according to the oath of allegiance to his king, when he ordered martial enterprises, he must obey; and that his king must be responsible for what was done. We silenced his arguments; and proceeded to Frederick Arnold's. On the way, I went to visit a man who was deranged. He was chained in a barn. At first, he would neither look at me, nor speak to me. He was sitting down. I spoke to him in the fear of the Lord, and desired him not to be discouraged; but trust in the Lord; for he was come to seek and to save that which was lost. He then lifted up his eyes, and stared at me very wildly. I said, I hoped he would be better. He said, he hoped he would. He then stood up on his feet, and said, my trust is in the Lord, and not in going into the water. I learned he had been pressed by some zealous Baptists to undergo that operation, which he could not consent to. I gave him some further counsel, and left him. I heard, next day he was so rational as to be unchained.—Lodged with Frederick Arnold, a long bearded Tunker, an inoffensive man; but, like his brethren, and too many others, loves money.

21st. John Elliott and myself walked several miles up the river, and were ferried over it in a canoe, by a Frenchman. The river is about three-quarters of a mile wide, opposite the town. In this excursion I made the following observations:

From Lake Erie up to this place, is eighteen miles. Each farm is laid out about forty perches on the river—mostly improved, with houses, gardens, and orchards; and extending back, where the land is level, and abounds with grass, and where hundreds of cattle thrive exceedingly, producing beef, butter, cheese, veal, &c. in plenty. Their winters are about four months, in which it is requisite to feed stock. The country, at present, is excellently adapted for raising live stock. The soil is mixed, and various, clay, gravel, sand, &c. Here are fine fields of wheat, and peas, but too wet for corn. The whole country is level, to a fault, without a stone, except on islands in the mouth of the river Croeseel, and on the banks of the lake, which are generally limestone—these are monopolized by old Indian traders, and sold to the inhabitants, at a high rate, for the purpose of building their chimnies, &c.

Hog Island is in sight, above the garrison. It appears to be well timbered. I am told it took its name from this circumstance; being infested with rattlesnakes to such a degree that people were afraid to enter upon it; and, as the best expedient, they turned on it a large herd of three or four year old swine. In time, the hogs destroyed the reptiles so that it became habitable, and thence was called Hog Island.

Large rafts of excellent timber are brought into the king's yard, in this place, from the river Lautrench; and some fine masts and beams, come by water out of lake Huron, quite through lake St. Clair. The changes of weather, are great and frequent here. There are no eels found in the waters, nor rats on the land, west, or above the great Falls of Niagara. Here is abundance of corn boiled in strong lye, and made into what we call slut hominy, to go in the north-west trade, as far as a place called the Black North, said to be eighteen hundred miles distant, now in the hands of British and Scotch merchants. They go thither in batteaux. I saw a man who resided there three years; who says, early in the spring they set out with choice peltry, such as beaver, otter, minks, martins, &c. come to the great portage, where they are met by the batteaux from Montreal, exchange their load, and each returns just as winter sets in. To the north-west posts, Indians frequently come that never saw a white man before. They are clothed in buffaloe and bear skins, neatly softened, whitened and dressed. They are kind and good natured, use bows and arrows, and have no fire arms. They cover their cabins with large rough skins: as the merchants rarely purchase even deer skins; having such an abundance of more rich furs, that they cannot send the coarse skins forward. This trade is rich and extensive, and employs the capitals of many merchants, both in England and Canada. The great channel of this trade is down the Grand river from Huron lake, to which is but a short carrying place. An immense quantity of skins pass this way. The whole of the trade makes way for large numbers of Canadian watermen to get a living. The wages for them, and also for hands on land, average about six pounds a month. Cows sell at fifteen pounds a head—sheep, six dollars a piece—veal calves, twelve dollars each.

The English and German farmers are likely to alter the manner of living, and customs in this place, for the better. The old French settlers in general, are poor economists, and proud withal—live miserably at home, yet appear grand abroad. It is said they live much on boiled fish, supping the broth without either bread or salt. They are superstitiously religious, going to mass more than two hundred days in the year. They have two large worship houses here, and a number of crosses, set up on the banks of the river and other places, to evince their christianity.

22nd. Walked up the river about four miles, to a place called Bloody Bridge, from a contest which happened there between the British, Canadians, and Indians, where many fell. We called at a respectable French farmer's, who took us into a curious garden of fruit, flowers, &c. also into his house, where were pictures, representing Christ on the Cross, old Saints, &c. John Elliott talked French to them; they appeared pleased, and behaved politely. Though much apparent superstition and idolatry are indulged amongst them, yet I hope many are looking beyond it to the more substantial parts of true worship: although I have seen them after mass, frolicking and horse racing in the road passing the worship house, or as it were, at the door, the remaining part of the day, to their reproach. The buildings on the banks of the river, though low, being mostly a story and a half, are beautiful, and the farms fertile—but their fuel and rails are all to be drawn about four miles. On our return, we fell in with several Chipawa camps—they had tents of mats curiously wrought of flags, reeds, rushes, &c. Their canoes were made of bark, with great skill and ingenuity.

(*To be continued.*)

FRIENDS' MISCELLANY.

No. 3.] SECOND MONTH, 1832. [Vol. II.

## JACOB LINDLEY'S JOURNAL.

(CONTINUED.)

23rd. First-day. Had a meeting in the sail-loft, with a considerable number of people. It was a time of stripping and heavy exercise; yet I trust the gospel testimony did not suffer reproach. A number of Indians came to see us, and behaved civilly. One said, he was glad at his heart to see us.

24th. Taken up in writing home.

25th. Air cold and chilly. This forenoon a wolf was brought to the wharf, which was shot on Hog Island. It is said to have been floated there from the main land last winter on a cake of ice. Since which time he has killed sixty pigs. The owner of the island advertised twenty dollars for his head. A half Indian shot him. He was higher than any dog I ever saw, and his teeth larger and stronger than a mastiff's. He was about six feet long from the end of the nose to the feet or paws of the hind legs—of a grayish colour, short, broad ears, and a long hairy, but not bushy, tail.

This morning we received account, that a company of Chipawa Indians who had got too much rum, differed in their tent on the commons. Two of them attacked a third, and stabbed him to death with their knives. A sorrowful instance of the shocking, horrid effects of this man-bane, (distilled spirits.) This has been the great engine, and mainspring, which has prepared the way and led to thousands of acts of hostility, and murders without number. It has evidently appeared to me, to be the greatest obstacle in the way of the civilization and happiness of the Indian natives—the removal of which, loudly calls for the united exertions of our Government, and that of Great Britian, together with the unremitting endeavours of all Christians, and lovers of mankind. I consider this important object of so great magnitude, as hardly to be equalled by any terrestrial achievement. Oh! that legislators would lay it more deeply to heart, and the professed followers of Jesus, lift up a glorious ensign against this mighty destroyer of mankind! Instead of which, sorrow is now added to affliction, until blood touches blood, by furbished swords, harnessed men and horses, glittering spears, sounding drums and trumpets—while elated captains, colonels, and generals, glorying in their multitude and their pomp, forget that "Tophet is ordained of old" for those, and that they should descend into it—forgetting also "the sword that is bathed, and that shall come upon the mountains of Idumea"—forgetting too, the God of armies, who is able, by the diminutive fly or worm, to lay the glory and pomp of all nations in the dust—nor considering that it is righteousness which exalteth a nation.

This town is piquetted all round. It consists of about one hundred and fifty houses, crowded together. The fort lays adjoining the town, on the north side. Watchmen are placed at four gates leading into the town; sentinels also stand on the ramparts and bastions of the fortifications, who cry from one to another, every fifteen minutes, from nine in the evening, to three o'clock in the morning, *all is well*, and the last cries, *all is very well.* But it appeared a superficial sound to me. This day we dined at W. F.'s, which I think nothing could have induced us to attempt, but the remembrance of our great Example being a friend of sinners. The old man treated us with generous hospitality, which we requited with plain dealing.

26th. Twenty-eight Indians arrived to-day, from McInoi, [Michilimackinac] on their way to the Council. Dined at John Askin's, one of the most respectable merchants in this place. We were entertained in a pleasing manner. His wife is a French woman, of an amiable, easy, graceful deportment. We had the company of Dr. Wright, lately married to Commodore Grant's daughter, a discreet young woman, who was present; also Lawyer Smith, a British merchant, John Askin's daughter, an agreeable young girl, and others. Our topics were, resignation and dependence on Divine support, in the use of prudent and lawful endeavours, for both spiritual and temporal blessings. The origin of the Indians, with remarks on many traces of antiquity found in the wilderness. From all which, with their sacrifices; observations of moons; care for the sepulchres, and bones of their deceased ancestors; division into so many tribes,—the probability, and almost certainty, was inferred, of their being the dispersed tribes of Israel; and therefore, from Scripture testimony and prophecy (some part of which was fulfilled, which strongly corroborated that which yet remained) it was inferrible that they would be restored,—not to a Jewish, ceremonious Israel, but to a spiritual Israel of the circumcision, made without hands. It was also urged, that it was our duty to use endeavours to promote, and pray for this, in preference to effecting their extermination. For which purpose, many dark and diabolical machinations are proposed; one of these I had recently heard of, viz. To take a large quantity of liquor, of which they are extremely fond, and infuse the strongest poison therein: take it into an army which should make feint shows, until the body of them should be collected, then make a sham battle, and retreat with precipitation, leaving the liquor behind. The subject was closely combated, and I thought, ended in favour of the cause of injured humanity.

After our interview closed, three of us walked out to speak to the Chipawas, lately arrived. We met five or six of them; but they could not understand us, neither we them, only this much, Chemochteman, Bostone. I offered my hand to them repeatedly, as also did John Parrish, which they as often refused. They had come down the lakes four hundred miles; which shows how wide and deep the prejudice against our citizens has extended.

27th. Were visited at our lodgings by Dr. Wright, Capt. Munsey, Broadhead, Crawford, and several other officers, who continue very respectful to us.

From this place, many hundreds of bushels of hominy, go yearly to McInoi, from whence it is forwarded to the Grand Portage; there it is parceled out at one bushel to a man—who is more prudent than to use one grain in his north-western route of about eighteen hundred, or as some say, two thousand miles from the Grand Portage, as it is to be his main support in case of sickness, accidents, &c. one whole year. But while health remains, they substitute huckleberries in their season, which they dry in the smoke, to take off the insipid sweet taste—other times, wild rye is gathered and boiled—at others, they catch large fish, boil them, select the large bones, which being pounded or beaten, are packed in the skin of some beast just taken off, to preserve for use. They kill beasts and birds, eat the flesh and drink the blood, without either bread or salt. Thus they live.

The trade is principally carried on (that is, the labour,) by Canadians, who are quite as hardy, and almost as savage, as the Indians themselves. They are not allowed by the merchants at Montreal, to take into the north-west, more than one bushel, as their canoes must be of just such a weight as two men can carry on their shoulders, and will just hold so much, as is completely filled with goods suitable for Indian trade. The company has arrived at great opulence by this business. They extend it by their accounts, so far as to mix, at times, and meet with merchants of the wilderness like themselves, employed by the Hudson Bay company. One old man is returned, whom John Askin says he never knew to deviate from the truth, as too many travellers do: He says he has explored those high latitudes fifty years, and that far beyond all buffaloes, bears, and large beasts of any kind; the country there will produce no kind of grain, nor large trees; but the most fine furs, the beaver, otter, and martin skins, always selling at market for a third more than middle furs. Askin says, Alexander Henry frequently tried to raise corn on the banks of Lake Superior, but never could get one ear in perfection. All which, and abundance more that might be truly inserted, conspire to give forty degrees north latitude the preference for human beings to breathe in. This evening, had a visit from Capt. John Drake, an old Guinea trader, now a navigator on these lakes, remarkable for using no kind of drink but water; yet is a healthy, robust man. He is employed in the north-west trade, and just arrived from the Falls of St. Mary, at the entrance into Lake Superior. On this trade, the company has one topsail vessel, and a larger on the stocks, ready to launch. They navigate that lake about four hundred miles, and some distance up a river, to the Grand Portage—where the goods are taken to canoes, by about one thousand men. These canoes run, as it is supposed, at least fifteen hundred miles, west-north-west—which requires them to be exceedingly industrious to make the post before winter—and when winter sets in a week or two sooner than common, they are frequently caught by the way.

One McKenzie, and ten men, set out last spring was a year, from the Black, or by some called the Grand North Post, to attempt further discoveries; they have not been heard of since. He had been out once before, for twelve months; and met with mountains of salt ice. He now expects to be out three years. Some of these northern adventurers return, and appear as well as those who remain at home, feasting on delicacies. In short, the young men hereaway, think themselves no more accomplished for company or conversation, not having taken this journey, than our young gentlemen, not having taken the tour of Europe.

A day or two past, we had the company of five Moravian Indians, whose sorrowful history deeply affected us. After ninety-six of their people had been barbarously murdered at Muskingum, they were terrified, and driven from one place to another, seven times. Their last movement was to the river Traunch, or Thames. They put in seventy acres of corn last year, which grew to good size, but being a little too late, was killed by the frost. By which means, about one hundred and forty men, women, and children, are under great suffering, for want of bread. Government furnished two hundred bushels of corn for their relief, which was nearly expended. On consideration of their being as the first fruits of Indian civilization, and are reputed very industrious; as also on consideration of the concern of our society for the natives of the land, and the business in which we were embarked, we, on conferring together, were united in prospect, that it would be right, strangers and pilgrims as we were, to try our credit to supply them with one hundred dollars worth of corn and flour. Which being procured from Matthew Dolson, we furnished them with it; for which they and their missionary, Sensemer, appeared thankful; and I believe it had a good savour amongst the people here. We wrote a short epistle, expressive of our good wishes for, and kind remembrance of them, and sent by Sam. White, John Kilbuck, and their companions, to David Zeisberger, to be read generally, among their society at home.

28th. Warm and sultry. Staid mostly at our lodgings.

29th. Had a visit from a Wyandot chief, who appeared to have much concern respecting the approaching treaty—also, a remembrance of former treaties and belts. Some long and broad belts, he said they had, that were intended, not only to bind us by the hands, but clasp us by the arms, so that no small accidents should in future, be able to make a separation. And that, notwithstanding all that had happened, the Wyandots felt some of the old affection to possess their breasts, and he hoped we would find it so at the general Council: but could speak for none but themselves. We desired our interpreter, J. Heckewelder, to assure him we possessed the same love and friendship for them, and for all other Indians, that we, or our forefathers, ever did—that our principles had always restrained us from making war against them. But when we believed the government was disposed to make peace with them, on principles of justice, we were willing to leave our homes and near connexions, and at a great expense, undertake a long and hazardous journey, to endeavour to promote it, and to be present at the concluding of so good a work. On delivery of which, he said, he knew long ago we did not fight, but were for peace. He then got up, and shook hands with Friends, then sat down, and spoke in substance as follows: That as we had come a long journey, and were all preserved in health, it was evident the Great Spirit was pleased with our coming; and he hoped some good would be done, and that the Great Spirit would bring us home in the same good health, with peace and joy. To which we replied, we were glad of such an opportunity to talk with him, and if the great and good work of peace could be effected, we hoped we should return home with joy and peace; which was all the reward we wanted or looked for. He asked whether it would be disagreeable, if he was to come and dine with us, to which we invited him.

We were also visited this morning, by Abram, Katherine his wife, Rebekah and Mary, his daughters. They live at Miami Rapids, are Mohickons, and appear much civilized. Also, some Shawnee women, one a widow, who, because of her situation, had taken off her bobs, jewels, and trinkets, with which the others shone with splendor, having massy plates of silver about them, I have no doubt, to an amount that would have clothed them in silk and velvet. Had it not been for the profuse introduction of distilled spirits amongst these people, and the frauds in consequence of it, imposed upon them, also the ravages and depredations of war, with multiplied murders and thefts, they would at this day have been a very wealthy people in silver and gold, cattle and horses. But the reverse is, at present, their sorrowful situation, I fear to our condemnation. The history of their barbarity, treachery, and breach of faith to the white people, and to one another, which we have heard rehearsed by people well acquainted with facts, since we arrived here, would be painful, tedious, and indeed too shocking to relate. These circumstances almost stagger the faith of their best friends. Even one of the Moravian missionaries said, that even if peace should be concluded, it would not last long, until they were further chastised. John Parrish asked, by what means? Did he mean the sword? It was answered, yes—not until they were convinced the United States were too powerful for them, and able to subject them.—These being the sentiments of those who had lived long among them, solely to promote peace, and the principles of the gospel, proved very discouraging to us. They also pronounced it impossible to instruct them in the principles of justice, equity, and government; which I was not willing to admit.

We had a visit to-day, from Nathan Williams, an intelligent man, especially in Indian affairs, which he has been intimately acquainted with. He, in a friendly manner, suggested fears that we would be either killed, or kept as hostages, at the ensuing Council. And truly I am not astonished at their ideas, considering the spectacles of human misery they are almost daily presented with, and the rumours they hear—where tribes of Indian warriors have so frequently passed, with their disconsolate prisoners; and with poles stuck up in the front of their canoes, some with fifteen, others with thirty scalps suspended on them, in trophy of their courage and victory. Though it must be said in honour of British humanity, and commendation of this government, Upper Canada, and its truly respectable and generous officers, they have interfered to the relief of scores of prisoners, and obtained their redemption at a great price. Divers of these we have met with, and they appeared as the very outcasts of England and Ireland, who, as Col. England, and other officers, told me, hardly had the manners to acknowledge the kindness, though in some instances it cost one hundred pounds. But in case of a real American, they never begrudged it.

This has been a high day at the Roman chapel; being canonized in honour of St. Peter. They rung the bells, and it is said, carried about the host. At ten, they assembled at the chapel in great numbers, men, women, and children. Some kneeled, and many sung aloud. I saw them through the windows, from our lodging. Many of them appeared sincere. But oh! the clouds of lifeless ceremonies, of images, pictures, water, wine, wafers; schemes of human policy and earthly wisdom, operating as so many veils which obscure the inshining of the rays of the sun of righteousness, darkening counsel, to a sorrowful degree, often amongst men in eminent stations. Indeed, the veil of the covering, spread over all nations, is only destroyed in proportion as we approach, and ascend the Lord's peaceable, holy mountain, in the purity of his saints, as little children,—where, without cloud of ceremony, or mist of darkness or unbelief, their angels do behold the face or appearance of their Father in heaven,—they behold his universal love,—in his pure fear,—in the awful attributes of his righteous judgments,—and incomprehensible mercies,—more than heart can think, or tongue can speak,—and, in abasement, they bow before the name of the Lord Jehovah, in whom surely, is everlasting strength, and to whom, I desire to commit my cause, and commend my soul, with my dear companion, and our tender babes, if we should never more meet in this vale of tribulation.

Last night, about eleven o'clock, five or six guns went off smartly one after another. The report sounded unpleasant, especially, anticipating if it should so happen at Sandusky, how it would probably alarm. I understand it was at some wolves, which had destroyed a neighbour's sheep.

30th. We were visited by a principal man of the Wyandots, called the Blind Chief, with his nephew, grand-son, and great-grand-son, a likely lad of twelve years old. They were well dressed, and appeared friendly. We informed them, by an interpreter, of our friendly motives in this visit, and explained our uniform peaceable principles and practice, for more than one hundred years; and that we wished to promote peace in our country. He told us, eight of their principal men were gone to the Council at Miami Rapids, with pacific views and intentions. They took leave of us in a decent, respectable manner.

This day, we had two meetings in the king's sail-loft, largely attended by citizens, officers, and soldiers, of Detroit, which, though deeply exercising, wading us through mire, and dirt, and rubbish, yet were to a good degree, satisfactory.

1st of 7th mo. Breakfasted at Capt. Elliott's: afterwards, attended the burial of Isidore Shone, at the Roman chapel, where the priest in his pontifical robes, was preceded by a man bearing on an ensign like a halbert, a large cross; and attended by singers, and two little lads, each with a candle. They, with the priest and singers, were clothed in black petticoats, and covered over the arms and shoulders with a white surplice, which reached down to the knee. When the coffin, which was covered with a black pall with costly fringe, approached the threshold of the chapel, the bearers made a small halt, the priest turned round with a brush in his hand, and sprinkled water on the apparatus about the deceased. I did not go inside of the house, but saw numbers of lighted candles burning in it; which made but a feint light, as the sun shone bright, and the day was exceeding warm. Notwithstanding which, the ecclesiastical part of the procession went bare-headed, and very slow, muttering, or rather growling, a sentence or two of Latin, over and over, all the way. Indeed the whole of this religious parade, appeared to have more of Jewish ceremony, or Gentile superstition in it, than Christian simplicity or gravity.—They deposited the poor tabernacle under the floor, rung the bells, sung aloud, made their sanctum sanctorum resound, and then departed. Numbers of them come to mass on first-day, eight or ten miles, just step in, and (they say) rhyme over their paternoster, dip their finger into the font, cross themselves, and out again, to drink and frolic.

2nd. I went on board the Ottoway, Capt. Cowan, just arrived from Fort Erie, in hopes of hearing from home; in which I was disappointed. I found eighteen Oneida Indians on board, with whom I had some conversation. The captain informed me, he had put sixty on shore at the mouth of the Miami, on their way to the Rapids, where, we are informed, twelve hundred Indians are assembled. This day we received a letter from Colonel McKee, containing friendly sentiments, and an assurance that we should have timely notice of the opening of the treaty. We also received one from a young man on board the Chipaway, informing that Colonel Butler, who was passenger with his Indians on board Capt. Cowan's vessel, came on board their vessel, and in conversation in a select company, where he had no suspicion, expressed, that if the commissioners should propose, or even hint any other terms than what were concluded upon by the Indians, he would not think it strange, if every person from the colonies, commissioners, Quakers, and all, should be sacrificed on the spot; for they knew no distinction, but their own people. This, the young man communicated to us out of pure ſriendship, having heard it himſelf: which we treasured up at present. But truly, the pressure of murdering, dark, blood-thirsty spirits, ſrom day to day, is exceeding heavy; always requiring us to watch and pray, that we may be furnished with the whole armour of light.

3rd. Col. England came to visit us. We went to see his garden—in the interview, he showed every mark of respect to Friends, and desired us as often as we wished, to retire into his arbours in the heat of the day. We acknowledged his kindness, and went to our lodgings to dine, where we had the company of a young Shawnese chieſ. He was neatly dressed in Indian style. I computed he had, at least, one thousand silver broaches stuck on a new silk hunting shirt. He behaved at table with great gentility.

4th. Fourteen Indians came to see us. They appeared friendly. The weather exceeding warm. Although we are well supplied with provisions, yet, the water being all brought ſrom the river, and standing in a tierce in the sunshine, makes our drink disagreeable. This, with a host of flies by day, and fleas and bugs by night, added to our state of suspense, required some fortitude and patience to keep our post, without looking back, or meditating an escape.

5th. Had some conversation with an intelligent woman, who had been taken prisoner in Kentucky, and separated ſrom her husband and nine children. All had been ſavoured to meet again except one, which she says is now in Kentucky. She says, three hundred and ninety-ſive persons were taken, and scattered through the wilderness at the time they were, fourteen years ago. Such a situation, contrasted with a land of peace, and the security of life, liberty, and property, may enable us to make some estimate of the blessings we enjoy, and the principles which lead to a permanent security of them.

This morning the Ottoway, Capt. Cowan, sailed for Fort Erie, to go by the way of Miami Bay, having provisions on board for McKee and the Indians at the Rapids. With whom Capt. Elliott, deputy Indian agent for the British, embarked, to join McKee at the council. We acquainted him repeatedly with our design in coming to this country, and our prospects of the importance of the business in agitation, and engaged him to use his influence as speedily as possible, to open the way for a treaty. I sent by this vessel some intelligence to Philadelphia, and sailed up the river past Hog Island and Pearl Island, into the lower end of Lake St. Clair, which is about thirty-six miles long, and eighteen broad. After taking a prospect of Gross Point, the residence of Commodore Grant, viewed N. Williams's stone wind mill, dined at his house, and returned eight or nine miles to our lodgings. William Savery and William Hartshorn, in our absence, were visited by a Shawnee warrior, who announced to them what had before been frequently suggested to us by divers persons, that if the commissioners did not immediately agree, that all the land west of the Ohio, should be evacuated, and given up by the United States, or even hinted any thing to the contrary, by offering gifts or money as purchase, of which they understood they had brought abundance with them, that none of them, or their company, would ever go off the ground alive—for their fathers, who are now all gone, had sold lands for knives, broaches, and rum, till they were now driven almost to the sun-setting, where they were determined to make a stand. He complained of the ruinous consequences of the introduction of spirituous liquors amongst their fathers, saying, at first, they called it bitter water, and some, fiery water. But by repeated offers of it to them, they at length fell in with it, to their hurt in general. He also informed, that four days before he left the Rapids, a deputation of two chiefs of each nation had embarked to meet the commissioners at Niagara, to let them know the outlines of their conclusions, and that if the white people would settle to the banks of Ohio, on the east side, and agree that the river should be the line, they would be glad, and take them by the hand, and call them brothers. All which intelligence, he said, might be depended on as true. Our apprehensions that the commissioners were vested with no such powers, and that the government had no such intentions, tended to thicken the cloud which seems impending over this land; as the seeds of destruction are sowing in a soil, prepared to produce shocking scenes.

This same Indian, getting raised with strong drink in the afternoon, made a stroke with his tomahawk at one Sylvester Ash, an interpreter, who had long resided with the Shawnese; Ash's exertions prevented his killing him; he then knocked off our landlord's hat, who struck him several hard blows, and turned him out of the house. Capt. Munsey, being present, sent for two soldiers, who put him out of the garrison. He was much enraged. Upon the whole, all things conspire to increase the gloom, and assure us that nothing short of wisdom from on high will do for us to lean to.

6th. My mind was deeply exercised with a consideration, how the way may open in this dark land, to lift up our testimony for the excellency of the government of Christ, our Redeemer, in these heathen regions of both white and red people. The Felicity is just arrived from the Miami, and confirms the account of the Indian deputation being gone to meet the commissioners at Niagara, accompanied by Col. Butler and Simon Girty.

7th. First of the week. Held a meeting in the sail-loft, which was in a good degree comfortable and satisfactory. Just arrived from the Rapids, Capt. John, David Kennedy, and Mohican Samuel, by whom we received a letter from Capt. Hendricks, importing, twenty nations were then assembled; that there were runners sent to bring forward the Potowatomie chiefs; that in a few days, they should move to Sandusky, and that a desire for peace was gaining ground amongst them. This account, from a man in whom we had confidence, was encouraging to us.

In the afternoon, we held a meeting for worship at a mill, at the river Ruzche, about five miles from Detroit, with a considerable number of middle aged and young people, to the peace of our minds. Returned in the evening, they having sent up horses to bring us down and carry us back.

8th. Had an interview with David Kennedy, a learned, intelligent man, just returned with Capt. John from the Rapids. He informs, there are a numerous host of Indians there, and that the general sentiments were looking towards peace; yet the young Shawnese were high, and rough in their dispositions, especially the warriors. We also had an opportunity with about ten or twelve Indians of the Six Nations, desiring them to use their influence to promote the work of peace; which they appeared to unite with.

This forenoon we wrote to Capt. Hendricks by Samuel, also sent him some money (five dollars) for which he wrote. We have lately understood that hostilities have commenced between the Chipawas and Sioux of the Meadows, and Sioux of the Woods, against each other. They are powerful nations.

This day was another interment at the Roman chapel, of a man, said to be one hundred and fifteen years old. It was, as usual, attended with abundance of Romish pomp and superstition. The house was wonderfully replenished with lighted candles, which, in meridian sunshine, appeared to reflect no light at all; but rather a gloom—which is truly the case with spiritual sunshine, or gospel light. It all appeared dark.

9th. I went to visit Col. England, where I met Capt. Blue Jacket, a chief warrior among the Delawares, who, it is said, was in command at General St. Clair's defeat. He was dressed in scarlet, with gold tassels, and a laced hat. A brave, masculine figure of a man. I spoke to him by an interpreter, letting him know I was one of the people called Quakers, who were men of peace, and that we were come to try to heal, and make peace. He replied, he had heard of Quakers, and that they were harmless people, and did not fight. He was going to Montreal; but had given his opinion before he came away, and hoped matters would be settled.

We also had a visit to-day from several Shawnese. One of them was a middle-aged man, the most solid countenanced I had seen amongst them. We spoke to him by an interpreter, and let him know who we were, and what our views were in coming; and also our apprehensions of the sincerity of the government, in the present embassy. With which he appeared pleased, and said, he heartily wished we might get through with the work of peace, that the young and active part of the Indian nations might know what to do, as it concerned them most, as the old ones had not long to live. He said he had heard of our people, that we did justly, and did not fight, and that he was glad to be with us. After drinking a glass or two of wine, he wished us well, and departed.

In my interview with Col. England, I was presented with a sketch of the great falls, curiously taken by Capt. Steel, who is an artist at such designs. I also had an account to-day, from a man employed at the Grand Portage. It is nine miles over, and three bundles of seventy pounds each, is the stipulated burden for each man to carry that distance. But some will carry more, and ascend and descend two mountains on the way. Two men carry the canoe on their shoulders, until the blood will run down on green hands; but at length, the skin becomes hard as a bullock's neck, accustomed to the yoke. Thus they carry and row, over ninety carrying places, and as many creeks, puddles, little lakes, and rivers, for more than one thousand miles beyond the Grand Portage.

10th. Capt. Blue Jacket came to see us. We had a friendly interview with him. He is married to a

French merchant's daughter, late of this place, now deceased. Two Cayugas also visited us. But we painfully feel the want of suitable interpreters.—Many understand their language; but our sentiments being generally peaceful, serious, and religious, so opposite to those held by persons qualified to serve us, that what they delivered, appeared to be with shame and reluctance. This put it out of our power fully to relieve our minds. My mental powers often centred in secret intercession to the Preparer of hearts, that the travail of my spirit might be conveyed through such aqueducts, to their advantage and edification, as may best consist with his wisdom and power. As our minds were bowed, and patiently waded under it, there evidently appeared a seriousness at times to impress their countenances.—Last evening we received a grateful letter from the Moravian Indians.

We had interviews to-day with several Indians, Munseys, Shawnese, and Delawares, to some satisfaction. They appeared pleased with our motives in coming. This afternoon, I visited a young woman educated at Newport, Rhode Island. Her father's name, William Foster. She went from home, contrary to her father's will, with one Molay, an officer in St. Clair's army. He was killed in the defeat of 1790, and she taken prisoner by the Indians, who kept her eleven months. She then got off, and has since lived in Detroit, and by her conduct, evinced that she was not thankful enough for the many mercies, and great deliverances wrought for her. Latterly she has been taken with epileptic fits, of which she frequently has divers in a day. The intervals of health are filled with bemoanings and cries for mercy. Notwithstanding it appeared to me to be the chastening hand of judgment laid upon her, yet my sympathy was touched, to consider if she was my child, poor and quite destitute of friends able to comfort her, how should I feel. O! saith my soul, that the multiplied mournful instances, recited in the catalogue of rebellion and disobedience to parents, might have the happy effect to induce young people, early to seek the kingdom of God, and his righteousness: so would they be preserved out of snares, temptations, and beds of anguish and sorrow, the sure rewards of sin and disobedience.

11th. Dined at —— Abbott's, a Detroit merchant, with all our company, except Joseph Moore. Indian affairs was the topic. In the course of the conversation, I felt some zeal for the testimony to arise; under which I spoke plainly to divers points, and some persons present urged the necessity of whipping, or further chastising the Indians, and the impossibility of effecting their reformation without it.

12th. Went down the river four miles, and paid three or four little visits to some friendly people. This afternoon, a vessel arrived from Fort Erie, bringing accounts that the Indian deputation had arrived there, and the commissioners were returned to Niagara. Which accounts, with no way opening as yet, to see the Indians at the Rapids, and no letters from Philadelphia, make our situation here, singularly trying.

13th. A small vessel arrived from Fort Erie, which brought letters from my wife, M. Miller, brother J. L. and Jonathan and Rumford Dawes, all fraught with love, and instructive communication. This was a joyous feast to my mind, and as marrow to my bones, ministering much consolation and encouragement, and animating with increasing fervency and dedication, to encounter the difficulties of our wilderness journey, with the varied conflicts and perils attendant thereon. We also received three general epistles, one from James Pemberton, one from John Pemberton, and one from Henry Drinker, all dated about 6th of 6th mo. 1793, which were mutually comforting and strengthening, to our little band. To find and feel the help, sympathy, and travail of the spirits of our friends at home, was like the consecrating oil to each of us. This vessel also brought a letter to us from Col. Pickering, announcing the arrival of the Indian deputation, just as they were about to embark—the commissioners were requested to return to Navy Hall, to have a short speech in the audience of Gov. Simcoe. As it was to be a short conference, they desired our further patience, and hoped to see us in a few days. This intelligence, after five weeks suspense, was not very pleasant.

14th. First of the week. Held a public meeting for worship in the ship-yard, which was attended by a large number of people, divers of whom are nearly attached to us. It was a solid, quiet season. But through ignorance of the divine principle, through their inattention to it, and want of faith in it, truth, in this Babylonish land, does not rise into that dominion, as I have felt it in some other places.

I had an opportunity of conversing with Simon Girty's wife, who seems an inoffensive woman. She had been long a prisoner amongst the Indians. She gave an account of many of their methods of torture on their enemies. She says, they used frequently to speak of the Quakers in the nations, as a people that did not go to war. Capt. Elliott has just arrived from the Rapids, but nothing further has yet transpired.

15th. Had an interview with Elliott; he appears much reserved. Our anxious state of suspense continues. Being apprehensive of the Indian embassy to the commissioners, preventing the proposed treaty, we wrote to Col. McKee, also a short epistle to the Indians, to be in readiness to forward by the first opportunity.

Here we observed a species of Indian slaves, called Pawneys, or Punins, who are captives, chiefly taken by the Chipawas, from the Suez, (Sioux) or Pawney nations. But it is sorrowful to think, that in a British government so famed for liberty, they, and a number of the African race, are held in bondage during life.

This day, I walked out into the woods, a mile and a half; when my further excursion was prevented by swamps, bogs, and marshes. In my route, I found stones in divers places, such as are observed on the margin of the lake. The land in general is almost sunk under water. My mind was strongly impressed with a belief, that lakes Huron, St. Clair, Erie, and Michigan were once united, and the tens of thousands of acres, of low adjacent land, were all overflowed. By the breaking and wearing away of the great falls, as mentioned before, the water has lowered to the present surface; and as cultivation increases, I have no doubt, the country will be improved by a further diminution of the marvellous cataract. The progress of population, at present, is obstructed, not only by the wet, unhealthy state of the country, but also by other circumstances: viz. one-seventh of the whole country is reserved for the crown, and one-seventh for the episcopal clergy: also by an existing law of old Canada, all real estates, though sold seven times in seven years, must be sold at the chapel door, mostly on first day afternoon, one-ninth whereof goes to the Roman church. By this means, some congregations, especially in Montreal and Quebec, have become immensely rich, and enabled to carry on their idolatrous pomp and parade of worship, so as to make the world wonder. But as light is rising, a necessary reform is apprehended to be not far distant.

16th. Had a solid interview with Elliott, deputy agent of Indian affairs for the British. He is preparing to return to the Indian council at the Rapids. We proposed to him, whether there would be any impropriety in our going with him. To which he replied, as his sentiment, that where the Indians were now assembled, was their own council ground, and on a path that was not to be trod in, but by warriors: and therefore, it was his opinion, it would not be eligible to move that way at present. We let him know our prospects were, that every assistance from the British government, towards negociating a peace with the Indians, would be afforded. He gave us to understand, the Indians were generally acquainted with our being here, and our views towards them, and hoped, on the return of the Indian embassy, some way would open for our relief. Finding no way to have an opportunity with them collectively, we concluded to write again to the agent, McKee, and also to the Indians; which Elliott assured us should be fully and fairly interpreted to them. With this we were for the present obliged to rest satisfied, in our probationary tribulated allotment. I can truly say, I travailed with many pangs to be delivered, with breathings to Him who alone can help and interpose, when all human aid is utterly unavailing.

It is wheat harvest; the grain is well filled; but in many places, it is much injured by a kind of smut, or blast. The grain is as large as good wheat, but appears of a dusky colour; and being bruised, or cut in two, the contents are like soot, black and dusty. Sometimes ten blasted ears for one sound one. In divers instances, wheat fields are rendered entirely useless. When one-half, or one-third, or even one-tenth, is smutted wheat, it spoils the whole. The farmer is obliged to wash all his wheat, through three or four waters, before it is fit for bread.

17th. No admission being apparent into the Indian country, as the best expedient, we concluded to send by Capt. Elliott, Friends' Address, accompanied by a short epistle of our own, to the Indians: also, a letter to Col. McKee. We remain daily exercised in a patient, fervent travail, that the Supreme Controller of events, may bring to pass his hidden purposes, according to his own sacred determination, to the exaltation of his own great name, in these dark regions of violence, murder, and licentiousness of almost every kind. The awful language of the Most High to a backsliding people formerly, has frequently impressed my mind, as applicable to the inhabitants of these countries, with some few exceptions, "My soul loathed them, and their souls abhorred me."

This day a cannon was fired, for the direction of a man supposed to be lost in the woods. It frequently happens, that people get bewildered in this country, and sometimes lost, especially in cloudy weather. If they go but one mile in the woods, such is the sameness of soil, timber, &c. with no mountains, and few streams to guide them, they frequently take the opposite direction from the settlement, and get into difficulty.

We have lately heard of the arrival of a number of Creek and Cherokee Indians, in the neighbourhood of the Indian council; we fear, with views not friendly to a peaceable accommodation of matters with the western Indians. We have heard, hostilities between them and the whites, have been renewed to the southward. Great is the opposition, at present, in the earth, to the peaceable kingdom of Christ, our Redeemer. Under a sense of which, my spirit bows with intercession, that Israel may abide in their tents, where they will be covered, as under the hollow of his divine hand, until his indignation pass over.

18th. I had an interview with Capt. George Welbank, who appeared an intelligent, cool, dispassionate man. He came with a detachment of Cherokee and Creek Indians, from their towns in the southern territory, he says, more than a thousand miles from hence in a straight line; and that they were ninety days on their journey. His principal business appeared to be with Col. England, who immediately gave orders for the sloop Felicity to sail, with Capt. Welbank on board, to Fort Erie, on the way to Gov. Simcoe. Large rolls of intelligence were despatched by him, containing, as we supposed, matters of importance. Shortly before, Col. England assured our friends, the Felicity was detained in the harbour on purpose to transport us to Sandusky, or Fort Erie, as was most eligible, on the shortest notice.

In conversation with Capt. Welbank, on the situation of Indian affairs to the southward, with which he discovered extensive knowledge, he asserted as follows:—That in the year 1791, a treaty was held with the southern Indians, negociated on behalf of the United States, by a person who made out the articles of the treaty in writing, wherein he inserted the free navigation of the Cherokee river, without their knowledge, and bribed the interpreter to read, ten miles round Nashville village, where forty was inserted. There was a large extent of country, for which the natives required three thousand dollars per annum, but he assured them his power would not permit him to go so high; but for the present, he would insure two thousand dollars, and had no doubt of obtaining the whole sum, by an application to Congress. But in the article it was read, two thousand dollars, where one thousand only was entered. And after all, the survey far exceeded the limits of the land agreed on. Of which grievances, the bloody fellow, Notawasky, Joberson, and Prince of Eastern Airy, came to Congress for redress; they were politely received, and assured justice should take place. On the faith of which, they returned, and made report to their people, who rested satisfied, until their hopes of redress were laid waste, by Spencer and others coming over the dividing ridge, between Holstein and Tennessee rivers, (which was the boundary prescribed) building mills, and piqueting forts, on the waters of the Tennessee. Capt. Welbank says, the Indians have applied to the Spaniards, and received assurances they shall be supplied with necessaries. There were some reasons for believing Capt. Welbank was now here, to negociate a friendship with the British.

This afternoon, John Elliott and myself, walked three or four miles, to see sixteen Oneida Indians, amongst whom are several principal men, George Duckwell, Abram, &c. We had some conversation with them on the advantages of peace, and the blessings consequent on being redeemed out of the spirit of war. We also entered a little into the subjects of the existing uneasiness between the Indians and our government. Duckwell, an old man, said, the dispute was about lands west of the Ohio—that he was at a treaty, held at Fort Stanwix, twenty-four years ago, which was a general treaty with all the tribes; and then, the Ohio was agreed to be the boundary. Since which time, he knew of no treaty, where the chiefs who had a right to sell lands, were collected. I find the Six Nations claim a kind of sovereignty over the soil, to a great extent southward. Abram said, he married his wife amongst the Wyandots, and some years ago, they made a visit to see her relations, "and I say, brothers, what you always go to war—fight 'mericas? They say—if 'mericas love peace, give us our lands—stay that side 'hio—shake hands—call brothers;—but if 'mericas come take our country, where deer plenty, turkeys, wild cows—good land—then war—always war." We told him, we never went to war, nor our friends, for one hundred and fifty years past—that all men, of all nations, white, red, and black, were our brothers—that one Great Spirit made us all, and was father of us all. They said, Ouch, that is good, very good.

19th. Staid mostly at our lodgings, writing, and conversing with some intelligent travellers. One of them related a conversation between one Frobisher, a merchant in the north-west trade, when at the Grand Portage, west end of Lake Superior, and an old Indian from the north-west; which so much coincided with my own sentiments, that I note it. Frobisher was inquiring after the curiosities of the northern clime, which the Indian related as far as he had travelled—but added, that younger Indians, who had travelled further north-west, had seen some things still more wonderful. Frobisher asked him, if he did not think some parts of their relation untrue? The old Indian replied, no; it is not possible it can be lies, for they had never seen a white man in their lives! A severe reflection on Christians, so called.

20th. A woman was interred at the Roman chapel, with the usual pomp, parade, and superstition. Candles burning in clear sunshine—host and holy water displayed—black pall surplices. All the males bare-headed, walking slowly—the sexton going before, the host-bearer next, with a boy on each side, carrying lighted candles. Then the priest, in his pontifical robes, with a boy before him, with a brass laver or font, containing the consecrated water, with a brush in it. On each side of the priest were singers, dolefully humming Latin. The priest held a book in his hand, which he sometimes opened, and then sung Latin—several times sprinkling the bier and pall with the water. The singers and boys bearing the candlesticks and laver, as also those who supported the bier, were clothed outside with black. The bells rung frequently. Indeed, the whole procession appeared solemnly dark. When they came to the grave, which was about two and a half feet deep, in which was much water, the priest took the brush, and added a little more—they laid down the coffin, and for a time dolefully hummed more Latin. During which, the people generally went on their knees. When that was over, the people departed, leaving the sexton to fill up the grave alone. I am told the water rises so near the surface of the ground in these countries, that it is difficult to bury a corpse so deep, but what the wolves can scratch down to it. As they often bury without coffins, many who are killed in battle in the woods, and others murdered in cold blood and left above ground, the wolves have devoured them. It is said, these animals have become so fierce and fond of human flesh, that they have attacked, and destroyed people in the woods. The Indians used to call them brothers, and would not kill them; but one or two of their people having been killed by those creatures, the Indians have now proclaimed war against them, killing all they can.

This low, level country, abounds with sugar-trees to such a degree, that if the manufactory of sugar was promoted extensively in this place, it might be ranked among the exports of North America. The Indians, who have kettles suitable for the business, make large quantities in the spring of the year, and sell it as low as six-pence per pound, and under. Some have been so fraudulent, as to mix sand with it, and when detected, endeavoured to justify themselves, by the example of the white people mixing water with the rum, sold to them. A practice, very common amongst the rum sellers, who say, rum hurts them, and the less they get the better for them. It is, therefore, evident, that in proportion to their intercourse with the whites, they have increased in treachery, fraud, drunkenness, and licentiousness of every kind; and appear, at present, not unlikely to be a rod prepared for our close chastisement.

Being in their nature, or by habit, unfeeling and ferocious, I have often in this journey, had my feelings wounded, by seeing old gray-headed women, carrying heavy burdens of skins, venison, brooms, matchcoats, &c. with large drops of sweat rolling from their aged brows; when several sprightly young and middle-aged men, went lightly on before them, with nothing to carry but their clothes, tomahawk, and scalping knife, dangling by their thigh.

21st. Last evening, I had an account from a man who came from the Glades up the Miami-of-the-lake, that the Creek and Cherokee Indians passed through the Delaware towns there, and produced a piece of tobacco died red, which was received as the declaration of war against the United States—that the white prisoners were very numerous amongst the Indians—and that, at the Rapids, as he came along, he saw a beautiful woman, well dressed, just brought in.

This morning, a number of Oneida Indians came to our lodgings, and informed, that two of their number had just come from the Rapids, and brought tidings, that it was reported there, that Wayne's army was advancing, and large numbers of the Indians had left the Council, to go to defend their towns. They sent to the Oneidas to repair to their assistance, which they were resolved not to comply with. Which determination, we endeavoured to strengthen, and gave it as our opinion, that the army was not advancing, and would not advance, until the result of the treaty was known. They were very jealous of some deception, which it was hard to remove.

This forenoon, had a solid meeting in the ship-yard; after which, a number of the gentlemen of the town came to see us. In a little time, one came, who announced the Dunmore was at the mouth of the river, with the commissioners on board. Soon after, Capt. Gibbons, who was a passenger, came and confirmed the news. We had appointed a meeting at five o'clock, and thought best to endeavour for stillness at present. The afternoon meeting was not so large as the former. It was a season of heavy exercise, through the prevalence of a carnal, lukewarm disposition, in many; yet the great Shepherd was mercifully pleased to baptize a remnant into tenderness of spirit; and the opportunity concluded with solemn supplication.

In the evening, we had a visit from —— Gibbons, an officer in the regiment of Queen's Rangers. He was present when the Indians opened their embassy to the commissioners, at Navy Hall. About ninety Indians were there. When the governor, Simcoe, was present, Capt. Brant spoke as follows: "Gentlemen, you say you are commissioners from the United States; have you power to alter the disputed line between you and us?" They answered, "We have." "Can you tell us the reason of an armed force advancing at this time into our country?" The answer was, "We cannot, neither do we believe it; yet to make all parties satisfied, we will despatch an express immediately to the war office, to stop every motion of an advance." Then they said, "Come on, we will treat with you." Jasper Parrish was despatched to Philadelphia.

The commissioners not being permitted to come here, were landed at the mouth of the river, and have sent for us.

22nd. Settled with our landlord, Matthew Dolson, for six weeks accommodation, twelve pounds, seven shillings, and six-pence, York money.

23rd. I visited Col. England, in company with John Parrish, to confer with him, on the most eligible mode of departure from Detroit. He, with his wonted politeness, offered his barge; but gave it as his sentiment, that we had better stay till fifth-day, when the Dunmore would sail, to be at the commissioners' direction. As it was his orders, it was also his inclination, to accommodate them, all in his power, we consented to add two days more to our confinement.

We had an interview with several Indians to-day; one of them acknowledged he had killed a Kuhemocomon, and stole three horses this spring. He was a warlike creature, and we could do little with him, for want of an interpreter. I gave him a few hints, a pipe, and a loaf of bread, and he departed.

24th. A solemn morning; my mind composed, and engaged in mental aspirations to the Supreme Controller of events, that he might be pleased to bless our endeavours to promote the glory and honour of his own great name, the advantage of our country, the peace of nations, and of individuals.—In which I beheld, that so long as we dwelt only on the surface, and superficies of important subjects, in a chain of carnal reasoning, and in the fogs and mists of earthly wisdom and human policy, we are in danger of making errors in judgment, and of viewing the agents of distress, as the primary cause of evil. But by tracing effects to their causes, and weighing actions in the equal and unalterable scales of justice and truth, I believe we shall centre in prospect with the inspired penman, "Affliction cometh not forth of the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground." Is there not a cause? Consider, yea, awfully contemplate the announced decree of Him "who weigheth the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance, and meteth out the heavens with a span, and measureth the water of the seas in the hollow of his hand; and before whom, all nations are but as the drop of a bucket,"—"Such measure as ye mete, to you it shall be measured again."

When I view the dreadful scenes of barbarity, attendant on the African slave trade, and its train of concurrent circumstances, my soul is almost overwhelmed with discouragement. Judgment is the Lord's, and he surely will repay. Have the Indians burned houses; murdered men, women, and children; betrayed their friends; carried away into captivity and bondage, old and young, male and female; and cruelly burned and tortured others; lurked privily for prey; shot down men at their ploughs, and travellers on the road? Yea, they have; until the rehearsal of many of their horrid scenes of barbarity, has agitated, shocked, and almost convulsed every nerve.

But what shall I say? How are my feelings wounded, on being constrained to contrast these reproaches to humanity, with the conduct of civilized, professing Christian nations? In which I lament, our own government (in most respects, superlatively excellent) is obliged to take a share. Vessels fitted out, commanded by men, with hearts callous to the feelings of humanity, and deaf to her cries—which repair to the African coast, stir up war, burn towns, kill, catch, and carry captive, indiscriminately, these poor, and, as to them, altogether unoffending people—bring them to distant and different cities and towns, ringing with alarms for worship, sounding with hymns and psalms from stately temples, where they offer their devotion to the universal Parent, who hath revealed his will in the language of "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God"—professing to believe in the Divine Lawgiver, whose statute is, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Instead whereof, they are sold like beasts, at market; separated, husband from wife, children from parents; without regard to the tenderest ties of natural affection: often put under unfeeling whippers, and cruel taskmasters, where they are frequently starved, or whipt to death—and if they run away, and are caught, they have been hung up without trial or jury. Some who had procured their liberty, have been hunted with horses and dogs, and shot down. While such enormities are in the land, and winked at by the rulers, shall we not lay our mouths in the dust, with this language impressed on our minds, "O Lord! just, and true, and righteous, are thy judgments." I cannot omit remarking the joy we feel, at the escape of a captive white, from among the Indians; yet, what a stir when a negro slave attempts his liberty! advertisements printed, and rewards offered to take him, alive or dead.

This afternoon, had a visit from Fransey Baubee, just returned from the assembly of Upper Canada, where the subject of slavery was closely debated. Gov. Simcoe appeared an advocate on the side of liberty. But so strong was the opposition from motives of interest, they could carry the subject no further, than liberty at twenty-five years of age, to all born after this date. Which account increased my exercise for the lamentable state of mankind. Blood touching blood, mingled with tears of the oppressed, whose groans ascend to the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. While others live on their labours, in voluptuousness, ease, and pride, spending days and nights in revelling, feasting, fiddling, dancing, drunkenness, debauchery, and abominable conversation. On which account, I do believe, the earth and its inhabitants will be made to tremble, and the ears of many be made to tingle.

25th. Took an affectionate leave of Matthew Dolson and Hannah, and divers other inhabitants of Detroit, and went on board the Dunmore; Col. England, Lieut. Henry, Ensign Ross, and Edward O'Brian, accompanying us. Many of the officers of the garrison, and inhabitants of the place, came to the wharf, to take leave of us. Among the latter, is a very respectable family, of the name of Reynolds. They have an amiable daughter, Margaret. We proceeded down the river, and at one o'clock, arrived at Capt. Elliott's house, at the mouth of it. Landed in the colonel's barge, and were gladly received by the commissioners, after about eight weeks absence: the joy was mutual. Capt. Banbury, Gen. Cheaping, and Lieut. Givenz were there. They accompanied the commissioners from Niagara.

26th. Walked down the river, one mile and a half, to Simon Girty's, a great white-man-chief among the Wyandots. He was not at home. Returned, and had some agreeable conversation with General Cheaping, on Indian affairs; also concerning women's preaching. He appears to be a judicious man in most respects.

27th. Had a solid conversation with Gov. Randolph, Capt. Ford, and Lieut. Givenz, of the army,—on slavery, war, swearing, and debauchery. When men are closely pinched, I find their nearest way to get rid of a difficulty, is a denial of the Scriptures, turn Deists, and explain away the weighty parts of the moral law.

28th. First-day. Walked three miles, and were paddled about three miles more in a canoe, by two Indians, to a meeting we had appointed on the Island of Grosseel, where fifty or sixty people collected, who behaved with solid gravity. We were favoured to feel an evidence of the simplicity, purity, and spirituality of the gospel dispensation, which I hope was preached to them in the pure disinterested love thereof. We returned with peaceful minds and thankful hearts. After meeting, a woman said, she blushed to tell me, that the preceding evening, she joined with others, in condemning us as wolves in sheep's clothing; but she was now fully convinced, that what she had been seeking abroad amongst forms and shadows, was to be found at home in her own heart; and hoped to retain a thankful remembrance of the mercy vouchsafed to her that day: adding, she did not lament her troubles and exercises, which were great, seeing they had, at length, brought her to the discovery of the way of life. Many others, I believe, were reached this day. Yet my joy was not of long continuance; for about eight o'clock in the evening, some of our jolly fellow-travellers, promoted an Indian dance, in which they joined. The Indians were about twenty in number, with several white men in the ring, and a candle in the centre. Round and round they danced, with ungrateful grunting, barking, and at intervals, screaming and hollowing—the war dance, the peace dance, the scalping dance, &c. which they continued till near midnight, frequently regaling themselves with spirits. This conduct, considering the solemn importance of our business, proved very exercising to my mind, and almost overwhelmed me with discouragement.

29th. I felt heavy, and sorrowful, on account of the last evening's conduct, which I suggested to some of our leading gentlemen. I also testified my disapprobation of such conduct, to the Indians; in which I was joined by a squaw, whose husband, by way of apology, told me, white men promoted it, and joined them in it. This I was constrained to admit, however degrading. So that upon the whole, contrasting Indians and whites, of all nations, upon the broad scale, our superiority appears but imaginary, and does not exist.

About five o'clock this afternoon, arrived Capt. Elliott, Capt. McKee, Simon Girty, and one Smith, with Ocohongehelas, the great Delaware war chief, and about twenty other Indians from Miami. The Indians encamped opposite to us, on Bay's Long Island. The white men came over to us, and informed, that the Indians were much dissatisfied, on the report of their deputation to the commissioners at Niagara; and had sent their second embassy, explicitly to declare their intentions in writing, signed by ten nations. This is to be presented to-morrow, and it is apprehended will determine the business.

30th. A deputation of twenty-five Indians, came over the river about nine o'clock; when seated, the commissioners seated before them, and we forming an angle at the Indians' right hand, after a solemn pause, an Indian inquired, "Are you ready?" Simon Girty was told to answer, yes. Then a Wyandot chief arose, took off his hat, and thanked the Great Spirit, they had met; and spoke some time, introductory to the delivery of a written message: wherein they state, that matters were not fully explained at Niagara; therefore they explicitly require an answer, whether the commissioners have power to make Ohio the boundary; and if so, immediately to remove all the inhabitants off the land, west of the Ohio? To which, Gen. Lincoln, (after all three had read it, and consulted together,) answered, they would inform them to-morrow. After this, we had a solid conference with the commissioners, on the obstacles thrown in the way, and they explained the Niagara conference; which we approved as fair and candid. This demand appeared a new matter, probably suggested by some designing enemy to peace. The letter was signed by ten nations, viz. Delawares, Shawnese, Miamis, Wyandots, Ottawas, Mingoes, Munseys, Chipawas, &c.

31st. About nine o'clock, the Indians came over the river, among whom, Ocohongehelas, the Delaware war chief, his brother, and Little Jonny, a Shawnese chief, and Carry-all-about, a Wyandot chief, were principal men. We spoke to them, and told them we were their brothers, the Quakers, come from Philadelphia, to see them. They showed joy in their countenances, and shook hands very affectionately. They told us their chiefs, who knew us, were almost all dead. We answered them, our fathers who were acquainted with our Indian brothers, were likewise mostly fallen asleep; but notwithstanding, we their children, possessed the same love and friendship for the Indians, as our fathers did; and wished it to continue to the end of time. They were very solid, and their countenances marked with the weight and importance of the business. We smoked with them; but perceiving their minds under such pressure and exercise, we did not talk much. They told us, through Girty, that they could not now say much; but would, after they got their answer. They staid about two hours, and received notice from the commissioners, that about five o'clock in the afternoon, they should have an answer to the embassy. Then they returned to the island.

This forenoon, four British officers came down from the garrison; Crawford, Vandeleur, Ross, and Eddy—also, Capt. Thomas, McGee, Baubee, Bunberry, and Givenz. Capt. Caldwell and Thomas Smith, dined with us, and waited the return of the Indian deputation. About five o'clock, the Indians came. About six, the commissioners came out.—Col. Pickering politely addressed them; then read, and Thomas Jones interpreted it into Seneca, in substance—beginning at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, twenty-five years ago, and recited the terms, that Ohio was then, concluded to be the boundary.—Then recited subsequent treaties, beginning at Fort Stanwix, about nine years ago, and one held ninety days after, at one place, another, at another, until he mentioned four different places, and the proceedings of each. That in consequence of these treaties, the United States had sold large tracts of land, which were now settled, and largely improved, on the north west side of the Ohio. Therefore, impossible now to make it the boundary: and that, in order to come to a peace, and to understand each other perfectly, by writing, was not the way. Which new mode they had adopted, contrary to all former precedents. But he explicitly declared, the United States wished for peace, on the most just and unequivocal terms. Which, as the Indians demanded, and no better way opened, were inserted—viz. That what the United States wished for, was, to have all the lands ceded by the treaty at Fort Harmer, confirmed; and a small piece at the Falls of Ohio, for Gen. Clarke and his warriors. And, if all that land could not be given up, they were commissioned to draw a new boundary, as might be agreed upon in general council, if that could be obtained; for which, they would advance more money than ever had been advanced, at any one treaty, as a purchase for Indian lands, with much goods; in addition to which, they would engage to pay an annual subsidy in goods, accommodated to their wants, equal to what they annually procured off the lands, by skins and peltry. And further, as formerly, some improper ideas had been held up, to their uneasiness, that in consequence of the right of pre-emption, given up by the king of Great Britain, and lately confirmed by Lord Dorchester, we considered all the lands east and south of the Mississippi and the Lakes, the property of the United States, without regard to Indian claims. Which right, or pretension of right, we publicly disclaimed, until fair purchase was made of the Indian owners; and this right of purchase, belonged to the United States only. That these were the leading traits of their commission. This was read by Col. Pickering, and interpreted into the Seneca tongue by Thomas Jones. It concluded about dark; when the paper, containing the above sentiments, was delivered to the old Wyandot chief, the English of whose name is, *King of all the Nations*, who said, they would reply to it to-morrow afternoon. They then departed to their camp, and we to our tents. It was a cool night; but the exercise of my mind, arising from the importance of the business, was such, that I could hardly forbear trembling. The countenances of the Indians, were so sedate, solid, and determined, that notwithstanding the propositions held out, appeared to be liberal, and well adapted to the happiness of the Indians, yet, such was their jealousy, and want of faith in our government, that I was afraid they would not take. Which apprehensions, with the screams and hollows of an Indian dance, near our tents, interrupted my repose for hours.

1st of 8th mo. I awoke about day-break; soon after, I heard ten reports of a rifle, one after another, in the Indian camp; which was one for each nation that had signed the written Indian embassy, from the council at the Rapids. About eight o'clock, fifteen of them came over, and informed, they were prepared to speak to the commissioners; who soon seated themselves: when the old king who spoke before, said, "Brothers, we want to be at peace with you; but you tell us you have had treaties there, and there, and there, and purchased lands on this side the Ohio: but there has been no treaty since the treaty of Fort Stanwix, twenty-five years ago, till now. We are the owners of these lands, and we never sold the lands, and they are ours on this side Ohio, and yours on the other side Ohio. You may go home and tell Washington what we speak. We understand all you said to us, very well. We expect you understand us." They had Simon Girty for an interpreter. They then arose, and stepped off a few perches, and spoke together, when one found he had made a mistake, in saying we might go home, and desired the commissioners to wait, till they could go to the council, and return with an answer; which they supposed might be accomplished in five days. We felt some willingness to accompany them, but the Indians not requesting it, and others not appearing desirous for it, particularly Capt. Elliott and McKee,* who were going along, we had to resign it. However, we forwarded our Address, and a short epistle to the Indians, which we had intended to send from Detroit, by Capt. Elliott, some weeks ago; but the commissioners arriving before he set out, he showed our letters to them, and they thought proper to detain them, presuming we would have an opportunity with them at the general Council, ourselves. After opening and reading them, they encouraged us to send them, though at a late stage of the business. About ten o'clock, the Indians embarked in a boat, for the Rapids; and Capt. McKee, Capt. Elliott, Thomas Smith, and Major Hay, set off in another boat, for the same place. Previous to their setting off, I took an opportunity to impress their minds with the importance of the present critical juncture; as also, how deeply the interests of humanity was involved in it. My mind is often involuntarily impressed with a secret sorrow, and sense of the want of true sincerity, in this painful business; in which I see different schemes and opposite interests are engaged; while the poor natives stand exposed as a mark, to their grievous injury, and suffering, under an undue influence.

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* See, Speech of Hekis, a chief of the Pottawotamies, page 25, of Halliday Jackson's Work on Indian Civilization, lately published in Philadelphia.

2nd. Feeling blank and empty, I took a walk into the woods, which are marshy and flat, in every place I can find, about a mile from all the lakes and rivers: which space is rich and fertile land. The inland parts of the country abounding with extensive swamps, covered with bushes, coarse grass, rushes, and flags, make harbours for such innumerable flights of blackbirds, as prove very injurious to the production of the neighbouring farms, taking nearly one-third of their small grain, notwithstanding the exertions of gunners, children, &c.

3rd. Detroit sloop came down the river, bound to Fort Erie, by which I wrote a letter to my dear H. L.

4th. Last night was wet—our tents did not exclude the mist, which wet our blankets and clothes considerably. I wrote a letter to my daughter, Mary Miller, and attended a meeting at Simon Girty's, in the afternoon; Gen. Lincoln, Gen. Cheaping, Capt. Carry Hamilton, and Givenz, with a number of Indians and Negroes, present, to our satisfaction.

Many of the officers of the army are very debauched, and immoral characters, notwithstanding their civility and kindness to us. There was a captain much addicted to profane swearing in our company, and who kept a squaw; upon being put in mind of the odiousness of such a course of life, and the danger he stood in, replied, he thought no harm would ensue—that we might think it very strange, that he never lay down, drunk or sober, without saying his prayers. Which, strange as it was, he asserted was the case.

5th. The Detroit sloop left this place, loaded with skins and peltry, for Fort Erie. I spent some part of this day, on the margin of the river, and bay. Here once stood the town and garrison of Detroit. Multitudes of graves, and many foundations of buildings are yet discoverable. We are told, about seventy years ago, the Indians rose, and in one night massacred every person in the place, except the Roman priest, who was concealed by a squaw; and also burnt all the houses. After which, the garrison was built eighteen miles higher up the river, on the opposite side, where it now stands. Since the English have been in possession of Canada, some bold attempts of like nature, have been made: one by the noted Indian, Pontiac, on the present Detroit; which, in all human probability, would have succeeded, but for some intelligence from a squaw, communicated the evening preceding the intended bloody enterprize, to the commander, who afterwards attempted to dislodge them from the suburbs. This brought on the fray, from whence bloody bridge took its name, where three officers and seventy soldiers are reported to have fallen, about a mile and a half above Detroit. When the veteran saw himself the conqueror, it inspired him with ambition to get upon

Fighting Island, and attack one of the king's ships, laden with stores for the garrison. As the channel obliged her to come within musket shot of the island, where a large number of Indians had placed themselves, and the ship lay becalmed, they poured in bullets, like hail, against her side, hoping to have sunk her. But finding, after two days experiment, their metal too light to effect their purpose, they took to their canoes, and made to her with tomahawks in hand. Many got on board, notwithstanding the efforts of the few mariners; and when all were expecting death in a few minutes, the captain, a resolute man, gave orders aloud, "Blow up the ship"—he having powder on board; and one of the Indians understanding English, terrified with the horrid orders, gave the alarm quickly to his companions, who instantly jumped off the vessel, some into their canoes, and others into the water. Thus the vessel, and many lives, were saved.

It is remarkable, that on the same day the before mentioned attempt was made on Detroit, by Pontiac; Michilimackinac, St. Josephs, and Presque-Isle garrisons were all attacked, and carried by the Indians.

6th. Last night, the musquetoes exceeded any thing of the kind I ever experienced. Universal complaint was murmured through the camp this morning; both house, tent, and ship lodgers; by which it appeared, the attack was general. This confirmed an account I heard in this country, of a fortification being erected in New Spain, in the forepart of the year, which, on account of the incredible number of these insects, which infested it, the troops were obliged to abandon.

This day, about three o'clock, whilst a large company of us were dining sumptuously, and drinking wine in the parlour, among whom were James Abbott, Sparkman, and Lawyer Roe, from Detroit, the awful language of mortality was inscribed in the kitchen, by the decease of a poor, emaciated Paunee slave, who had been declining some time. Our beloved friend, Joseph Moore, attended him, in his last moments, travailing with him, in Christian sympathy, I trust to the staying of his mind, in the solemn period. Some others, to my astonishment, treated it with as much indifference, as if only a caterpillar had been bruised. After dinner, I retired about thirty perches into a garden, where the loud peals of laughter, which could easily have been heard half a mile, were truly distressing. I mentioned the solemn subject to one of the British officers, who replied, "One of my brother officers, whom I loved dear as my life, was departing lately; I went to him, and bid him farewell; poor fellow, God help you: and returned to drink wine." A few boards being nailed together, about sun-set the same day, the corpse was put in, and attended to the grave, on the river bank, by about sixty persons, including Indians and Negroes, where Joseph Moore preached his funeral sermon; and there was an end of poor Toby's pilgrimage.

7th. A day of close inward exercise, on discovering in several of our company, an eye watching for evil, and seeking occasion to vilify and reproach us: and thereby, to undervalue, and lay waste our testimony, to the requisite purity of the gospel—and if possible, to render us as abandoned as themselves.

8th. This day, the lake is exceeding rough, which must retard the return of the Indian chiefs, who have now been gone seven days.

This evening, two Mohicons arrived from the Indian council, who brought us a letter from Captain Hendricks Apaumut, who informs, there is a prospect of a treaty commencing in a very few days.—The messengers state, that sickness, and a great mortality prevails in the Indian camp—which took off a worthy man of their nation, named Sam, with whom I was acquainted.

9th. This morning, twelve Chipawas, Delawares, and Munseys, called to see us, on their return home, having staid till their clothes were mostly in rags, and I believe, they were alarmed at the contagion. They report the decease of seventeen Indians, amongst whom were three Chipawa chiefs; and inform, that in consequence of the sickly situation, they were about to move their camp eight miles down the river, near the side of the lake. Which is agreeable to us, as it will be so much nearer, and not so much infested with musquetoes.

10th. Last evening, several of the Indians, who arrived in the morning, came to us, much disguised with liquor, and wanted more: which not being granted, they became rather sulky, rude, and insolent. One of them, who called himself Capt. Hermaunus, laid hold of me, partly in jest, and squeezed me hard, and said, you Quaker, you my brother. One said, his heart was bad, and another said, I am a devil, and my name is devil. Several of our company, best acquainted with Indians, appeared alarmed with apprehensions of danger, and did not go into their tents till near morning. About eight o'clock, one of them came from the camp, who exhibited a horrid spectacle—hallooing, I am a man—I am a warrior—dashing his fist against a tree, drew out his scalping knife, brandished it through the air with uplifted hand, roaring and making a terrible appearance. At length a sober Indian came, and took him away. However, with the trouble of Indians, and a host of musquetoes, I dont know that I slept ten minutes during the night.

We dined this day on a masquenungy, which weighed eighteen pounds; a very delicious fish. It was speared by an Indian. Lake Erie abounds with sturgeons so plentifully, that a couple of men have taken more than a ton weight before breakfast. It is said, they originated from four of that species having been put in, above the falls, by a French officer; before which, it is reported, none were to be found above the great falls; and when first discovered by the Indians, they were much alarmed.

11th. The Ottoway schooner, arrived from Fort Erie, in which came Jasper Parrish, who left Philadelphia twenty-seventh of last month. He brought me letters from my beloved brother and sister Dawes, and my daughter Mary, which were very cordial and refreshing; also, the newspapers containing much information.

This afternoon, the Chipawa fell down from Detroit, bound for Fort Erie, in which upwards of twenty Oneida Indians returned, being tired out with waiting; some had got sick, and all were ragged and dirty.

This day, had a meeting on Groes-isle, which, on some accounts, was a trying season, but we returned with peaceful minds.

12th. Wrote by way of Fort Pitt, to my dear H. L.; also a letter by Lieut. Crawford, to George Dillwyn.

13th. Our commissioners had a visit from Capt. Welbank, on his return from Navy Hall; he gave them an account, as I have before noted, respecting the treaty with the southern Indians; also mentioned some of McGillivrey's duplicity in Indian affairs; and that the Spanish governor of Pensacola told him, he was sorry he had sold off so much land to the United States; and that he could not serve two masters, he must cleave to the one or the other, and he might choose which. It appeared that McGillivrey had proposed to sell to the south branch of the Ocomic river; but the nation at large withstood it, and would give up no further than the north; to which the Creeks unitedly agreed. That divers attempts had been made to settle it, and large clearings were made upon it; but at present, he believed, there was not a standing house on the space of three hundred miles in length, and from thirty to seventy in breadth, according to the windings of the river. Which space, is the bone of contention at present, with the Creek nation. Welbank also says, the Spaniards are industriously making interest with the southern Indians, through the agency of one Oliver, a Frenchman: which is a subject of a serious nature to our government.

This afternoon, the commissioners sent off two Oneida Indians express to Col. McKee; I suppose, to let him know, that the tedious process of the business began to feel unpleasant to many of the company. One of the interpreters, Horatio Jones, had lately heard of the decease of his wife, since he left home, and several of our company were sick.

I spent this evening with Capt. Welbank, and Capt. Bunbury, at Capt. Caldwell's, where Capt. Welbank talked freely respecting the southern Indians, and their confederates; among whom was the governor of Pensacola, and the Indian nations quite to the Mississippi, and the mountain Leader also, who was considered fully attached to the interest of the United States. All which intelligence, with the present tardy process of our commission, impressed my mind with ideas of horror and distress, approaching our extensive frontier, with some doubts, that the speculation in western estates, will be disastrous to public tranquillity and peace.

14th. Col. England wrote to Capt. Bunbury, to despatch the Dunmore to Fort Erie. Bunbury, having Gov. Simcoe's orders in writing, to keep her for the convenience and protection of the commissioners, withstood the colonel's orders.

15th. Three Wyandots came to our camp, and report they have received accounts from the Indian council, that they had at length agreed to invite us to the council. This day my head felt much disordered, occasioned, I supposed, by getting wet in our tent by rain, just as we lay down. William Savery poorly, Jasper Parrish very ill, also Horatio Jones and Joseph Moore complaining.

16th. My mind much tossed—looking towards home—then to the Yearly Meeting. I took a walk down the river, where I erected a seat under the spreading boughs of a buttonwood, of whose branches and broad leaves I made a carpet, and sat myself down in the native splendor of one of the aboriginal lords of the land. I contemplated the tranquil abode of our first parents in the garden, and felt happy for a moment, which was succeeded by the reflection on Jonah's gourd, which it most resembled. I felt a necessity to breathe for the approach of that peaceful and blessed day, when every man shall sit under his own vine, and fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid.

This afternoon, two young Wyandots arrived. They looked wild and afraid. One of them was introduced to Gen. Lincoln, and handed him a message in writing, importing that the several treaties held at Fort McIntosh, Miami, Muskingum, &c. where lands had been ceded by two or three nations only, were not valid; as they had no right to dispose of lands. And as for the large sums of money proposed to be paid down for the country, they did not want it; and a great many of them did not know the use of it. Therefore, desired it might be applied, with the proposed yearly salary, to the indemnification of the settlers north of the Ohio. And as they supposed they were mostly poor people, or else they would not have settled on disputed lands; that thereby they might be induced to move off; and make the Ohio the boundary. For it was their land—the country to the westward was filled up—they had no where else to repair to, and they were determined to lay their bones in it. As to the concessions, the commissioners proposed to make, by giving money, they did not want it: next, running a new line, was but giving them a part of their own land; and as to disclaiming the right to all their country, by virtue of the peace made with the king, their father, they knew they were never conquered, and it could not be; and as to the right of pre-emption, that the United States, and they only, had a right to purchase Indian lands, south and east of the lakes, they denied the king or the United States ever having any such right. Upon the whole, it was received as a very contemptible speech by the commissioners, and strongly marked as British manufacture. The two Indian messengers had a glass of wine each, and victuals set. They eat but little, got up and slipped away, I believe conscious that the contents of their message would not be pleasing. This soon appeared to be the case, as the baggage was ordered on board the Dunmore immediately—some for safety proposing to sleep on board.

It felt exceeding gloomy to Friends. We got together to see if any thing opened further for us to do; which at present does not appear. Therefore submit the awful subject to the interposition of the Divine Hand, and turn our eyes towards our respective habitations. This evening the two runners despatched three days ago to the Indian council, returned, with only a verbal message, importing that the five nations expected us to come forward, and were moving six miles down the river, to meet us. Which appeared a cunning manœuvre of one side, or the other. I was somewhat put to a consternation, on hearing Gen. Lincoln express, they had received just such an answer as he could have wished. What his meaning was, I dont know.

17th. Several of our company slept on board the Dunmore last night, others hurrying on board this morning. Two runners were despatched with intelligence to the Six Nations. About 11 o'clock, we were all on board. My mind felt sorrowful, in reflecting on the important subject of our journey. But on turning my mind to consider, if we had omitted any thing we might have done, or what might yet remain to be done, nothing appeared to give uneasiness. I therefore rested satisfied in leaving it to the Lord, who judgeth righteously; and with joy turned mine eye homeward, willing to leave a settlement so greatly dissipated with every species of iniquity, that they appear to live almost without law, morality, or religion.

18th. Prosecuting our voyage on the lake—in the afternoon, we were nearly becalmed—had a season of solid retirement in the cabin, to our comfort and satisfaction, though held in much contempt by others, who were wise and good enough already, in their own eyes.

19th. Very little wind. Our vessel thronged, having thirty-one passengers, exclusive of the ship's crew, and two bears.

20th. Our vessel glided along in the prospect of the Looming hills, the land claimed and held by the Delaware Indians. This day, several little birds came on board our vessel.

21st. This day, we could just discover both shores from the middle of the lake. In the evening, had some religious conversation with Capt. Ford, to satisfaction.

22nd. One of our sailors laid hold of a rope on the boom of our vessel, which gave way, and he fell over the stern into the water—being a calm time, he recovered by laying hold of a rope thrown out to him.

Through the favour of Divine Providence, we came safe to anchor, about one o'clock in the morning of the 23rd, at Fort Erie. The surf was so high all that day, we could not land our baggage.

24th. We settled our accounts with Capt. Ford for our passage down Lake Erie. I agreed with the commissioners for a horse, proposing to ride home. This afternoon, Randolph, Pickering, and their servants, crossed the river to the mouth of Buffalo creek, on their way home, proposing to take the route of Albany. William Savery, and William Hartshorne, agreed to return by water, with Gen. Lincoln. Joseph Moore, and myself, went five miles down the river to lodge at our kind friend, Benjamin Wilson's. John Elliott, and John Parrish, went up the lake about eight miles, to look out some Friends, there settled.

Col. Pickering and Gen. Lincoln, through the whole of the journey, so far as I have seen, have conducted as men of religion and sobriety.

25th. Joseph Moore, and myself, visited the families of Joseph Marsh, Adam Burrell, and Joseph Havens. Went to Esau Schooley's to lodge, where we were heartily welcomed, and kindly entertained.

26th. Visited the families of John Herrit, John Cutler, and Esau Schooley. Lodged at John Cutlers, who has a family of hopeful children.

27th. Appointed a meeting at Joseph Havens. It was a solid, comfortable season. After which, John Elliott, and myself, visited Daniel Pound's family, and lodged there.

28th. Visited Joseph Havens, Adam Burrell, and Joseph Marsh's families. At the latter, we lodged.

29th. Attended an appointed meeting, at Major Powell's, where many people assembled. It was attended with a solemnity becoming the occasion.

We lodged at the house of the kind and hospitable Major Powell.

30th. Preparing for my journey through the wilderness. I lodged at Peter Wintmuts, and Friends at Benjamin Wilson's.

31st. We crossed the river at Windecker's ferry. Waited at Winey's, on Buffalo creek, for Adam Lane, who was intending for the States.

1st of 9th mo. From Winey's, at Buffalo creek, passed through twenty miles of good land—some parts swampy—others high, and suitable for wheat—abounding with limestone, sugar trees, bass wood, beech, and shellbark hickory—and about twenty miles of plains. In which distance, are three fine streams for mills, with excellent fall. Two as large as one of the forks of Brandywine, the other as large as Whiteclay creek. In the swamps and timber lands, the path was rendered difficult by hundreds of logs across the way. We met one Indian on the plains, he was pleased to see us—we gave him some refreshment. Came across Red Jacket and his family, in the woods—he was indisposed—John Parrish ministered unto him. In the afternoon, we met two armed men, who looked grim. We pressed forward as far as possible, fearing they might covet one of our horses. A little after sun-set, we turned out our horses at the east end of the great plains, kindled a fire, and began to model a tent; when sable clouds obscured the azure sky, and made an awful appearance, which was soon succeeded by tremendous peals of thunder, boisterous wind, and heavy rain. Many trees were blown down. We stood exposed to the vehemence of the elements, without any shelter, not daring to stand by trees, for fear of lightning. It lasted near three hours, then cleared away.

After this dreadful storm was over, we renewed our fire, which was almost extinguished by the rain, lay down on the wet ground, in our wet clothes, contemplated the wondrous beauty of our spangled canopy, and rested some, having rode forty miles the preceding day.

2nd. Resumed our journey through a swampy, dreary wilderness, for above twenty miles, interspersed with some ridges of very rich land. Passed over a fine stream for water works, where the water pitches off a fine limestone rock, six or seven feet at once. The banks are low and rich. Sometime after, passed over about ten miles of plains, in which is a curious spring, covering an acre and a half: the fall from it is rapid;—the stream as large as Whiteclay creek. Then passed through an Indian village, on the flats of the Gennessee river: which exceeds any land I have seen for richness; the grass, pea vines, and thistles, higher than a man's head, on horseback. Thousands of acres fit for mowing—of which a great deal is cut, and makes excellent fodder, the pods and peas contributing thereto. We forded the river, now about as large as Brandywine. This place is thirty miles south of Ontario. Lodged at Berry's, on the bank of the river, having rode thirty-five miles.

3rd. Here we were refreshed, refitted, and prepared to pursue our journey. Here many Indians resort—one old woman, supposed to exceed one hundred years—I admired her gray head. She said she was always kind and good, and always against quarrels; therefore God had spared her to see the sun a long time.

The land west of Gennessee, belongs to the Indians. Robert Morris purchased the pre-emption right of the Massachusetts State, for one hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

We persevered up the north-west side of the Gennessee river, on the ridge, above thousands of acres of rich flats along the river below, abounding with grass as high as a man's head on horse-back; and when cultivated, has produced fifty bushels of wheat per acre. Took up lodging with James Miller, at Captain Williamson's, having rode sixteen miles.—The road from Berry's, here, is good. We met a number of Indians this day, who appeared friendly. We spoke to them by an interpreter.

4th. Set out early—missed our road ten miles, and had to return. Passed on through the Gennessee country about twelve miles, mostly excellent land: then over about twelve miles of mountains, well timbered with chesnut, pine, hemlock, &c.—Then through about seven miles of piney valley, to a cabin of bark, where we struck up a fire after dark, thankful to have a house of our own: which was all the comforts we had, having nothing for ourselves or horses, to eat.

5th. Collected our horses, with some difficulty—set out soon after day-light, and rode eleven miles to Bath, the seat of Captain Williamson, a little village, where about twelve houses have been built this summer. Called at a public house, and got a breakfast of good coffee. Set out after breakfast, and rode over, and round the ends of several high, barren mountains, sixteen miles, to the Painted Post: about which, is abundance of excellent bottom and upland. Having mostly kept down the river Kohockton, for thirty miles. After refreshing ourselves, and feeding our horses, rode along some excellent low lands, and crossed the Canisticre river, at its junction with the Chemung, or Tioga river, which we rode up, thirteen miles, and got to Col. Lindley's a little after dark.

6th. Set forward up the river, nine miles, to Roberts's. Then set forward, along a tolerable road, up Tioga, for ten or twelve miles further, when we left the river, and ascended and descended several rugged hills, for about nine miles, hoping to have got to the Block-house. But the night proved very dark, and the pine timber so high and shady, that we could not make out the way. After alighting, scrabbling for some distance through mud, bushes, &c. we were obliged to give up the idea of reaching the stage. Tied the horses to the bushes, very hungry, as were ourselves also. John Parrish struck fire, which with much difficulty, we augmented into a blaze—blundered in the dark for wood, and at length got a comfortable fire. Laid down in our wet blankets and clothes; it having rained most of the preceding day, the ground was moist.

7th. Rose early, all in health, and rode about two miles to the Block-house, about thirty-seven miles from Col. Lindley's. Breakfasted, and fed our horses well; then resumed our journey, seventeen miles, to Kyle's, on Lycoming creek. The road mountainous and rough. Dined, and rode fourteen miles, to Winters's. My mare very lame, having wrenched off two of her shoes in the mountains, forty miles back. Here got our horses shod, and lodged.

8th. Attended Muncey meeting, to our comfort. Dined at Samuel Wallace's, and went to William Ellis's to lodge.

9th. Attended an appointed meeting at Muncey, in the forenoon, and one at Samuel Harris's, in the afternoon: both large,—favoured seasons.

10th. Had a solemn parting opportunity with Samuel Wallace and William Ellis's families. Left Loyalsock creek behind, crossed Muncey, and rode thirty miles, to Northumberland, a town of about thirty houses, pleasantly situated between the north and south branches of Susquehanna, at their junction: near which place, we crossed the Chilisquagus.

11th. Visited Hannah Miller, Richardson and wife, Josiah Haines and wife, in the forenoon; to the peace of my mind. Afternoon, had a solid meeting in the Methodists' house.

12th. Set out—crossed the west branch—rode down the west side of the river to Litle's ferry, where I rode the river: having travelled thirty-one miles. Lodged at Michael Bowers's, whose wife is a daughter of Cornelius Lane, and desired her love to Thomas Gibson.

Litle's ferry is twenty miles from Harrisburgh, and about three miles from Peters' mountain.

Hence, the company proceeded to their several homes—having been absent on this toilsome, exercising journey, about four months and a half.

JACOB LINDLEY.

10804

Montreal 29th April 1793

Sir

This will be delivered to you by Mr Molloy
Conductor of Indian Stores, and I Request your
Excellency will please to give orders for his being Sent
forwarded with the Goods for Detroit and Michilimac
=kinac, there is not Articles in the Indian Store
to Compleat the Requisitions of Either of the Posts
but I hope the Indian goods Expected from England
may arrive in Time to have it done without any
detriment to the Service. I am afraid that I shall not be
able to quit Montreal so as to pay my Respects to your
Excellency as I intended, I propose to send my Son with
the Copies and Extracts from the Indian Records —

Mr John Gray sent me Several dispatches
for Niagara, all of which are forwarded by Mr Molloy
I have the Honor to be with Very great Respect

Sir
Your Excellencys
most Obedient &
most Humble Servant

Joseph Chew
S. I. A

His Excellency
Governor Simcoe

Navy Hall, 29th April. 1793.

Dear Sir,

There has been a meeting here between the Indians of the Six Nations from Buffaloe Creek & those of the Grand River — It was in consequence of the Meſsage sent by O'Beal & Brant's Answer — but unfortunately O'Beal did not receive the Answer owing to the Drunkenneſs of the Meſsenger to whom it was entrusted, so that he was not present —

The papers enclosed for your perusal & Numbered, 1, 2, & 3, were delivered by the Farmers Brother; — this meeting broke up with the utmost Harmony, after resolving that Captain Brant should immediately proceed to the Council which the Western Indians have requested to meet at the Miamies preparatory to the General one at the Sandusky; & that the Six Nations would wait for the Seven Nations of Canada & accompany them to Sandusky.

It is impossible that any thing can have appeared more cordial than the general Conduct of this meeting as far as it has been reported, & Captain Brant assures me that he has no doubt but that the Farmers Brother has faithfully related what happened at Philadelphia—

The people who made the treaty with General Putnam, & who were at Philadelphia when the Farmers Brother was in that City, had a talk with him, & intimated that the Grand River Indians were those who prevented Peace, & sent the severe Messages that had hitherto prevented the Indian Nations of whom they called themselves the Representatives, from paying Respect to the Messages of the Six Nations—

You will probably be more fully informed of these particulars by Capt. Brant.

I have you may be assured done my utmost to promote that Harmony & Union among the Indian Nations so necessary to their safety — I have urged to the Commander in Chief the necessity of forwarding the seven Nations of Canada & hope that the meeting will be numerously attended.

Brants Ideas relative to the boundary, seem to be in my opinion; in general just, that *they* should adhere to the line given in to Lord Dorchester, except, in a few places, *Galiopolis* or *Marietta* for instance, actually inhabited, which may be given up, but the boundary precisely marked.

If this event should take place, & the Indians insist upon this *line*, It will follow, that as they have not

altered their original determination,
tho' flushed with Victory, they will have
a right that no intervening treaties with
other tribes shall take place; & this assertion,
will of course annihilate the late Treaty
with Putnam — supposing all this effected
I agree in Captⁿ Brants opinions, that for
the future prevention of hostilities, & the
purpose of free Communication, between the
Southern Indians & Western Confederacy,
that ~~they shall~~ it should be proposed, by them that no Indian
Nation shall sell their Lands, without
Consent of the general Council; neither
those who possess the Banks of the
Ilinois, nor even the Senekaes who
claim the Lands in front of Niagara,
tho' in fact as a conquered Country
it belongs to the Confederacy of the
Six Nations — should this Determination

take place, we should establish the first Article of our Boundary, (proposed at Montreal) & make the Indian Territory form a line seperating the British & the United States — this would be a most *important Measure* — but as I stated to Brant, it must be proceeded on with great Circumspection, & not hinted at 'till the Commissioners shall have sailed from Sandusky.

I have thought it proper to give you this slight Sketch of my views, & to shew the leading Part, that Brant is willing to take — I of course, in my Instructions to you shall dilate upon them, & together with the treaties & Records which I expect in a fortnight from Montreal, shall transmit you every information that I think may be of Service —

I expect Mr Selby with impatience, who as poſseſsing your Confidence, is entitled to mine — My whole thoughts are absorbed in the hopes of serving my King & Country & your Services may therefore command my best aſsistance & that of all with whom I have influence either of a public or private Nature — being

with great Esteem

Your true Servant

J.G.S.

I fear Colonel Butler will not be able to attend, his health seems to fail him very rapidly —

Alex. McKee Esq.
Dy Agent for
Indian Affairs
Detroit.

Lt G Simcoe

to Colonel McKee
containing
Col Simcoes Ideas
on the Indian
Boundary

who informed me his sister[1] would send me a letter to be forwarded, but none is yet come to hand, neither have I received any letter for yourself from any quarter.

With every good wish for the prosperity of your Government I am, my dear Sir,

Your most faithful,
ALEXANDER DAVISON.

Colonel Simcoe.

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## FROM E. B. LITTLEHALES TO THE CHEVALIER DE LORIMIER.

à NIAGARA, le 29 avril, 1793.

Monsieur,

Son Excellence le Gouverneur Simcoe, m'a ordonné de vous ècrire au sujet d'un Collier, qui a été laissé chez Mons. Launier à la Nouvelle Beauce. C'est le même dont vous avez déja ecrit à Monsr. Coffin pour en donner connoissance à son Excellence, le General Clarke.

Je vous prie d'envoyer le dit Collier aussi promptement qu'il vous sera possible aux sauvages de Sept Villages du Bas Canada, comme c'est une adresse de la Grande Assemblée des Sauvages de l'Ouest, qu'on a envoyés aux Six Nations, sur des affaires que tiennent à leurs plus grands interêt. Il importe beaucoup que les Sept Nations montent immediatement, pour se trouver au Conseil qui doit se tenir proche des Miamis, avant que de rendre au general grand Conseil de toutes les Nations qui va l'assembler à Sanduski au mois de juin. Son Excellence me prie de vous faire ses remerciements, et de vous temoigner combien il est content de votre zéle pour l'interêt de sa Majesté, aussi de la Grande Bretagne et ses provinces.

Je me prie aussi de faire agreer ses compliments à Madame Lorimier.

J'ai l'honneur d'être tres sincerement, Monsieur,

Votre tres humble srt.
E. B. LITTLEHALES.

à Monsr. Lorimier &c.
près de la ville de Johnstown. Haute Canada.

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## FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

NAVY HALL, April 29th, 1793.

Dear Sir,

There has been a meeting here between the Indians of the Six Nations from Buffaloe Creek & those of the Grand River.—It was in consequence of the Message sent by O'Beal & Brant's Answer—but unfortunately O'Beal did not receive the Answer owing to the Drunkenness of the Messenger to whom it was entrusted so that He was not present. The Papers enclosed for your perusal, &c. Numbered

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[1] Mary Anne Burges, sister of J. B. Burges (1763-1813), "a learned and accomplished lady. In addition to Latin and Greek, she acquired a familiar knowledge of French, Spanish, and Italian, and spoke the three languages with fluency and correctness. German and Swedish she read with facility. She contributed largely to the illustrations of M. de Luc's 'Geological Travels in the North of Europe and in England.' She was not less versed in botany, and left among her papers a MS account of the British lepidoptera, beautifully illustrated. She was further a musical composer, and a performer of no mean repute; nor was she less proficient in drawing, painting, etching, and needle-work." Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir James Bland Burges, Edited by James Hutton, p. 289.

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It is impossible that anything can have appeared more cordial than the general Conduct of this meeting as far as it has been reported, & Capt. Brant assures me that he has no doubt but that the Farmer's Brother has faithfully related what happened at Philadelphia—The People who made the Treaty with General Putnam[1] & who were at Philadelphia when the Farmer's Brother was in that city, had a talk with him, & intimated that the Grand River Indians were those who prevented Peace, & sent the severe Messages that had hitherto prevented the Indian Nations of whom they called themselves the Representatives, from paying Respect to the messages of the Six Nations.

You will probably be more fully informed of these particulars by Capt. Brant.

I have, you may be assured, done my utmost to promote that Harmony & union among the Indian Nations so necessary to their safety—I have urged to the Commander in Chief the necessity of forwarding the Seven nations of Canada above that the meeting will be numerously attended.

Brant's Ideas relative to the boundary seem to be in my opinion in general just, that they should adhere to the line given in to Ld. Dorchester, except in a few places, *Galiopolis* or *Marietta* for instance, actually inhabited, which may be given up but the boundary precisely marked.

If this event should take place, & the Indians insist upon this *Line*, It will follow, that as They have not altered their original determination, tho' flushed with Victory, They will have a right that no intervening treaties with other tribes shall take place, & this assertion will of course annihilate the late treaty with Putnam—supposing if this effected—I agree in Capt. Brant's opinion that for the future prevention of hostilities, & the purpose of free Communication between the Southern Indians & Western Confederacy, It should be proposed by them that no Indian Nation shall sell their Lands without the consent of the general Council, neither those who possess the Banks of the *Illinois;* nor even the Senekas who claim the lands in front of Niagara, tho in fact as a Conquered Country it belongs to the confederacy of the *Six Nations*—should this Determination take place, *We* should establish the first Article of our Boundary, (proposed at Montreal) & make the Indian Territory form a Line seperating the British & the United States—this would be a *most important* Measure—but as I stated to Brant, it must be proceeded on with great Circumspection, & not hinted at till the Commissioners shall have sailed from Sandusky.

I have thought it proper to give you this slight sketch of my Views, & to shew the leading Part that Brant is willing to take—I of course, in my Instructions to you shall dilate upon them, & together with the Treaties & Records which I expect in a fortnight from Montreal, shall transmit you every Information that I think may be of service—I expect Mr. Selby with impatience, who, as possessing your Confidence, is entitled to mine—My whole Thoughts are absorbed in The hopes of serving my King & Country, & your services may therefore command my best assistance & that of all whom I have influence either of a public or *private* Nature, being with great esteem your true Servt.

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[1] Rufus Putnam, an engineer, one of four brigadier generals, recently appointed by Washington. On September 26, 1792, he had concluded a treaty at Vincennes by which some of the Pottawatamies and other nations had agreed to put themselves under the protection of the United States. These Indians were promised peaceable possession of their lands. The advantage secured was the interposition of friendly tribes between the hostile Miamis and the Southern Indians.

J. G. Simcoe.

I fear Colonel Butler will not be able to attend for his Health seems to fail very rapidly.

To Col. McKee.

I understand Genl. Lincoln, Colo. Pickering & Mr. Randolph are to be the Commissioners.

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## FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO D. W. SMITH.

(Private.)

Detroit, May 1st, 1793.

My dear Sir,

In my last by the Speedwell I mentioned to you the difficulties I had in fitting out and getting Mr. McNiff to proceed on the Survey directed by you of the River Thames. Since then he has taken his departure, but not before I was obliged after repeated *promises* to make Mr. O'Brien assure him by letter that the party he took with him should be paid their hire immediately on their return, and that they should have each two shillings Halifax a day. For the due execution of this covenant I rely totally on you and the bounty of the Governor. The promise I am sensible is irregular but I have no other method of having the wishes of the Governor accomplished than by agreeing to the payment.

You are sufficiently acquainted with Mr. McNiff[1] to know that the shadow of a difficulty is sufficient to impede for years any service he is directed on, and the only means left was for me to remove all his objections by making myself the responsible person. I hope the purpose of his expedition will be fully answered but I have very strong doubts, and if I am to judge by the sketch of the survey he has made on the rivers on the South shore of Lake St. Clair and which he presented to me, I apprehend the Governor will be disappointed in the information he expects from him on his return. I will answer for it there was never such a sketch delivered by any Surveyor as a guidance for granting nearly sixty lots of land of six acres in front. If my information is correct there are as many more lots on those rivers, but for some reason I do not comprehend Mr. McNiff reports there are not more lots than he mentioned in his sketch.

The 16th Inst. is fixed for granting those lots which are much sought after, and I hope before then to hear from you about the propriety of establishing those settlements without making the usual Reserves. The sketch marks seven lots in front on each side of the rivers and four rivers, so that each river produces

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[1] Patrick McNiff had been employed as a deputy surveyor in Upper Canada for about ten years. He was reputed to be an agitator and instrumental in spreading discontent among the settlers. Major Mathews in 1787 reported that he formed a party to oppose and criticise government measures.

# Extracts from an Act concerning intercourſe with the Indian Tribes.

BE *it enacted by the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States of America, in Congreſs aſſembled,* That if any citizen or inhabitant of the United States, or of either of the territorial diſtricts of the United States, ſhall go into any town, ſettlement, or territory, belonging to any nation or tribe of Indians, and ſhall there commit murder, robbery, larceny, treſpaſs or other crime, againſt the perſon or property of any friendly Indian or Indians, which, if committed within the juriſdiction of any ſtate, or within the juriſdiction of either of the ſaid diſtricts, againſt a citizen thereof, would be puniſhable by the laws of ſuch ſtate or diſtrict, ſuch offender ſhall be ſubject to the ſame puniſhment, as if the offence had been committed within the ſtate or diſtrict, to which he or ſhe may belong, againſt a citizen thereof.

*And be it further enacted,* That if any ſuch citizen or inhabitant ſhall make a ſettlement on lands belonging to any Indian tribe, or ſhall ſurvey ſuch lands, or deſignate their boundaries, by marking trees, or otherwiſe, for the purpoſe of ſettlement, he ſhall forfeit a ſum not exceeding one thouſand dollars, nor leſs than one hundred dollars, and ſuffer impriſonment not exceeding twelve months, in the diſcretion of the court, before whom the trial ſhall be: And it ſhall, moreover, be lawful for the Preſident of the United States, to take ſuch meaſures, as he may judge neceſſary, to remove from lands belonging to any Indian tribe, any citizens or inhabitants of the United States, who have made, or ſhall hereafter make, or attempt to make a ſettlement thereon.

*And be it further enacted,* That no purchaſe or grant of lands, or of any title or claim thereto, from any Indians or nation or tribe of Indians, within the bounds of the United States, ſhall be of any validity, in law or equity, unleſs the ſame be made by a treaty or convention entered into purſuant to the Conſtitution: and it ſhall be a miſdemeanor, in any perſon not employed under the authority of the United States, in negociating ſuch treaty or convention, puniſhable by fine not exceeding one thouſand dollars, and impriſonment not exceeding twelve months, directly or indirectly to treat with any ſuch Indians, nation or tribe of Indians, for the title or purchaſe of any lands by them held, or claimed.

*And be it further enacted,* That the Superior Courts of each of the ſaid territorial diſtricts, and the Circuit Courts, and other courts of the United States of ſimilar juriſdiction in criminal cauſes, in each diſtrict of the United States, into which any offender againſt this Act ſhall be firſt brought, or in which he ſhall be apprehended, ſhall have, and are hereby inveſted with full power and authority, to hear and determine all crimes, offences and miſdemeanors againſt this Act; ſuch courts proceeding therein, in the ſame manner, as if ſuch crimes, offences and miſdemeanors had been committed within the bounds of their reſpective diſtricts: And in all caſes, where the puniſhment ſhall not be death, the County-Courts of Quarter-Seſſions in the ſaid territorial diſtricts, and the Diſtrict-Courts of the United States, in their reſpective diſtricts, ſhall have, and are hereby inveſted with like power to hear and determine the ſame.

*And be it further enacted,* That it ſhall and may be lawful for the Preſident of the United States, and for the Governors of ſuch territorial diſtricts, reſpectively, on proof to them made, that any citizen or citizens of the United States, or of the ſaid diſtricts, or either of them, have been guilty of any of the ſaid crimes, offences or miſdemeanors, within any town, ſettlement or territory, belonging to any nation or tribe of Indians, to cauſe ſuch perſon or perſons to be apprehended, and brought into either of the United States, or of the ſaid diſtricts, and to be proceeded againſt in due courſe of law. And in all caſes, where the puniſhment ſhall be death, it ſhall be lawful for the Governor of the diſtrict, into which the offender may be firſt brought, or in which he may be apprehended, to iſſue a commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer to the ſuperior judges of the diſtrict, who ſhall have full power and authority to hear and determine all ſuch capital caſes, in the ſame manner, as the ſuperior-courts of ſuch diſtricts have, in their ordinary ſeſſions: And when the offender ſhall be brought into, or ſhall be apprehended in any of the United States, except Kentucky, it ſhall be lawful for the Preſident of the United States, to iſſue a like commiſſion to any two Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Judge of the diſtrict, in which the offender may have been apprehended or firſt brought; which Judges, or any two of them, ſhall have the ſame juriſdiction in ſuch capital caſes, as the circuit-court of ſuch diſtrict, and ſhall proceed to trial and judgment, in the ſame manner, as ſuch circuit-court might or could do.

*And be it further enacted,* That all fines and forfeitures, which ſhall accrue under this Act, ſhall be, one half to the uſe of the informant, and the other half, to the uſe of the United States, except where the proſecution ſhall be firſt inſtituted on behalf of the United States, in which caſe, the whole ſhall be to their uſe.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, *Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.*

JOHN ADAMS, *Vice-Preſident of the United States and Preſident of the Senate.*

Approved March firſt, 1793,

**Gº: Waſhington,** ***Preſident of the United States.***

Depoſited among the Rolls in the office of the Secretary of State.

TH; JEFFERSON, *Secretary of State.*

*Department of State, to wit,*

I hereby certify that the foregoing are true Extracts from an Act intituled "*An Act to regulate trade and intercourſe with the Indian tribes.*"

*In teſtimony whereof, I have cauſed my Seal of Office to be hereunto affixed, this* 7th day of [illegible] 1793.

Th: Jefferson

Sir,

Deputations from the Indians Inhabiting the different parts of this District convened Yesterday in Council, and at the close thereof, communicated the result of Their deliberations, which was addreſsd to me in the following terms.

Father; You have resided amongst Us many Years; You aided Us in time of danger against Our Enemies; And considering You One of ourselves, being adopted in Our Nations, as Brother to Our Father Egushewai; for which reasons We are encouraged to hope, that you will take Us by the hand and lead us to the right road.

We have received Meſsages from different parts, intimating, That it was the desire of Our Father, "That the Chiefs & Warriors should convene this Spring at the Foot of the Rapids, of the Miamies River," To such Meſsages We are resolved not to give ear; And have unanimously determined not to leave Our Habitations till directed so to do by You, in the Name of Our Father residing at Detroit.

We have ever been devided in Our Councils but now, We are of the same mind, and with one voice, say, That We will pay the greatest attention to the summons of Our Father; And if He thinks proper

We will every Man exert Ourselves to facilitate His good intentions. This our Determination, We requ That You will (in our Names) acquaint our Father with; And solicit That He may impart His intention; and let us know, whether He is inclined, That We should all proceed to the Great Council fire, or whether it is His will, That the Chiefs & Principal Leaders only should go thither: And at what time He desires we should meet. We furnish you one of our best Runners, in order that We may know our Fathers sentiments immediately!!

I thought it prudent to detain Them till I could hear from You, Sir, particularly, as a number of Young Men were inclined to proceed to Detroit without Their Chiefs, which consequently would have been productive of inconvenience to the Inhabitants, an no small trouble to you.

I must take the liberty to observe, that I never saw Indians so Zealously attached or better inclined to Government than those are at present: Nor did I ever experience better treatment in any part of the Indian Countries, than I received at this Post during the Winter & Spring. I have the Honor to be

Sir,

Your most Obedient and
Very Humble Servants

J. Schieffelin

Saguina 7th May 1793

Sir, Williamsburg May 11. 1793.

I arrived here last evening, with Mr. Randolph on our way to the treaty. Jasper Parrish must go with us as an interpreter for the Six Nations. The letter for him, accompanying this, is to desire him to meet us to-morrow evening at Berry's; that we may proceed next Monday morning for Niagara. Should Mr. Parrish be absent, may send for him and hasten him on after us: for he [illegible] dispensably necessary to us; because we shall want to converse with the Six Nation Chiefs on our way to & probably at Niagara.

Please to favour me with an answer by the Bearer, who is to meet us at Berry's to-morrow evening.

I understand your father is at Albany, or I should have gone myself to-day to Kanandaigua to see & converse with him.

I am Sr. most hble servt.

Mr. Israel Chapin Timothy Pickering

On public busineſs

Mr. Israel Chapin junr.

Caniandaigua

By William Holden
Expreſs

T. Pickering

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Canawagus, at Berry's May 13. 1793.

Sir,

I find that Little Billy's ſickneſs has reduced him to poverty. He has applied to me for relief. I know his worth, and that he has been in great estimation with his nation. He has been a great traveller among the Indian nations westward & southward. He is determined to go to the enſuing treaty at Sandusky: for though by his ſickneſs he has nearly loſt the ſight of his eyes, yet he ſays he is in pretty good health; and can counsel and ſpeak as well as ever. He is intelligent; and as a war chief will be likely to have an important influence among the western warriors: I therefore feel ſolicitous that he should be with us. For this purpose a ſuit of decent Indian cloathing will be neceſsary for him; and with that I request you to furnish him, having regard to his rank as a chief warrior. — His wife also needs ſome cloathing. It ſeems that both have been ſtripped by doctors & conjurers, in order to effect his cure. It is my wiſh that ſhe also may have a decent ſupply of cloathing.

The reasons I have mentioned will juſtify the ſupplies to Billy and his wife, which I have now requested: and I am willing to be reſponſible for the ſame.

I am, Sir, your moſt h'ble ſerv^t.

Timothy Pickering

Mr. Israel Chapin jun.

But you must see that as the Indians are the best Judges on what terms a Peace may be made that shall secure their interests, and at their own requests, as I have directed their Agents to attend, fully to explain to them any circumstances which they may not clearly understand in the Negociations between them and the Commissioners of the United States, it would be unnecessary for me to give any opinion on the precise Boundary that may be requisite to secure the stipulations of the treaty now depending from being hereafter violated.

Since the Government of the United States have shewn a disinclination to concur with the Indian Nations in requesting of His Majesty the permitting me to attend as a Mediator at Sandusky it would be highly improper and unreasonable in me to give any opinion relative to the proposed boundaries with which I am not sufficiently acquainted, and which Question I have studiously avoided entering into, as I am well aware of the Jealousies entertained by some of the Subjects of the United States of the interference of the British Government which has a natural and decided Interest in the welfare of the Indian Nations, and in the establishment of Peace and permanent tranquility.

In this situation I am sure you will excuse me from giving to you any advice which from my absence from the spot cannot possibly arise from that perfect view & knowledge which so important a subject necessarily demands.

Be assured of my best wishes for the Union, Prosperity, and Peace of the Indian Nations, and that I am with great personal regard, Dear Sir, &c.

J. G. Simcoe,
*Lt. Govr. Upper Canada.*

Capt. Brant.

*Endorsed:—4. In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas No. 93.*

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## CAPTAIN BRANT'S JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE GENERAL COUNCIL HELD AT THE FOOT OF THE RAPIDS OF THE MIAMIS.

May, 1793.

May 17th.

This day I arrived at Detroit with the Indians of the Six Nations & Delawares from the Grand River, on our Way to the Rapids of the Miamis, agreeable to an invitation from our Western Brethren. Not finding any Indians here, we despatched a Runner to call them to the foot of the Rapids, the proposed place of Meeting.

22d.

We arrived at the Foot of the Rapids and not finding any Indians assembled, we sent a Second Runner to call them to the Council as they were to kindle the fire.

24th.

We sent a third Runner with a large Belt to the same purport as the former to which Messages we received no answer.

June 3rd.

We sent another Messenger directed in particular to the Delawares, during this time many evil Reports were circulated against me by the Shawanoes, saying

I was a Traitor, & that I only came there to receive Money and that they would have nothing to do with me, this the Messenger informed me of.

9th.

A Party of the Principle Men of the Shawanoes and Delawares arrived at the Foot of the Rapids.

From this time to the 15th Inst, no business was transacted and the evil reports against me still Continued;—I must here remark that it has always been an invariable Rule amongst Indians when they meet, to go through the Ceremony of Condolence and to Welcome Strangers, to their Country or Fire Place, but seeing no appearance of this, I at last Determined to call a Council with the Indians here Viz, The Shawanoes, Delawares, Miamis, Wyandots & one tribe of the Lake Indians to endeavour to remove any evil impressions or suspicion they might entertain of me, having met I went through the usual Compliments with a large Belt and removed all obstructions, that their might be no impediment in the Way of Public Business—this they Should have done.

I then Address'd them as follows:

BROTHERS;—

Seeing the business we are invited here to assist in is at a Stand, I have thought it advisable that we should meet together to know the Reason. We are come here with good intentions, but if you have received bad impressions respecting me I request you will now explain it and let nothing remain upon your Minds that may be in the Way of our Public Business.

Capt. Johnny, Chief of the Shawanoes after returning the Compliments Viz. Spoke,

BROTHERS;—

I am very sorry that you imagine that we should entertain any bad thoughts of you, if there are any bad birds they ought to be Punished. We are met here as Brethren to Consult for the Good of all our People, & I hope that we will be more intimate than we have been, and let us encourage our Young Men to live Sociably together. We must have Patience in this Business which is of Great importance and Cannot be done hastily.

The Chief of the Wyandots then Spoke as follows;

BROTHERS;—

I am happy that we have gone thro' our Ancient Customs, I now confirm what the Chief of the Shawanoes has said and request you will pay no attention to any evil reports but attend to the Business before us which Concerns every thing that is dear to us.

Captain Brant then replyed.

BROTHERS;—

There are bad Birds amongst us or there soon will be, whom it is our business to guard against. They will say that they know the Minds of the Commissioners but we must not listen to Spies, who we ought to Banish, as we mean to Meet these Commissioners we will hear from them what they have to say. N.B. At this time I was informed that Capt. Hendrick was at Detroit & to whom I alluded.

BROTHERS;—

We have had various meetings with the Americans, but none of such importance as this Will be, it therefore Stands us in need to give it the most serious Attention, and requires the greatest Prudence & Unanimity amongst ourselves for upon the event of it Depends the future ease and happiness of ourselves & our Posterity, let us therefore cooly consider our true Interest, and disregarding every other object. Pursue that, which is the only means of rendering real service to our Country. I therefore request your serious attention to the great Object of this Treaty, which if you suffer now to escape may not offer again.

BROTHERS;—

We have come a great way to Attend this Council. We know that a Boundary must be established between us and the Americans & we recommend that all your People should attend the Council when a line is agreed upon.

A Belt of Wampum.

Notwithstanding this Friendly Council we were kept at the Same Distance as before and evil reports still Continued against Me. The Shawanoes, Delawares and Miamis, held Private Councils many nights, to which none of the Six Nations were invited.

From 15th June to the 1st July no Public Business was transacted, at this time Colonel McKee asked me in Private if I thought it proper that Indians should be sent to meet the Commissioners at Niagara, and to know if they were impowered to make a New Boundary Line, to which I replied that I thought it a very Proper Measure, but was of opinion that the Principal Chiefs should not be sent, my views in this was that in case the Commissioners answer was unfair or unfavorable we might have time to meet our Enemies.

July 1st;

The Principal Chiefs came to the Six Nations and proposed a Deputation to the Commissioners, and asked my opinion of the Measure, as we had before thought it proper we agreed to proceed the next day and Selected the Chiefs who were to be the Deputies.

2nd;

The Deputies of which I was one, Set out in a great hurry, & some Confusion ensued when we met the Commissioners as no Person was appointed to deliver our Message to them, & which ought to have been done previous to our Departure.

21st;

We returned to the Foot of the Rapids.

23d;—

We met in Council when the Deputies informed the Confederacy that in Consequence of the Business they had been charged with they had met the Commissioners of the United States at Fort Erie, I then made an apology and told the Confederacy that the Deputies went off in a hurry and did not act according to our Ancient Customs, and they ought to have been prepared in what they had to say before they left this, and finding they were Confused when we met the Commissioners, I opened our Business and requested the Shawanoes Chief, (Canawya) to Deliver it. I then informed the Council that the Deputies had acted in the best Manner they could, but if they had omitted any thing or had not done right it could easily be remedied: here the Chief of the Delawares (Buckongehalis) interrupted me in a very abrupt manner, and said he was surprised the Deputies could be at a loss when they met the Americans, those of his Nation had been instructed and knew perfectly how they were to Act, and it was known that the Shawanoes were the People who were to Speak. The Interpreter (Isaac) opposed the Delaware Chief, and told him it was not Customary for a Speaker to be interrupted, and that any reply must be deferred until the Speech was delivered.

I then Delivered the Speeches that Passed between the Deputies & the Commissioners.

Capt. Johnny then Spoke.

BROTHERS;—

We have now heard from the Deputies an Account of their Proceedings in consequence of which I recommend that the different tribes assembled here Consult by themselves. But he did not according to Custom direct their attention to any Particular Object.

I then told the Ottawa Chief (Egushwa) that I thought the Deputies had not Merited the treatment they had received and that I was Conscious they had acted for the best & that my own Situation and that of the Six Nations was particularly hard as I was in a great measure Blamed for every thing and after doing every thing I could to forward the Business they were passing away the time and did not wish to come to any Point Whatever this was hard upon those People who had left their Families at a great Distance and were doing nothing.

July 24th;—

The Ottawa Chief with two others and an Interpreter came and told me he had a few Words to say concerning what passed in the Council yesterday he said he was sorry to see the behavior of Buckongehalis, altho it was not interpreted to the Ottawas yet his Desagreeable looks could not escape his observation, as well as that of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Poutawatamies, in consequence of which the Chiefs of the above mentioned Tribes had a private Meeting yesterday evening, the result of which was that they were to meet me this day to Communicate their sentiments.

He then addressed himself to me as follows;

BROTHER;—

I have considered of the proceedings of the Deputies who were sent to meet the Commissioners of the United States and to settle the Terms upon which a treaty could take place, I am sorry that any difference should have arisen and have to inform you that the Chiefs of our Tribes are perfectly satisfied with your Conduct and that the end you were sent for is Answered.

We now acknowledge and we always have the obligations we are under to you.

You were the Promoter of this Confederacy and from your knowledge of the English, of the Americans, & the Indians, you are able to judge of our true Interest, we therefore place full Confidence in You and are thankful for your exertions these many years past for our Colour, we remember the long journeys and fatigues you have frequently undergone for our interest therefore whatever steps you take in this Business we will agree to, he then said that the Chiefs of their tribes would meet me this afternoon.

To which I returned the following Speech.

BROTHERS;—

I am happy that my endeavours for the good of the Indians, and my Conduct is agreeable to you, I have no other view but the interest of the Indians, and to which all my exertions have uniformly tended notwithstanding which I have displeased some of the Confederacy, but I am Determined to persevere in the same Line from which neither Threats nor Promises from any Part shall make me deviate, but it gives me great concern to be rewarded with ill Treatment.

Some business prevented the Chiefs from Meeting me this Afternoon.

July 25th;—

The Chiefs of the aforementioned tribes met us at the Back of our Camp, 12 of the Grand River Chiefs were present. The Ottawa Chief from Michilimakinac spoke as follows;

BROTHERS;—

The principle men of the Ottawas, Pottewatamies & Chippewas are come here to pay you a Visit.

BROTHERS;—

When we received the Message to attend this Treaty, we got upon our legs & proceeded, we have come a Great way & our intention was to sit behind the rest and hear what Passed, we understand that we were to Strengthen and renew our Union but that has not been done.

BROTHERS;—

The Ottawas, Pottewatamies, and Chippewas renew their former Friendship with the Six Nations and Brighten the Chain.

BROTHERS;—

We the Sachems Chiefs and Warriors and the Women and Children, give our heads, our hands, and our hearts to yours, to be firmly united ought to be the first Business of the Confederacy and by that Bond prolong the Days of our Women and Children, what we say proceeds from our hearts in the presence of the Great Spirit whose Eye is upon us.

BROTHERS;—

We have a few Words more to say concerning the Meeting which took place upon the return of our Deputies. They explained the Speeches that passed between them and the Commissioners which appeared to be very proper, and we were satisfied with what had been done, and did not think that more would have been said at that time on the subject, no part of the Commissioners' Speech appears unreasonable, every part promises fair and their minds seem well Disposed, our Intentions are Sincere, we therefore think a Meeting ought to be held, we should come to the point at once, but we are so long about it that Accidents may happen and prevent this fair opportunity. We all know on what terms we should agree, let us therefore draw those People nearer who are impowered to treat with us.

BROTHERS;—

We have now received our Friendship and are of one Mind, but we expect to meet with difficulties and if they press upon, we must join our heads together and Speak with one Voice and Mind, we place full Confidence in you and Depend upon your Sincerity in Acting for us.

3 Strings Wampum.

As the Chiefs from Buffaloe Creek were not present those from the Grand River undertook to Answer for them. The foregoing Speech being so reasonable there could be no doubt of their agreeing to it.

After Consulting with the Six Nations, I replyed as follows;

BROTHERS;—

We have paid great attention to your Words and I hope we understand them thoroughly, it is supposed this Meeting was intended for the good of the Confederacy for which reason you have renewed our Ancient Friendship in the strongest and most friendly Manner. It gives us great Pleasure to observe the open manner you have Acted & which your Speech fully shews we now return you our sincere thanks for what you have Done, we have been in the dark for a long time and could not see what passed, there was a Mist before our eyes which you have expelled and as this Obstacle is removed nothing can prevent us from joining our hearts to yours for the good of the Confederacy, whatever we have done is for your interest as well as our own, who look upon as remaining in this Country, we are sorry that some tribes will not pay any attention to any thing that opposes their Views of War, but it is our Business to put them right, and if we can by a peace obtain our just rights, it ought to take place and we will not join those few People if they will be so unreasonable as to wish to involve us in trouble when we have no object to Contend for.

BROTHERS;—

It makes me happy that the Conduct of the Deputies meets your approbation we certainly Acted to the best of our knowledge, and what we delivered was the result of Councils before we left this, and if they changed their Minds afterwards, we ought not to be Blamed. We were not authorised to fix the Boundary line but to know from the Commissioners if they were impowered to make a Boundary.

BROTHERS;—

What you have said respecting bringing the present matter to a Conclusion appears to us reasonable, the Season is far advanced and after having come a great way we are remaining here to little or no purpose, we therefore agree with you that those people who are impowered to treat with us should be nearer.

BROTHERS;—

We thank you for the Confidence you have put in us, we will continue to act for the good of the Confederacy from which nothing shall make us Deviate.

3 Strings Wampum.

BROTHERS;—

You the Ottawas, Pottewatamies, and Chippewas, we have now settled so far with Sincerity in the Presence of the Great Spirit who we hope will Assist us.

BROTHERS;—

Will you make known with this Belt our Sentiments to the rest of the Confederate Indians.

A Large White Belt.

The Chiefs accordingly went to the Council house and sent twice to the Chiefs of the other Nations, but they paid no attention to the Message, upon which they Broke up, and came and informed the Six Nations, who in the evening communicated the Business to the Hurons and asked their private opinion in a friendly manner. They Complimented us and promised to give us an answer the next morning.

26th;—

The Hurons instead of answering the Six Nations according to their Promise were employed till 12 o'Clock in private Councils with the other tribes.

About 12 o'Clock the Confederacy met in General Council, when after the usual Ceremonies the Hurons Chief (Chenolou) Spoke as follows;

BROTHERS;—

Of the Six Nations & you our younger Brethren the three tribes of the Lake Indians, we request your attention to what we the Shawanoes, Hurons, Delawares, Viz. have to say in answer to what you informed us of yesterday evening.

BROTHERS;—

We are sorry that you have broke the Confederacy, and removed the Council fire, you have made the Council fire Drunk, you well know the Determination of the Council of the Glaize last fall and which you are now Acting contrary to. This is Scandalous & Shamefull, we hope you will consider seriously of this Meeting and have patience, it is no matter how long, Sandusky was appointed as the place of meeting and there only it can take place, at that Place we the Hurons will Deliver our Sentiments which nobody is at present acquainted with, a private Consultation then took place between the Six Nations & Lake Indians when the Six Nations proposed that as Objections were made, they should in the present instance give way and agree to Sandusky, but the Lake Indians disaproved of it and said their Cloaths were worn out and they could not go further, in their opinion the treaty ought to take place at the Mouth of this River & that the Ground where the treaty was held could make no difference. The Six Nations agreed to this Proposal and I was requested to Deliver it in Council.

BROTHERS;—

You the Hurons have answered what we informed you of yesterday evening, we then asked your private opinion. You must certainly understand us, we did not remove the fire place we only gave it as our opinion that the Treaty might be nearer the whole of our Speech is calculated for the good of the Confederacy and so far from Breaking it we are now come here to make it Stronger which we have often done before, and we only complain of the Hardships we labour under in being kept here to no purpose, in the Course of two Months that we have been here this is only the third Public Council. We understand that the Confederacy were to Consult here what terms they would make Peace upon, when they met the Commissioners at Sandusky, but we have not yet been made acquainted with any Determination and as the time is passing away it is our opinion that the treaty should be held nearer.

BROTHERS;—

You said well, when you mentioned that the Fire got Drunk, as we observed that Drinking prevailed and perhaps the Smell of the Rum made the Council fire Drunk.

BROTHERS;—

You say the General Council of the Glaize cannot be altered, had not unnecessary delays taken place, we should not have named a place nearer but finding the time trifled with, we wished to bring the treaty to a Conclusion as soon as we Conveniently could, you must remember that you proposed the Meeting long ago, had that taken Place we would have had time to have gone to Sandusky.

BROTHERS;—

It appears Strange to us and we think you wrong to say that you will not deliver your Sentiments until you come to Sandusky. This is the place that was appointed for the sentiments of the Confederacy to be made known to each other, you must here explain your opinion and when we meet the Commissioners, we must Speak with one Voice, this is what was agreed upon at the Glaize last Fall.

BROTHERS;—

We hope you will make your mind easy with respect to the Lake Indians and the Six Nations, they are come here at your request to assist you in making peace for this *our* Country and they have no object in View but your Good.

BROTHERS;—

You recommend Patience to us, you are at home with your Families but you must remember that we have not the same Conveniency.

BROTHERS;—

We assure you before the Great Spirit that we do not mean the least Deviation from the Confederacy, and our hearts are true to their Interest.

A White Belt.

At this time we placed a Moon of Wampum and a Dish with one Spoon in the Council which Signified that the Country was in Common.

Captain Johnny then spoke as follows;

BROTHERS;—

We Return you the Six Nations thanks for your Speech and for renewing our Ancient Customs, we hope you are satisfied, let us therefore proceed in the Public Business, we must now form another Speech to the Commissioners.

The tribes then withdrew to Consult, the Shawanoes, Hurons, Miamis, Delawares, etc. together. The Six Nations and Lake Indians by themselves when they were Seated the Shawanoes Chief Spoke as follows;

BROTHERS;—

We are withdrawn here to form another Message to the Commissioners, we must Strike a Boundary line, that line must be the one agreed upon at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. I must here observe that the opinion of the Six Nations was not Asked, which I thought strange as in a matter of such importance the opinion of all the tribes should have been asked. The Shawanoes Chief then asked me to put down in writing the Words that were to form the Message. But afterwards the Chief of the Wyandots formed the Message & Lieut. Selby put down the Words in Writing, I was then asked to Sign the Message which I refused as I disapproved it, it was then proposed that young men should be the bearers and the Six Nations were Desired to turn out two, but instead of this the Principal Chief of the Shawanoes and the Delawares went to meet the Commissioners.

28th;—

The Message was sent to the Commissioners.

Aug. 5th;—

The Chiefs returned from the Commissioners who they told when they received their Answer that they might go home or return to Mr. Washington, and they would then have returned had it not been for Captain Elliott.

The Chiefs this day gave an Account of their Proceedings with the Commissioners and Delivered the Answers.

The Six Nations observing from the actions of the aforementioned Indians that no Treaty was intended, as their Situation began to be unhealthy they prepared to Return home, some Shawanoes Chiefs upon this came to the Six Nations and requested them to stay a few days longer as in a Day or two they would come to a final Determination. To which the Six Nations readily agreed.

7th;—

The Confederacy met in General Council, Capt. Johnny Speaker, about this time the Creeks arrived, after repeating what the Six Nations had said some days ago respecting the Moon of Wampum and the Dish with one Spoon, he produced four Strings of Wampum and a Pipe and tobacco which a Warrior of the Creeks took and Spoke as follows;

BROTHERS;—

I am happy that a Council was held at the Glaize last Fall and that in consequence thereof the Confederacy are now met, and I am now come to strengthen the Union and altho these our Strings are small they are full of meaning, our Confederacy is like a house with four Doors and all the Indian Country is in common, it appears to be most exposed to the Eastward but we are determined that no part of it shall suffer if in our power to support it.

4 Strings Wampum.

BROTHERS;—

This is our Pipe, I now take it up to Smoke as a Warrior which I am, our Nation has Smoked it. The White people to the Eastward are encroaching upon our lands, we are Determined to oppose them and we are able to Drive them Back, we shall not sit down until fall, altho we have got up it is not our whole strength. Part of our Force is at present sufficient to repell them, the rest will be ready to Defend any other encroachment.

This Pipe is sent to the Northern Part of the Confederacy who we expect will smoke it that the Southern part may observe the smoke in the Sky, and those that do not smoke it, we shall look upon as not belonging to the Union & who do not mean to Defend their Country.

A Pipe & Piece of Tobacco.

The Pipe & Tobacco was delivered to the Seven Nations of Canada, who with the Six Nations answered as follows;

BROTHERS;—

You have presented us a pipe requesting us to join in the war, but we must defer answering you on that subject until we have settled the Business we are come here upon and our answer will in a great Measure Depend upon the Result of the proposed treaty with the Commissioners, the Pipe must therefore be put away for the Present.

The Pipe returned.

The 7 Nations told the Shawanoes they hoped no more delays would be made and requested they would appoint a Place near at hand, for Meeting the Commissioners.

The Shawanoes replied that what they had said was very reasonable, they then appointed a place about eight miles below this, and proposed that Lieut. Selby should write a Letter which they would send the next Day for the Commissioners, when they came to dictate the Letter Lieut. Selby told them that they ought to answer Part of the Commissioners' Speech before they sent the Letter. The Indians then proposed a Meeting Next Day to form an Answer to the Commissioners.

9th;—

The Six Nations received a Message that a General Council was to be held when we were Met, Captain Johnny the Shawanoes Spoke as follows, to the Six Nations;

BROTHERS;—

We acknowledge that you the Six Nations formed the Present Uuion, you also joined the Creeks & other Nations to the Southward, you remember the Treaty held at Sandusky shortly after the War, and that the King our Father recommended to us to live in Peace with our Neighbours, at that time you recommended the strictest union as the only means of Preserving our Country and making ourselves respectable, you advised us that whenever a treaty was proposed by the United States, we should all be present, you said you knew the Americans would have Lands, and as the whole Country was in Common whatever was done in presence of the Confederacy would remain firm, if a Meeting was called in the Six Nations Country, we were to attend there & if called here, you were to come to us, but I am sorry to add that this Advice has not been followed, small Treaties have been held at Fort McIntosh and other places, to which all our troubles since are owing.

BROTHERS;—

At a meeting of the Confederacy some years ago, on account of the misunderstanding between us and the Americans we agreed to meet them on the Muskingum in 1787, but this was not conducted properly only a few attended and it created fresh trouble, after this inattention to what had been agreed upon in Genl. Council, you the Six Nations left the affairs of the Union to the management of us the Shawanoes, Delawares, & Twightwees.

4 Strings White Wampum.

BROTHERS;—

Last Fall we met at the Glaize where we strengthened & renewed our union, at that time you the Six Nations arrived with a Message from the United States, setting forth that they wished to have a treaty, we acceded to their request and appointed Sandusky as the place of Meeting. We then mentioned the Conditions upon which we would make peace, and stated that the old Boundary line which is the Ohio should be continued if the Americans agree to that line, we shall be convinced they are in earnest, and wish a lasting Peace.

BROTHERS;—

We are willing to meet the Commissioners of the United States but our Boundary must be Old line which is the Ohio River, this is our real Sentiments. We now expect to hear also your Sentiments.

A Bunch Wampum.

A Chief of the 7 Nations then said;

BROTHERS;—

We have just heard what the Shawanoes, Delawares, & Twightwees have said. We are ready to Deliver our sentiments but as the Six Nations are better acquainted with the past transactions we think they should Speak first.

Having consulted with the Six Nations, I delivered their sentiments as follows;

BROTHERS;—

I am happy to have at last an opportunity of Speaking to you together it is what I have long wished for, we are now required to deliver our sentiments which is very proper, but that is not to say that we should adopt the opinion of any one part, and by Comparing our ideas together we will be enabled to form a Judgement of our real interest, whatever opinion appears best calculated to support that should be observed, I therefore only request your attention to such part of our Words as appears calculated to promote our future Welfare.

BROTHERS;—

In the first place I am under the necessity of repeating some part of what you have said respecting our former transactions.

When we were at Sandusky, we, upon looking back and weighing the situation of the Indians, gave our opinion for uniting them as you have observed, it was apparent that nothing but that was left to preserve our rights and our Country, we also thought it proper that if the United States wished to treat with us that we should all attend on such an occasion as we will know that Partial treaties would never be observed, and that nothing could be permanent without the Concurrence of all the Nations in a General Council, you have acknowledged the truth of this in mentioning the small treaties that took place at Fort McIntosh and other places.

In consequence of this we advised you to attend a Treaty at the Muskingum, but after this was agreed to difficulties were started by the Miamis, who said they would not attend as the Great Nations above were not present, we had then agreed upon that river as the Boundary, and you the Hurons in particular were of our opinion, when we answered at Sandusky that the Hurons here present and some Delawares had sent word to the American Commissioners that their Nations would at all events agree to his terms, which afforded General Sinclair an opportunity of taking the advantage of us and making what terms they Pleased with those who attended.

BROTHERS;—

After taking every Precaution for the good of our Country & finding our advice unattended to, we saw that all our exertions were ineffectual, we therefore resigned the Concerns of the Union to the three tribes you have mentioned, we advised them to follow our Steps and act with prudence, we told them that nothing must be done rashly, and in case a war with the States they should not be the aggressors and that the necessity they were under in commencing a War should be clear to the World.

4 White Strings Wampum.

BROTHERS;—

I again repeat that we request your attention only to such part of our Speech as may be for your welfare, and any thing that you look upon as contrary we wish you to point out.

BROTHERS;—

It is well known that for these many years past, we have exerted ourselves for the Confederacy and no part of their situation has escaped our Notice, but after the most serious Attention to their Affairs and after Deliberating & Maturely Weighing in our Minds our Force, Resources, and every local advantage we Possess, we declare our sentiments from the bottom of our hearts that the Boundary of the Muskingum if adopted in General Council, is for the interest of us all and far preferable to an uncertain War, you must likewise consider my Brethren that you referred this line to Lord Dorchester two years ago. I therefore beg of you not to be rash and consider the Consequence of a War in which we are not unanimous.

A Large Bunch of Wampum.

The Chief of the 7 Nations then Spoke;

BROTHERS;—

It is my time to Speak now, as I mentioned before that I was ready. Open your ears to what I have to say, in this Bunch of Wampum are my words and they will be between the Six Nations & the Shawanoes.

BROTHERS;—

I have attended to what you and the Shawanoes have said respecting your former transactions, which I was not well acquainted with before for which reason my belts & words shall be to you to decide upon. My opinion when I left home was that we were to defend the Old Boundary which is the Ohio, and in this opinion I was confirmed by the English as I passed their Posts, you may think I speak very free, as I live at a Great Distance, but whatever you determine upon I will abide by, my words must be true as I have only one mouth.

A Large Belt of Black Wampum, and a Number of Strings laid between the Six Nations & Shawanoes.

I then replied,

BROTHERS;—

We have only delivered our opinion as we have resigned the business of the Confederacy, those Nations are to Determine.

The Chief of the Seven Nations said;

BROTHERS;—

Our Nations have been neglected by the Union, therefore it cannot be expected that we could know what was going forward the only information we had was from the English, our ears were stopped by the Indians and except the Council last Fall and the Present one we have not been invited to attend, but we again repeat that we are ready to Defend the Boundary of the Ohio.

I then Replied as follows;

BROTHERS Of the 7 Nations, part of what you have said is not true, you must recollect that when we met at Sandusky, that if a Treaty was Necessary we were all to attend, we were invited to a Meeting at Fort Stanwix, and you were acquainted therewith and did attend, the Wyandots went as far as Niagara and Returned, only two or three Shawanoes were Present, we arrived at that Place before you did but had come to no Business, when you came there you passed our Camp and went to that of the Oneidas where you remained during that Council, when we found the Americans insisted upon having their own terms we came away but you remained, how then can you say you are neglected and when we found how you acted we did not think it proper to make you acquainted with our Business in this quarter.

This day, the Chiefs of the Shawanoes and those of the Hurons, Delawares and the 7 Nations of Canada come to the Six Nations and spoke as follows;

BROTHERS;—

We have since yesterday been thinking seriously of your opinion in the last Council, we know that your knowledge of the White People exceeds ours, and that you are from that enabled to form a better Judgement of our Affairs than we can, for which reason we are now come to tell you that we mean to adopt your opinion respecting the Boundary line.

A Bunch of Black & White Wampum,

Remark)

After this meeting, I was informed that Col. McKee had a private Meeting with the aforementioned Chiefs at twelve o'Clock at Night.

We met in General Council when Captain Johnny (Chief of the Shawanoes) addressed himself to the Confederacy as follows;

BROTHERS;—

We now are to explain our final Resolution with respect to this Business, our opinion is that the line made in 1768, and which is the Ohio from its Source, is our just Boundary, we will therefore transmit our Sentiments to the Commissioners, who, if they will not relinquish our Lands, may return. We with this Bunch of Wampum unite our Warriors and this Belt contains the Sentiments of the Chiefs to support them, we now pass it to the different tribes of the Union for their Ratification, and it is our opinion that it should be deposited with the Hurons, the Elder Nation. The Belt and Bunch of Wampum was then passed to the Different Nations, the 7 Nations said they would defend that line, but the Six Nations again stated the Muskingum as the most reasonable Boundary. To which Buckongehalis, the Chief of the Delawares replied by Isaac the Interpreter & pointing to Col. McKee, said that is the Person who advises us to insist on the Ohio River for the line. Soon after the Result of this Council was sent to the Commissioners and the Six Nations moved about eight Miles from the Foot of the Rapids to a place called Swan Creek, where they received a Message to attend a Council at the Rapids.

When we were met the Chief of the Hurons spoke as follows;—

BROTHERS;—

In our former meetings we informed you that we would deliver our sentiments at Sandusky, but as we cannot meet there we will now deliver what we have to say.

Two large Belts.

BROTHERS;—

These Belts and the Words belonging to them are yours, one of them is a belt of peace, and the other is a Road of Communication and these are the Pledges, of the Peace made between our Ancestors.

I replied;

BROTHERS;—

Altho we have no knowledge of these Belts of our Fore-fathers, we return you thanks for preserving them, it is very well to renew them, but we think they should have been Produced at our former meeting.

I then addressed the Confederacy.

BROTHERS;—

Since the Council is now over and you are come to a final resolution, we hope success will attend you, at this time it is not in our Power to assist you, we must first remove our People from amongst the Americans, and if any Choose to remain they must abide the consequence and it is owing to the English that they have not removed from there before.

It affords us satisfaction to learn from all their Speeches that our Brethren the 7 Nations are prepared to assist you, their women & children can be no obstacle as they are in a safe Situation.

A Belt of Wampum.

In the Evening the Chiefs of the Lake Indians, came to our encampment and requested us to promote a peace upon the boundary of the Muskingum which we promised to do and Delivered them a map with the lines marked on it.

When the Council was over a War feast was prepared, and the Chiefs of the Shawanoes singing the War Song encouraging the Warriors of all the Nations to be active in defending their Country, saying their Father the English would assist them and Pointed to Col. McKee.

When we arrived at Detroit a Deputation of the Lake Indians overtook us and repeated what they had before said they gave us a Belt with a Number of Streaks across it and said the tribes which these Streaks represent have made Peace with the Americans, and that they would go to Post Vincent and make Peace also.

*Endorsed;—Miamis Rapids, 1793, Capt. Brant's Journal.*)

## MESSAGE FROM THE WESTERN INDIANS TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

August 13th, 1793.

BROTHERS;—

We have received your speech dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations, we have been long in sending you an answer because of the great importance of the subject, but we now answer it fully having given it, all the consideration in our Power.

BROTHERS;—

You tell us that after you had made peace with the King our Father, about ten years ago, "it remained to make peace between the U. States, and the Indian Nations who had taken part with the King, for this purpose Commissioners were appointed who sent messages to all those Indian Nations, inviting them to come

The Commissioners of the United States for making Peace with the Western Indians beg leave to suggest to Governor Simcoe, ——

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That the very high importance of the negociation committed to their management makes them desirous of using every proper means that may contribute to its success ——

that they have observed with pleasure the disposition manifested by the Governor to afford every requisite assistance in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty with the hostile Indians: But all the facilities thus afforded, and all the expences incurred by the British Government on this occa will perhaps be fruitless, unless some means are used to counteract the effect of deep = rooted prejudices and unfounded reports among the Indian Tribes; for the Acts of a few bad Men, dwelling among them, or having a familiar intercourse with them by cherishing those prejudices, or raising and spreading those reports, may be sufficient to defeat every attempt to accomplish a peace, —— as an instance of such unfounded reports, the Commissioners have noticed the of a Mohawk from Grand River —— "that "Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace "to give up any of their Lands"——

The Commissioners further observe that if any transactions at former treaties were exceptionable, the principles of the present treaty are calculated to remove the causes of complaint; for the views of Government are perfectly fair. and altho' it is impossible now to retrace all the steps then taken, the United States are disposed to recede as far as shall be indispensible, and the existing state of things will admit —— and for the Lands retained to make ample compensation ——

The views of the United States being thus fair and liberal, the Commissioners wish to embrace every means of making them so appear to the Indians, against any contrary suggestions;— Among these means the Commissioners consider the presence of some Gentlemen of the Army to be of consequence: for altho' the Indians naturally look up to their Superintendants as their Patrons, yet the presence of some Officers of the Army will probably induce them to negociate with greater confidence on the terms of Peace —— Independtly of these considerations the Commissioners for their own sakes request the pleasure of their company.

The Commissioners, feeling the greatest solicitude to accomplish the object of their mission, will be happy to receive from the Governor every information relating to it which his situation enables him to communicate— He must be aware that the sales and settlements of the lands over the Ohio founded on the Treaties of Fort McIntosh, and Fort Harmar render it . . . impossible now to make that River the boundary. The expression of his opinion on this point in particular will give them great satisfaction.

Navy Hall. June 7th 1793. (a true copy)

Edward Baker Littlehales

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Navy Hall June 7. 179

Colonel Simcoe Commanding the Kings Troops in Upper Canada has the honor in answer to the Paper delivered to him this morning by the Commissioners of the United States for making Peace with the Western Indians to state to those Gentlemen, that He is duly impressed with the serious importance of the Negotiation committe to their charge, and shall be happy to contribute every proper means that may tend to its success. He much obliged to them for the polite manner in which they have expressed their sense of his readiness afford them such facilities as may have been in h power, to assist in the preparatory arrangem for holding the Treaty —— He is perfectly a that unfounded reports and deep rooted prejud have arisen amongst the Indian Tribes; but whether from the Arts of a few bad Men living among them He cannot pretend to say; but He must observe upon the instance given by the Commissioners of one of these unfounded Reports "that a Mohawk from Grand River should say that "Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, "but not to give up their lands," is of that nature that cannot be true, the Indians not having as yet applied for his advice on the subject —— and it being a point of all others on which they are the least likely to consult the British Officer Commanding in Upper Canada ——

Colonel Simcoe con[illegible] himself perfectly justified in admitting on the requisition of the Commissioners some Officers to attend the Treaty and therefore in addition to the Gentleman appointed to controul the delivery of the British Provisions, &c, &c. He will desire Captain Bunbury of the 5th Regiment, and Lieutenant Givens who has some knowledge of one of the Indian Languages to accompany the Commissioners. — Colonel Simcoe can give the Commissioners no further information than what is afforded by the Speeches of the Confederated Nations of which General Hull had authentic Copies — but as it has been ever since the Conquest of Canada, the principle of the British Government to unite the American Indians that all petty jealousies being extinguished the real wishes of the several Tribes may be fully expressed, and in consequence, all Treaties with them may have the most compleat ratification, and universal concurrence, so He feels it proper to state to the Commissioners that a jealousy of a contrary conduct in the Agents of the United States appears to him to have been deeply impressed upon the minds of the Confederacy.

To the Commissioners of the United States for making Peace with the Western Indians. —

(a true copy) E. B. Littlehales

Gov.r Simcoe to the Commissioners
of the U.S. with His Excellency's
answer

June 1793

# Proceedings of a Council held at Fort Erie 9th June 1793 —

Present

Lt Col Butler Deputy Agent for Indn Affairs
Qr. Master Green 5th Regt Commg. Fort Erie
W. B. Sheehan
Wm Johnston
Johnson Butler

With the Chiefs of the Six Nations and Missesaque Indians

The Cow Killer a Principal Seneca Chief after going through the usual Ceremony of Condolence addressed himself to Lt Col Butler as follows —

Brother

We Sent for you to Say a few words and are Sorry in hearts for the Occasion, the Accident which has happened in your Family has troubled our minds It is a Custom handed down to us from our Wise Forefathers to Condole with our Bretheren for any loss the have Sustained — We therefore with these Strings wipe the tears from your eys, we Clear your throat that you may Speak to us and we Wipe the Blood from your Sight that the great loss you have met with may not Obstruct you from hearing your Bretheren and attending to their Affairs as usual

3 Strings White Wampum

Brother

As you long have had the Care of us and are acquainted with the Ceremonys that took place in the time of the late Sir William Johnson - as he is now no more we look up to you who know his Custom of treating us. We therefore with these Strings hope to ease your Mind of the Weight with which it is Oppreſsed lest exceſsive Sorrow Should Deprive us of your Fatherly Care and Aſsistance also. We therefore Cover the Grave from your Sight with these

4 Strings Blk & White Wampum

Brother

It has always been Customary with us to take the earliest Opportunity to remove Sorrow from the Minds of our Friends, and as a tear may Still remain on your Cheek with these Strings we wipe it Dry, and remove all remaining impediments that you may see us clearly as heretofore

3 Strings White wampum

Brother

We have now finished Condoling with you in the name of the Sachems, Chiefs, Warriors, and Chief Women of the Six Nations, We wish ease to your mind & invoke the Great Spirit for your Preservation

To Which D Col Butler Returned the following Answer

Bretheren

I have attentively heard what you have said & I thank my Bretheren of the Six Nations for the Affection the expreſs for me and for the Part they take in the Miſfortune that has happened in my family and as far as in me lies I will follow their kind advice

4 Strings White Wampum

Bretheren

On your Second Strings you mention the Customs of your Wise forefathers, and of the late Sir William Johnson, With which I am acquainted and as far as my Power extends I shall Pursue them, as they must always tend to the advantage of my Bretheren the Six Nations and the Indians in General, I return you my gratefull thanks for your Affectionate Concern for me personally. it is true Life is uncertain, but whatever Portion of it is allotted me in this World Shall be Devoted to your true Interest & Service

4 Strings Black & white Wampum

Brothers

I am perfectly Sensible of the Kindness you have Shewn me in takeing the earliest Opportunity of Condoleing with and request you will inform all the Six Nations of my thanks for their attention to me on this Occasion

3 Strings White Wampum

Bretheren

I am Sorry that my Health will not permit me to attend the treaty at Sandusky, I recommend to you Unanimity without which nothing you do will have effect

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Copy No 5

Navy Hall. June 22d.
1793.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the general Wishes of the Indian American Nations over whom You have for so many Years exercised the Office of Deputy Superintendents, with so much Zeal in the Service of your King & Country, & so much Honor to yourselves, I hereby direct & authorize you to attend at the Meeting proposed to be held between those Nations & the United States of North America at Lower Sandusky—

The Government of the United States to whom the Desire of the Indian Americans has been communicated that you should be present at the proposed meeting at Lower Sandusky, has acquiesced in the propriety of the Requisition, which acquiescence effectually protects you from the Imputation of being Intruders, or of being actuated by any Unfair or improper Motives in giving your Attendance—

My Speeches to the Indian American Nations, will have clearly explained to you, that You are not to consider yourselves in the light of Mediators between the contending Parties—

the Duty of your Mission is solely in answer to the Request of the Indian Americans to explain to those Nations faithfully the Nature & Tendency of the ~~American~~ Offers of the United States ++ to illustrate the treaties documents & Maps herewith transmitted ++ & to exert your Ascendency over the Indians in inclining them to accede to those Offers if they be consistent with their safety & benefit ~~of the Indians~~ or to reject them if they seem likely to prove injurious to their real Interests—

In the exercise of this great & important trust, I hope it is needless to recommend to you the utmost caution & circumspection; you must be aware that your Conduct will be narrowly watched, & in proportion as the Offers of the Commissioners of the United States may be unreasonable or unavailing, they will be sollicitous to discover any thing in your Language or conduct that may impress the People of the States with the Belief that It is not the Injustice of the Federal Government or the Obstinacy of the American Indians, but the Interposition of the British Agents which has prevented the Restoration of Peace—

I recommend therefore Gentlemen, that your Conduct be not only circumspect in general, that your Advice be given as has been usual in your Department privately to some of the Chieftains, or that your Disapprobation if it shall be necessary to have a general meeting be expressed rather by Silence, if that may be effectual, than by words, but that you in general shelter yourselves from all intercourse with the Commissioners of the United States by some ceremonious System — & I presume this may easily be done, after some general Civility's, by declining any further meeting, on the reasonable grounds, that the Indians may be jealous, & by intrusting any business that may happen between you & the Commissioners to arise to Lt Selby or Captn Bunbury, who ~~at~~ the request of those ~~Commissioners~~ Gentlemen with Lt Givings accompany them to the [illegible] Council —

But in thus wishing to guard you against any Communications with the Commissioners that may lead to unnecessary discussions, or that may give any cause for that misrepresentation which I am persuaded, it is ~~very proper~~ for you should avoid with the utmost Caution, I am anxious that you ~~should~~ shew to these Gentlemen every civility that may be in your power, & manifest upon all occasions that Kindness & Urbanity which It is with great Pleasure ~~that~~ I have experienced, to be natural to your temper & Inclinations —

But above all, tho I am not inclined to believe Rumours nor do I know from the Commissioners what may be the Ultimatum of their Offers, I most earnestly intreat & recommend by every thing that can be estimable to men of your Character, & who are vested with so solemn a trust that in case the Indian Americans should refuse the Offers of the Commissioners, & the Congress should break up with mutual dissatisfaction, that you prevent ~~it~~ if possible ~~forcible~~ any injury or insult that might be offered to the persons of Commissioners; & that you exert all your power & influence to this effect in a far greater degree that you would do, should I have been at the

Council for my personal Protection & Safety —
The Commissioners from what They have learn'd, have Expressed Apprehensions on this subject, & I am sure I need not dilate with what horror any sinister Event that should happen to these Gentlemen would be received by the Commander in Chief, Ld Dorchester the British Nation or our most excellent Sovereign —
It will give me the most intire Satisfaction to learn that such principles of moderation & Justice shall prevail between the contending Parties as that a safe & solid Peace may be established among them, & that the Indian Americans may in all quarters be sensible of the Bounty of the King their Father & remain inviolably attached to his Subjects & Government —

I am Gentlemen with great
Regard — Your most Obedient
and
very faithful Servant

(Signed) J Graves Simcoe

John Butler
and
Alexander McKee Esqrs.
Deputy Superintendants of
Indian Affairs

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1793.

Gentlemen

In compliance with the general wishes of the Indian American Nations over whom you have for so many Years exercised the Office of Deputy Superintendants, with so much zeal in the service of your King and Country, and so much Honor to yourselves, I hereby direct and authorize you to attend at the meeting proposed to be held between those Nations, and the United States of North America, at Lower Sandusky —

The Government of the United States to whom the Desire of the Indian Americans has been communicated, that you should be present at the proposed meeting at Lower Sandusky, has acquiesced in the propriety of the Requisition; which acquiescence effectually protects you from the imputation of being Intruders, or of being actuated by any unfair or improper Motives in giving your Attendance —

My Speeches to the Indian American Nations will have clearly explained to you, that

you

John Butler, and Alexander M$^{c}$Kee Esq$^{res}$
Deputy Superintendants of
Indian Affairs —

The Duty of your Mission is solely in answer to the Request of the Indian Americans, to explain to those Nations faithfully the Nature; and Tendency of the Offers of the United States, to illustrate the Treaties, Documents, and Maps herewith transmitted, and to exert your Ascendancy over the Indians in inclining them to accede to those Offers if they be consistent with their safety and benefit, or to reject them if they seem likely to prove injurious to their real Interests ——

In the exercise of this great, and important trust, I hope it is needless to recommend to you, the utmost Caution, and Circumspection; you must be aware that you will be narrowly watched, and in proportion as the offers of the Commissioners of the United States may be unreasonable or unavailing, they will be sollicitous to discover any thing in your Language or Conduct that may impress the People of the States with the Belief that it is not the Injustice of the Federal Government, or the Obstinacy of the American Indians, but the Interposition of the British Agents which has prevented the

Restoration

your Conduct be not only circumspect in general, that your Advice be given as has been usual in your Department, privately to some of the -- Chieftains, or that your Disapprobation if it shall be neceſsary to have a general meeting, be expreſsed rather by silence, if that may be -- effectual, than by Words; but that you in general shelter yourselves from all intercourse with the Commiſsioners of the United States by some -- ceremonious system —— and I presume this may easily be done, after some general Civilities, by declining any further meeting, on the reasonable grounds, that the Indians may be jealous, and by entrusting any buſineſs that may happen to- arise between you and the Commiſsioners to Lieut. Selby, or Captain Bunbury who at the request of those Gentlemen with Lieutenant Givens accompany them to the Council ——

But in thus wishing to guard you -- against any Communications with the --- Commiſsioners that may lead to unneceſsary - discuſsions, or that may give any cause for that misrepresentation which I am persuaded, it is

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every civility that may be in your power, and manifest upon all occasions that Kindneſs, and Urbanity which it is with great Pleasure, I have experienced to be natural to your Tempers & Inclinations;—

But above all, tho' I am not inclined to believe Rumours, nor do I know from the Commiſsioners what may be the Ultimatum of their offers, I most earnestly intreat, and recommend, by every thing that can be estimable to Men of your Character, and who are vested with so solemn a trust, that in case the Indian Americans should refuse the offers of the Commiſsioners, and the Congreſs should break up with mutual diſsatisfaction, that you prevent (and if poſsible foresee) any injury or insult that might be offered to the persons of the Commiſsioners; and that you exert all your power and influence to this effect in a far greater degree than you would do, should I have been at the Council, for my personal Protection & Safety.—

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It will give me the most entire satisfaction to learn that such principles of Moderation and Justice shall prevail between the contending Parties as that a safe and solid Peace may be established among them, and that the Indian Americans may in all events be sensible of the Bounty of the King their Father, and remain inviolably attached to his Subjects, and Government —

I am

Gentlemen, with great Regard,

Your most Obedient
and
very faithful Servant

J Graves Simcoe
Lt Govr of Upper
Canada —

J. Butler & A. McKee Esqrs

## SPEECH OF COLONEL SIMCOE TO THE WESTERN INDIANS.

NAVY HALL, June 22nd, 1793.

Children and Brothers,

I have chearfully and readily to the utmost of my power complied with the request of Your General Council held at the Glaize the last autumn, and that of the Six Nations at Buffaloe Creek, who transmitted to me the wishes of the Indian Confederacy.

Children & Brothers,

In order to enable you to meet the United States in the ensuing Spring, you ask of me such assistance as I knew that you would stand in need of, particularly Provisions, "which your unsettled situation does not allow you to procure in your troubled country."

Children & Brothers,

I have in consequence given orders that you may be amply supplied with Provisions to enable you to prosecute so good a work, as the establishment of Peace in Your Country.

Children & Brothers,

My sentiments towards you are the same as have been expressed by Lord Dorchester who is the Great Chief of all the King your Father's People in British America, and I repeat to you what he said to the Deputies of your Nations, two summers ago at Quebec, "I leave the Command of this Country in the hands of Major General Clarke, who will take the same care of you, that I have done, for that is the will of the King our Master. His Benevolence & friendship for you are always the same, and whoever is the instrument of the King's power in this Country, will always fulfil his intentions." You see therefore it is the duty of Major General Clarke and it is my duty to show the most cordial friendship & regard for the Indian Americans.

Children & Brothers,

I received your Belt to lead me to the Council Fire at Sandusky, I answered to you, "that had the people of the United States concurred in the Invitation, I had but little doubt but the benevolence of the King Your Father would have permitted me to have gone into Your Country; But as the United States did not think proper to concur in the request, my presence at Sandusky could have answered no good purpose." But I have not been unmindful of Your Interest.

Children & Brothers,

You say, "We have a reliance on our Father seeing justice done us—He never deceives us and we have always found that we may confidently depend upon him."

You desire "that all Papers, Maps, Records & Treaties relating to the Indians may be brought to Sandusky," you say, "that not being in a situation to keep or procure any writing to assert our just claims, we rely on your friendship to produce those made at the Settlement of the Boundary between us and the King our Father and his people at that time for how otherwise can a just accomodation be accomplished?"

Children & Brothers,

You shew your wisdom, established on experience, when you say that your Father has never deceived you, and that you have always found that you may confidently depend upon him.

You may confidently depend upon the King Your Father; He will never deceive you; and so strongly is the love of Truth impressed by his Example and Orders on all who are the delegates of his Power in this Country, that the youngest of our chief warriors would be degraded from that character was he capable of deceit or Falsehood.

When at Quebec two summers ago you told Lord Dorchester, the Great Chief of all the King Your Father's people in this Country "there are people who say the King your Father when he made Peace with the United States gave away your Land to them." What was his answer? He said, "I cannot think that the government of the United States would hold that Language, it must come from ill-informed Individuals."

Children & Brothers,

The truth of this answer of Lord Dorchester has been fully confirmed by Mr. Washington the President of the United States, and particularly by Mr. Pickering, one of the present Commissioners, who duly authorized by him formally addressed the following words to the Five Nations. "We claim no Lands but what belong to the Nations who sold to us; we claim not a foot of the Lands of any Nations, with whom we have yet held no Treaties." You see therefore that what has been told has been proved to be Just & true; The Documents Records & Treaties between the British Governors—in former times and your wise Forefathers, of which in consequence of your request authentic copies are now transmitted to you, all establish the Freedom & Independency of Your Nations.

Children & Brothers,

These authentic Papers will prove that no King of Great Britain ever claimed absolute power or Sovereignty over any of your Lands or Territories that were not fairly sold or bestowed by Your ancestors at Public Treaties. They will prove that your natural Independency has ever been preserved by your Predecessors, and will establish that the Rights resulting from such Independency have been reciprocally and constantly acknowledged in the Treaties between the Kings of France formerly possessors of parts of this Continent, and the Crown of Great Britain; and it will appear that when the War in this Continent arose between the French and Great Britain which terminated in the King Your Father's obtaining possession of Canada, that it commenced in consequence of the French nation invading the stipulations by which the Indian Americans were acknowledged to be Independent.

Children & Brothers,

I need not remind you that after the Peace of 1763 the King Your Father uniformly followed the Just conduct of his Predecessors to prevent all future encroachments. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix was by his direction made with the several Indian Nations by that wise and Good Man, your late Superintendant General Sir William Johnson, at your request I transmit you the Boundary then agreed upon, as it was traced by his own hands.

You see therefore that no Interpretation of the Boundary Line as settled between the King Your Father & the United States, can have the shadow of pretext to consider your Independency as injured, or that your Territories were bargained away as the price of peace.

Children & Brothers,

You have been told by Lord Dorchester "that the King's rights with respect to Your Territory were against the Nations of Europe," these he resigned to the States.

The chief rights which the King Your Father resigned were the power of establishing British Colonies beyond the Line of Separation agreed on in the Treaty, should your nations be ever disposed to sell or bestow upon him Lands for that purpose. This Power by the Treaty he totally restricted himself from Exercising.

Children & Brothers,

I have directed your Superintendants as you desired to attend your Council, and to aid you in whatever matters you shall require their assistance.

Children & Brothers,

In order to facilitate the work of Peace between you & the United States, I have directed the officers of the King's Ships to assist their Commissioners in their passage to Sandusky and I have afforded them every convenience in my power to exemplify this true desire that I have to contribute to so desirable a purpose as the general Tranquility.

Children & Brothers,

I most heartily pray the Almighty Being, the common Father of all Mankind, to give Wisdom & Union to your Councils, and I most fervently hope that Peace may be established on such just and permanent Foundations as may be for the common Interests and general Benefit of all the People on this Continent.

J. G. SIMCOE,
*Lt. Govr. of Upper Canada.*

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## FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO JOHN BUTLER AND ALEXANDER McKEE.

NAVY HALL, June 22nd, 1793.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the wishes of the Indian American Nations, over whom you have for so many years exercised the office of Deputy Superintendents with so much zeal in the service of your King and Country, and so much honor to yourselves, I hereby direct and authorize you to attend at the meeting proposed to be held between these Nations and the United States of North America at Lower Sandusky.

The Government of the United States, to whom the desire of the Indian Americans has been communicated, that you should be present at the proposed meeting at Lower Sandusky, has acquiesced in the propriety of the Requisition; which acquiescence effectually protects you from the imputation of being Intruders, or of being actuated by any unfair or improper motives in giving your attendance.

My speeches to the Indian American Nations will have clearly explained to you that You are not to consider yourselves in the Light of *Mediators* between the contending parties. The Duty of your Mission is solely in answer to the Request of the Indian Americans to explain to those Nations faithfully the nature and tendency of the offers of the United States, to illustrate the Treaties, Documents, & Maps herewith transmitted, and to exert your Ascendancy over the Indians in inclining them to accede to those offers, if they be consistent with their safety, and benefit, or to reject them if they seem likely to prove injurious to their real Interests.

In the exercise of this great & important trust, I hope it is needless to recommend to you the utmost caution and circumspection. You must be aware that you will be narrowly watched, and in proportion as the offers of the Commissioners should your nations be ever disposed to sell or bestow upon him Lands for that purpose. This Power by the Treaty he totally restricted himself from Exercising.

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In the exercise of this great & important trust, I hope it is needless to recommend to you the utmost caution and circumspection. You must be aware that you will be narrowly watched, and in proportion as the offers of the Commissioners of the United States may be unreasonable or unavailing, they will be solicitous to discover anything in your Language or Conduct that may impress the People of the States with the belief that it is not the Injustice of the Federal Government or the obstinacy of the American Indians but the Interposition of the British Agents which has prevented the Restoration of Peace.

I recommend therefore, Gentlemen, that your Conduct be not only circumspect in general, that your advice be given as has been usual in your Department privately to some of the Chieftains, or that your Disapprobation, if it shall be *necessary* to have a general meeting, be expressed rather by silence, if that may be effectual, than by words; but that you in general shelter yourselves from all intercourse with the Commissioners of the United States by some ceremonious system, and I presume this may easily be done, after some general Civilities, by declining any further meeting, on the reasonable grounds, that the Indians may be jealous, and by entrusting any business that may happen to arise between you and the Commissioners to Lieut. Selby or Captain Bunbury who at the request of those Gentlemen with Lieutenant Givens accompany them to the Council—But in thus wishing to guard you against any communications with the Commissioners that may lead to unnecessary discussions, or that may give any cause for that misrepresentation which I am persuaded it is fit you should avoid with the utmost caution, I am anxious that you shew to these Gentlemen every civility that may be in your power, and manifest upon all occasions that kindness & Urbanity, which it is with great pleasure, I have experienced to be natural to your Tempers and Inclinations.

But above all, tho' I am not inclined to believe Rumours, nor do I know from the Commissioners what may be the Ultimatum of their offers; I most earnestly entreat and recommend by everything that can be estimable to men of your Characters, and who are vested with so solemn a trust, that in case the Indian Americans should refuse the offers of the Commissioners & the Congress should break up with mutual dissatisfaction (that you prevent and if possible foresee) any injury or insult that might be offered to the persons of the Commissioners; and that you exert all your power and influence to this effect in a far greater degree than you would do, should I have been at the Council, for my personal Protection & safety.

The Commissioners from what they have learned, have expressed Apprehensions on this Subject, and I am sure, I need not dilate with what horror, any sinister event that should happen to these Gentlemen would be received by the Commander in Chief, Lord Dorchester, the British nation, or our most excellent Sovereign.

It will give me the most entire satisfaction to learn that such principles of moderation and Justice shall prevail between the contending Parties, as that a safe & solid Peace may be established among them, and that the Indian Americans may in all events be sensible of the Bounty of the King their Father, and remain inviolably attached to his Subjects and Government.

I am, Gentlemen, with great Regard,
your most obedient and very faithful servant
J. G. Simcoe,
*Lt. Governor of Upper Canada.*

John Butler & Alexander McKee, Esqrs.

*Endorsed:—In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas No. 88. 11.*

Navy Hall June 22d. 1793 —

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In compliance with the general wishes of the Indian American Nations over whom you have for so many years exercised the office of Deputy Superintendants with so much Zeal in the service of your King & Country, and so much honor to yourselves, I hereby direct and authorize you to attend at the meeting proposed to be held between those Nations & the United States of North America at Lower Sandusky —

The Government of the United States to whom the desire of the Indian Americans has been communicated that you should be present at the proposed meeting at Lower Sandusky, has acquiesced in the propriety of the requisition; which acquiescence effectually protects you from the imputation of being intruders, or of being actuated by any unfair or improper motive in giving your attendance —

My Speeches to the Indian American Nations will have clearly explained to you that you are not to consider yourselves in the light of Mediators between the contending parties — The Duty of your Mission is solely in answer to the request of the Indian Americans, to explain to those Nations faithfully the nature and tendency of the offers of the United States to illustrate the Treaties, Documents and Maps herewith transmitted and to exert your ascendancy over the Indians in inclining them to accede to those offers if they be consistent with their safety and benefit, or to reject them if they seem likely to prove injurious to their real interests

In the exercise of this great and important Trusteeship it is needless to recommend to you the utmost caution & Circumspection, you must be aware that you will be narrowly watched, and in proportion as the offers of the Commissioners of the United States may be unreasonable or unavailing they will be solicitous to discover any thing in your language or conduct that may impress the people of the States with the belief that it is not the injustice of the federal government or the obstinacy of the American Indians, but the interposition of the British Agents which have prevented the restoration of Peace.

I recommend therefore Gentlemen that your conduct be not only circumspect in general, that your advice be given as has been usual in your Department privately to some of the Chieftians, & that your disapprobation of it shall be necessary to have a general [illegible] be expressed rather by silence, if that may be effectual, than by words, but that you in general shelter yourselves from all intercourse with the Commissioners of the United States by some ceremonious system. — And I presume this may be easily done, after some general civilities, by declining any further meeting, on the reasonable grounds, that the Indians may be jealous & that by entrusting any business that may happen to arise between you and the Commissioners to Lieut. Selby, or Captain Bunbury who at the request of those Gentlemen with Lieut. Givens accompany them to the Council ——

But in thus wishing to guard you against any communications with the Commissioners that may lead to unnecessary discussions or that may give any cause for that misrepresentation which I am persuaded it is fit you should avoid with the utmost caution, I am anxious that you shew to these Gentlemen every civility that may be in your power and manifest upon all occasions that kindness and urbanity which it is with great pleasure I have experienced to be natural to your Tempers and inclinations. ——

But above all, tho' I am not inclined to believe rumours, nor do I know from the Commissioners what may be the ultimatum of their offers, I most earnestly entreat, and recommend by every thing that can be estimable to Men of your character, and who are vested with so solemn a trust, that in case the Indians

Americans, should refuse the offers of the Commiſsioners and the Congreſs should break up with mutual diſsatisfac that you prevent, and if Poſsible foresee, any injury or insu that might be offered to the persons of the Commiſsioners and that you exert all your power and influence to effect in a far greater degree than you would do should I have been at the Council, for my personal prote and safety; The Commiſsioners from what they have lear have expreſsed apprehensions on this subject, a I am sure I need not dilate, with what horror, any si event that should happen to these Gentleman woul be received by the Commander in Chief, Lord Dorchest the British Nation, or our most excellent Sovereign

It will give me the most entire satisfaction t learn that such principles of moderation and Justice shall prevail between the contending parties as that safe and solid Peace may be established among th and that the Indian Americans may in all events be sensible of the bounty of the King their Father, and remain inviolably attached to his Subjects a Government.

I am
Gentlemen with great regard
Your Most Obedient
and
Very faithful Servant

J Graves Simcoe
Lt Govr. of Upper
Canada

To J Butler & A McKee Esqrs
Dy Superintendant Generals
for Indian Affairs &c &c

Navy Hall, June 22$^{d}$. 1793

Sir —

In compliance with the general wishes of the Indian American Nations over whom you have for so many years exercised the office of Deputy Superintendant, with so much zeal in the service of your King and Country, and so much honor to yourself, I hereby direct and authorize you to attend at the meeting proposed to be held between those Nations and the United States of North America, at lower Sandusky —

The Government of the United States to whom the desire of the Indian Americans has been communicated, that you should be present at the proposed meeting at lower Sandusky, has acquiesced in the propriety of the requisition, which acquiescence effectually protects you from the imputation of being an Intruder, or of being actuated by any unfair, or improper motives in giving your attendance —

My Speeches to the Indian American Nations will have clearly explained to you, that you are not to consider yourself in the light of a Mediator between the contending Parties;—

The duty of your mission is solely in answer to the request of the Indian Americans to explain to those nations, faithfully the Nature, and Tendency of the offers of the United States, to illustrate the Treaties Documents and Maps herewith transmitted, and to exert your Ascendancy over the Indians in inclining them to accede to those offers if they be consistent with their safety and benefit, or to reject them if they seem likely to prove injurious to their real interests ——

In the exercise of this great, and important trust, I hope it is needless to recommend to you, the utmost Caution and Circumspection; you must be aware that you will be narrowly watched, and in proportion as the offers of the Commissioners of the United States may be unreasonable, or unavailing they will be sollicitous to discover any thing in your language, or conduct that may impress the people of the States with the belief that it is not the injustice of the federal Government, or the obstinacy of the American Indians, but the interposition of the British Agents which has prevented the restoration of Peace —

I recommend therefore, Sir, that your conduct be not only circumspect in general that your advice be given as has been usual in your department, privately to some of the Chieftains, or that your disapprobation if it shall be necessary to have a general meeting be expressed rather by silence if that may be effectual than by words; but that you in general shelter yourself from all intercourse with the Commissioners of the United States, by some ceremonious system — and I presume this may easily be done, after some general civilities by declining any further meeting, on the reasonable grounds that the Indians may be jealous, — and by entrusting any business that may happen to arise between you, and the Commissioners to Lieut. Selby or Captain Bunbury who at the request of those Gentlemen with Lieutenant Givens accompany them to the Council —

But in thus wishing to guard you against any Communications with the

Commiſsioners that may lead to unneceſsary diſcuſsions, or that may give any cause for that misrepresentation, which I am persuaded it is fit you should avoid with the utmost caution, I am anxious that you shew to these Gentlemen every civility that may be in your power, and manifest upon all occasions that kindneſs, and Urbanity which it is with great pleasure, I have experienced to be natural to your temper, and inclinations;—

But above all, tho I am not inclined to believe Rumours, nor do I know from the— Commiſsioners what may be the ultimatum of their offers, I most earnestly intreat, and recom:mend by every thing that can be estimable to a Man of your Character, and *who* is vested with so solemn a trust, that in case the Indian Americans should refuse the offers of the Commiſsio:ners, and the Congreſs should break up with— mutual diſsatisfaction, that you prevent (and if poſsible foresee) any injury or insult that might be offered to the persons of the Commiſsioners; and that you exert all your power and— influence to this effect in a far greater degree

tho

than you would do, should I have been at
Council for my personal protection and
safety —

The Commissioners from what the
have learned have expressed apprehensions o
this subject, and I am sure I need not dila
with what horror, any sinister event that
should happen to these Gentlemen would
be received by Lord Dorchester, the Com-
mander in Chief, the British Nation, or
our most excellent Sovereign —

It will give me the most
entire satisfaction to learn that such
principles of moderation and justice shal
prevail between the contending Parties
as that a safe and solid Peace may be
established among them, and that the
Indian Americans may in all events be
sensible of the bounty of the King their Father
and remain inviolably attached to his

subjects and Government —

I am, Sir,

with great regard

Your most Obedient
and
very faithful Servant

(Signed) J. Graves Simcoe
Lt. Govr. of
Upper Canada

A. McKee Esqr. &c
Deputy Superintendant
of Indian Affairs

## FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

NAVY HALL June 22d 1793.

Sir,

Lt. Talbot will bring to you the Papers, Documents, Treaties, & Maps which the Indian Councils have required, & which it has been in my power to procure.

this Gentleman is much in my regard & Confidence & is fully instructed in my Opinions on many important subjects—

I had been informed that Lt. Selby was on his Voyage to this place, which made me express to you my satisfaction in the hopes of seeing him; I by no means wish to deprive you of so valuable an assistant & therefore hope that He has not as yet proceeded—I cannot believe that Wayne has passed Fort Jefferson.

I am with great regard your faithful

J. G. SIMCOE.

To A. McKee, Esqr. (A.L.S.)

*Endorsed—Govr. Simcoe 22d June Rec'd 1st July.*

(Claus Papers, Vol. 5, pp. 163-4.)

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## FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

No. 6

*Private & confidential.*

June 23d 1793.

Dear Sir,

If the Treaty between the States and the Indians shall be amicably concluded, I should hope that the Confederacy will mutually guarantee that *Boundary* which we delineated at *Montreal.*[1]

The Seven Nations of Canada have a clear title to the Land Northward of the line drawn from *Regroghne* to the Galette or Oswegatchie, the Southward of that line, belongs either to them or the six nations; & by The Acts of Congress it does not appear to have been sold. It is of great importance to us that this tract which covers the mouth of the St. Lawrence, should for ever remain Indian Land—The Canadian Nations seem to intimate in their speech at Miamis that They have had no treaty with Congress[2] & Tim'y Pickering says that the United States claim not a foot of Land of any Nations with whom they have held no treaties.

The Grounds between the Genesee & Buffaloe Creek are scarcely of less consequence than those on the Susquehanna; The Senecas claim them; but Capt. Brant seems to think "as they were conquered Lands that they belong to the Confederacy of the six nations;" I should hope that there would be but little difficulty thro' the exertions of Coll. Butler & Mr. Johnson to have those lands included in a general boundary—It is not possible to say of what mischief Presq'Isle may be if it remains with the United States. The *Cornplanter*, as I understand from Mr. Johnson, did not seem to suppose that such could be the case; but I apprehend that it was fairly sold to the Pensylvanians.

I need say nothing to you of the necessary extent and value of the Country between the Ohio & *Lake Erie;* Sir Wm. Johnson seems to have foreseen & been fully sensible of its value, & his advice that we should restore part of what had been granted, forms a striking contrast between his moderation & the rapacity of a governmt of Land-Jobbers.

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[1] Vol. I, p. 173.

[2] Ibid, p. 223.

It is essentially necessary that the passage of the *Ilinois* & Mississippi should be retained in the hands of The *Indians*—a free communication between Kentucky & Upper Canada, would answer the best purposes to both Countries & in its progress by rendering that State independent of Congress for its commerce would insensibly alienate it from the unnatural union, & ultimately give the British Government a weight & influence, that might be usefully applied to the maintenance of general peace & the protection of the Indian Nations.

I have opened myself to Capt. Brant on these ideas but it appears to me that no proportion of such a mutual guarantee of Lands (& never to be sold, but by the meeting of the general Council) could be made with any reasonable prospect of success but at the moment of general peace; & *after* the Commissioners of the United States shall have left the place of Treaty; for it is apparent that resolutions so diametrically opposite to their views of present acquisition of the Indian Lands, & their future hopes of general possession would incline them to break off all conference & rest the decision on the success of their Arms—& while they can raise Men there is but little doubt with me, but they are careless to what extent the Indian Confederacy may be applied, as the conquest of their Lands will be an additional incitement to the continuance of a War, which they contemplate philosophically as just in itself, & proper only to be concluded by the extermination of the Indian Nations.

However if any reasons induce you to conceive that the determination of the Confederacy to preserve & guarantee all their Lands, & to give up the right of selling individually, without a General Council, shall be for the benefit of the Indians, of course you will act in such a manner as your great experience so eminently entitles you to decide upon.

At the end of the Index I have hastily written down a few general remarks on the relative situation of the *Indian, British, & States* interests; I have in conversation expressed myself in similar terms to Capt. Brant—being pressed for time I have no copy of those remarks, nor of this Letter, you will therefore be so obliging as to permit Mr. Selby or Mr. Talbot to copy them both.

I am with great truth & the most sincere wishes for an honorable conclusion of all your difficulties,[1]

Your very faithful & obed't Serv't

J. G. Simcoe.

To A. McKee Esqr. &c., &c.

I transmit to you a speech to be delivered at the Grand Council if you think *proper.*—Mr. Talbot will talk with you on this subject.

*Endorsed—Govr. Simcoe 23d June 1793 rec'd 1st July.*

(Claus Papers, Vol. 5, pp. 171-4.)

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[1] Cf. Simcoe to Butler and McKee, 22 June, 1793, Vol. I, pp. 365-6.

Simcoe, J. G., to McKee, A. 23 June, 1793
Sandusky Indian council.
Canada-United States boundary;
Seven Nations of Canada;
Joseph Brant

V, 171-174

Private & Confidential.

Dear Sir, June 23d 1793

If the Treaty between the States & the Indians shall be amicably concluded, I should hope that the Confederacy will mutually guarantee that Boundary which we delineated at Montreal —

The Seven Nations of Canada have a clear title to the Land Northward of the Line drawn from Regioghne to the Galette or Oswegatchie —

the Southward of that Line belongs, either to them, or the Six Nations, & by the Acts of Congress, It does not appear to have been sold; It is of great importance to us that this tract which covers the mouth of the St Lawrence should forever remain Indian Land — The Canadian Nations seem to intimate in the speech at Miamis that they have had no treaty with Congress & Tim: "Pickering says that the United States claim not a foot of Land of any Nations with whom" they have held no treaties" —

The Grounds between the Genesee & Buffaloe Creek are scarcely of less consequence than those on the Susquehanna; The Senecas claim them, but Capt Brant seems to think "as they were conquered Lands

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"That they belong to the Confederacy of the
"Six Nations; I shou'd hope, that there would be
but little difficulty thro' the Exertions of Col
Butler & Sir John Johnson to have these lands included
in a general Boundary— It is not possible to say
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with the United States; The *Cornplanter*, as I understood
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could be the Case; but I apprehend that it was fairly
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& value of the Country between the Ohio & *Lake
Erie*; Sir Wm Johnson seems to have foreseen, & been
fully sensible of its value, & his advice that "we
should restore part of what had been granted, forms
a striking contrast between his moderation & the
Rapacity of a Government of Land Jobbers—

It is essentially necessary that the passage of the
*Illinois* & Mississippi should be retained in the hands
of the *Indians*— a free communication between
Kentucky & Upper Canada, would answer the best
purposes to both Countrys, & in its progress, by rendering
that state independant of Congress for its commerce
would insensibly alienate it from the unnatural Union
& ultimately give the British Government a weight &
influence, that might be usefully applied to the
maintinance of general peace, & the protection of
the Indian Nations—

I have opened myself to Capt Brant on these Ideas—

but It appears to me that no Proposition of such a mutual Guarantee of Lands for never to be sold, but by the meeting of a general Council, could be made with any reasonable prospect of Succeſs but at the moment of general Peace; & after the Commiſsioners of the United States shall have left the place of Treaty; for it is apparent, that Resolutions so diametrically opposite to their Views of present acquisition of the Indian lands, & their future hopes of general Poſseſsion, would incline them to break off all conference & rest the decision on the succeſs of their Arms — & while they can raise Men there is but little doubt with me, but they are careleſs to what extent the Indian Confederacy may be applied, as the Conquest of their Lands will be an additional incitement to the continuance of a War, which they contemplate, philosophically as just in itself, & proper only to be concluded by the Extermination of the Indian Nations.

However if any Reasons induce you to conceive that the determination of the Confederacy to preserve & guarantee all their Lands, & to give up the rights of selling individually, without a general Council, shall be for the benefit of the Indians, of course you will it in such a manner as your great Experience so eminently entitles you to decide upon —

At the End of the Index, I have hastily written down a few general remarks, on the relative Situation of the Indian, British, & States Interests; I have in conversation expreſsed myself in similar terms to Capt

Brant — being pressed for time I have no copy of these Remarks, nor of this Letter, you will therefore be so obliging as to permit Mr. Selby or Mr. Dun to copy them both —

I am with great truth, & the most sincere wishes for an honorable Conclusion of all your difficulties, Your very faithful & Obt. Servt.

J G Simcoe

To A. McKee Esqr. &c &c

I transmit to you a speech to be delivered at the Grand Council if you think proper — Mr. Talbot will talk with you on this subject —

Simcoe
23d June 1793
Recd. 1. July

Navy Hall,
Simcoe, J. G. to England, R., 28 June, 1793
"British Commissioners to
Sandusky Council
Col. A. McKee

V, 183-86

Dear Sir, Navy Hall June 28th 1793.

I have ordered one of His Majesty's Veſsels to proceed from Fort Erie to the entrance of the Detroit River with the Commiſsioners of the United States for making peace with the American Indians; — these Gentlemen solicited permiſsion to go to the Garrison of Detroit, but as there has not been sufficient time to represent their application to the Commander in Chief & such permiſsion might contravene the existing Orders at your Post, I thought proper to decline their requisition; — at the same time I make no doubt you will use your influence with some of the most respectable Inhabitants at the mouth of the of the Detroit to shew these Gentlemen not only from their public situation but private Character all the attention and Civility poſsible.

The Commiſsioners propose to wait at the mouth of the Detroit till they hear from Col. McKee of which I have desired Captain Bunbury (one of His Majesty's Officers with Lieut. Givens who attend the Conference, at the request of the Commiſsioners) to give him immediate information. — the Veſsel in which they sail will convey them to Sandusky, if she cannot enter the Harbour you will Order the Felicity who will be sent from Fort Erie as soon as poſsible to attend them and remain under their directions, and when the Council is diſsolved you will make the neceſsary arrangements for a larger Veſsel;

being prepared to bring them back to Fort Erie.

It may be adviseable for you to transmit a Copy of this letter to Col. McKee

I am Dear Sir
Your Faithful
Humble Servant
(Signed) J. G. Simcoe

P.S. Capt. Bunbury is directed to make any application to you for the Convenience and Accommodation of the Commissioners —

Copy of a Letter from His
Excellency Lieut. Governor
Simcoe to Lieut. Colonel
England, dated at Navy
Hall 28th June 1793

Minutes of a Council assembled & holden at Free Masons Hall, ~~in~~ ~~the~~ Town of ~~Newark~~ Niagara, Sunday the 7 day of July 1793 at the Request of a Deputation of Indians from the western Confederacy —

Present:
His Excellency Colonel Simcoe commanding His Majestys Troops —
Major John Smith, 5 Regiment Foot Commandant of the Garrison Niagara.
Captain David Shank, Queens Rangers, Commanding at Queens Town —
~~Capt Littlehales~~, Major of Brigade
Lieut Talbot, 24th Regiment —

Also several ~~other~~ officers of the Troops and Departments, ~~several~~ some of the members of the ~~Honorable~~ ~~the~~ Executive & Legislative Councils, ~~the Members of the~~ House of Assembly, Magistrates of the Province, a respectable ~~Merchants~~ & Inhabitants ~~of the County of~~ ~~Lincoln~~ &c. &c. &c. Capt. Brandt & about 50 Indians.

Captn Joseph Brandt spoke — In the name of the ~~Western Deputy~~ Deputation

Brothers. — It being agreed at the Rapids that we should come & meet the Commissioners in our fathers presence; we return

Thanks to the Great Spirit for seeing your Excellency well this day—

Our Intention & business is peaceable, & our inclination is to do what is right & just — We are all of one mind, & wished your Excellency to be present—

(Delivered wampum)

His Excellency

In reply said, he was happy glad to see them well & that as the Commissioners had expressed their wishes to meet the Indians in his Presence, he should be glad ~~happy~~ to hear what they had ~~to say~~.

(Wampum returned)

The Commissioners from the United States then entered the Hall & took their seats next to his Excellency Colonel Simcoe, viz.

General Lincoln.
Colonel Randolph.
Colonel Pickering,

attended by their Secretary Mr Storer, & several Interpreters —

Capt. Joseph Brandt Spoke

with a wide belt of white wampum, mixed with some purple, & several strings of white wampum.

Brothers,

We have met to day the English & Bostonians ~~& English~~ — we are happy to see them together, & think it is by the Divine Appointment —

Brothers of the United States —

We informed you the other day at Fort Erie, that we would at a future period acquaint you with the Reasons, why the Indians did not meet at the time and place appointed — Their Reasons were that the appearance of so many armed Men, so far advanced into their Country, was the Cause of delay, & their Uneasyness—

Brothers,

We have told you one Reason, & we now come down to ask you the Reason of those warlike appearances, on the part of the United States?

Brothers—

The Indians whom you see here now, are sent by the great people, who are assembled to the Westward, & who own all the Country adjacent to & on this Side of the Ohio — they are all of one Mind & one Man!—

Brothers!

We have come to speak to you on this subject of warlike appearances, which has occasioned the delay of our Meeting— we still look for a meeting—

But we wish to know however,
if you are authorized to establish
a Boundary between us, & the United States?

Brother—
we wish you would deliberately
think of what we say— we speak our
sentiments — we speak in the presence
of God— if we are wronged, the good
Spirit will assist us!

(Delivered the belt
& strings of Wampum)

General Lincoln, Spoke in reply—

Brothers—
we have listened with attention
to what you have observed, we will
take it into our serious Consideration
& give you an Answer tomorrow!

Capt Brant Spoke—
Brothers, we thank you for the reply you
have made, that you will give us an
Answer tomorrow— so we cover up the
Council fire for the present—

2/ 4/ 6/ Minutes of the Council Continued } Masonic hall, Newark. 8th July. 1793—

Present, his Excellency Colonel Simcoe &c. &c.

& the Commissioners from the United States &c.

Colonel Pickering, one of the Commissioners

✗ Read a written Speech, the first part being the echo of the Indians Speech of yesterday,

(delivered wide belt, & strings of wampum)

2nd part, in answer to the Indians request relative to the warlike appearances, & their powers of fixing a new boundary Line—

(delivered a belt of wampum, & several new white strings of wampum)

Colonel Pickering took up, the Proclamations of Genl. Wayne & the Governors of Virginia & Pensilvania (directing a cessation of hostilities untill the event of the treaty should be known), which he alluded to in his Speech—

+

The Speech was then delivered to ~~the Capn.~~ Joseph Brandt—

The Indians ~~then~~ communed among themselves—

Cats Eyes a Shawanoe Chief arose & spoke—

Brothers—

Bostonians attend! we have heard your words, & our fathers the English also have heard you— we thank God, he has preserved ye we now, to bring our Pipes together— The people of the different Nations who have heard you this day, salute you!— they have rejoiced, to hear your words, & that our fathers the English have heard them— we shall for the present take up our pipes & return to our Camp, where we shall deliberately consider your Speech, & all you have said to us— & we shall return you an Answer tomorrow—

Capt. Brant. spoke—

Brothers we suppose you have nothing further to add; we shall take up your Speech & consider it, so as there is nothing else to be done to day, we shall cover up the Council Fire

Minutes of a Council
Continued; 3d Meeting. Tuesday 9th July 1793
Free Masons Hall. Newark.
Niagara.

Present — His Excellency Colonel Simcoe &c. &c. &c.
The Com^rs from the United States.

Capt. Jos. Brandt spoke & addressed himself to the English & Americans, said he was glad the great spirit had preserved them all in peace to meet again this day, on the business before them.

(Took a belt of old white wampum & three strings of white wampum, with purple middles)

Brothers of the United States —

You yesterday made a reply to us the Deputys from the great men at the Miamies — You have replied to the two particulars — you may depend we understand your speech — we shall take this belt & these strings & repeat your speech to the great men who sit round the Council fire at the Miamies.

(put down the strings & spoke on the belt)

Brothers we have something farther to say, yet it is not much, — we are but small —

The great people are at the Miamies — but tho' we are small, yet we have something to say —

From your Speech there is a prospect of our meeting — we are all of one mind & one heart — we are all Relations — & we hope whatever ma be done will be lasting & binding — our prospect Brothers are the more encouraging as our Minds are now all one — & we are now all together as the Indians Deputys —

Our First wishes in Land Affairs were that all the Nations of the Indian Confederacy should be together, it approaches now near to our wishes —

The Reasons why matters have not been properly transacted before are because those whom you treated with were but few — only a small part of the Indian Confederacy — but now they are all about to assemble, business may be done — so we take you by the hand & condu you to the meeting

(Delivered the belt)

Brothers, this is all we have to say —

Brothers, as you yesterday expressed your Wishes to know the Nations & their Numbers, we can't say exactly, but we know who were there when we came away & they were arriving daily — you will soon see them yourselves:

(Delivered the names of the Nations inviting, & the principal Men of them, he said was there)

Five Nations
Wyandots
Shawanoes
Delawares
Munsees
Miamies
Ottawas
Chippewas
Potowatamies
Menjoes
Cherokees.
Nantikokes.

General Lincoln Spoke —

Brothers, our Ears have been open to your Speech, it is agreeable to us — we are ready to take you by the hand & attend you to the place of treaty — where I hope we shall be guided by the great Spirit, & that there may be a termination to the present disputes, on terms equally advantageous & satisfactory to all parties —

(Capt Brandt covered up the Council Fire)

Minutes of a
Council
held at Niagara
on the 7th. 8th. & 9th.
July 1793

## MINUTES OF A COUNCIL WITH THE INDIANS.

Minutes of a Council assembled & holden at Free Mason's Hall, Niagara, Sunday the 7th of July, at the request of a Deputation of Indians from the Western Confederacy.

Present.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe, Commanding the King's Troops in Upper Canada.

Major Smith, 5th Regiment, Commandant of the Garrison of Niagara.

Captain Shank, Queen's Rangers, Commanding at Queenston.

Captain Glasgow, Royal Artillery.

Major of Brigade Littlehales.

Lieutenant Talbot, 24th Regiment.

also

several Officers of the Troops and Departments, some of the members of the Executive & Legislative Council and House of Assembly, Magistrates & respectable Inhabitants of the Province, &c.

Captain Joseph Brandt & about fifty Indians.

Joseph Brandt spoke in the name of the Deputation.

Brothers,

It being agreed at the Rapids that we should come & meet the Commissioners in our Father's presence: We return thanks to the Great Spirit for seeing Your Excellency well this day.

Our intention & business is peaceable and our inclination is to do what is right & just. We are all of one mind & wished Your Excellency to be present.

A Belt of White Wampum delivered.

His Excellency in reply said, He was happy to see them well, and that as the Commissioners had expressed their wishes to meet the Indians in his presence he should be glad to hear what they had to say.

The Belt returned.

The Commissioners from the United States then entered the Hall & took their seats next to His Excellency, viz.—

General Lincoln.

General Randolph.

Colonel Pickering.

attended by their Secretary Mr. Storer & several Interpreters.

Joseph Brandt spoke,

With a wide Belt of White Wampum mixed with some Purple & several strings of White Wampum.

Brothers,

We have met to-day the English & Bostonians we are happy to see them together, and think it is by divine appointment.

Brothers of the United States,

We informed you the other day at Fort Erie, that we would at a future period acquaint you with the reasons why the Indians did not meet at the time & place appointed, their Reasons were, that the appearance of so many armed men, so far advanced into their country, was the cause of delay, and their uneasiness.

Brothers,

We have told you one reason & we now come down to ask you the Reason of those Warlike appearances on the part of the United States?

Brothers,

The Indians whom you see here now, are sent by the Great People who are assembled to the Westward, and who own all the country adjacent to and on this side of the Ohio—they are all of one mind & one man.

Brothers,

We have come to speak to you on this subject of warlike appearances, which has occasioned the delay of our meeting. We still look for a meeting. But we wish to know however, if you are authorized to establish a Boundary between us and the United States?

Brothers,

We wish you would deliberately think of what we say. We speak in the presence of God—if we are wronged the Good Spirit will assist us.

A Belt of Wampum & Strings of Wampum.

General Lincoln spoke in reply.

Brothers,

We have listened with attention to what you have observed, we will take it into our serious consideration, and give you an answer to-morrow.

Joseph Brandt spoke.

Brothers,

We thank you for the reply you have made that you will give us an answer to-morrow. So we cover up the Council Fire for the present.

Minutes of the Council continued.

FREE MASON'S HALL, Monday, July 8th, 1793.

Present

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe, &c., &c. and the Commissioners for the United States, &c.

Colonel Pickering, one of the Commissioners read the following Speech (with a large Belt & Strings of Wampum).

NIAGARA, July 8th, |93.

The answer of the Commissioners of the United States to the speech delivered yesterday by Captain Brandt, in behalf of the Western Indians.

Brothers.

By the appointment of the Great Spirit we are again met together. We hope he will assist us, on both sides, to see & to do what is right. It gives us pleasure that this meeting is in the presence of our Brothers, the English.

Brothers.

Yesterday, according to your promise at Fort Erie, you told us the reason why the nations whom you represent, had delayed assembling at the time & place appointed for meeting us—"that it was because there was so much of the appearance of war in that quarter."

Brothers.

You requested an explanation of those warlike appearances.

Brothers.

You told us that the People whom we saw here were sent to represent the Indian nations who own the lands on the northern side of the Ohio, as their common property, and who are all of one mind and one heart.

Brothers.

You said you had two reasons for coming to speak to us here. One, that our

Warriors being in your neighbourhood had prevented your meeting at the appointed place; the other, to be informed whether we are properly authorised to run & establish a new Boundary line between the lands of United States & of the Indian nations. You added that you were still desirous of meeting us at the appointed place.

Brothers.

You desired we would deliberate well on this business. You declared that you spoke your sentiments in sincerity considering yourselves in the presence of God, from whom, in time of danger you expect assistance.

Brothers.

We have repeated your speech or we understood it from the interpretation. We hope that we have not mistaken your meaning.

Brothers.

Now listen to our answer, in behalf of the United States.

Brothers.

You have mentioned two objects of your coming to meet us at this place: One, to obtain an explanation of the warlike appearances on the part of the United States, on the northern side of the Ohio. The other, to learn whether we have authority to run & establish a new Boundary line between your lands & ours.

Brothers.

On the first point we cannot but express our extreme regret that any reports of warlike appearances, on the part of the United States, should have delayed our meeting together at Sandusky. The nature of the case irresistably forbids all apprehensions of hostile incursions into the Indian Country, North of the Ohio, during the Treaty at Sandusky.—

Brothers.

We were deputed by the Great Chief & the Great Council of the United States to treat with you of Peace; and is it possible that the same Great Chief & his great council could order their warriors to make fresh war, while we are sitting around the same fire with you, in order to make *peace.* Is it possible that our great Chief & his Council could act so deceitfully towards us, their Commissioners, as well as towards you?

Brothers.

We think it is not possible.—But we will quit argument and come to facts.

Brothers.

We assure you that our Great Chief, General Washington, has strictly forbidden all hostilities against you untill the event of the proposed treaty at Sandusky shall be known. Here is the Proclamation of his Head Warrior, General Wayne, to that effect—But, Brothers, our great Chief is so sincere in his professions for Peace & so desirous of preventing every thing which could obstruct the Treaty and prolong the war, that, besides giving those orders to his Head Warrior, he has informed the Governors of the several states adjoining the Ohio, of the proposed treaty to be held at Sandusky, and desired them to unite their power with his to prevent any hostile attempts against the Indians, north of the Ohio, untill the result of the Treaty is made known. Those Governors have accordingly issued their orders, strictly forbidding all such hostilities. The proclamations of the governor of Virginia & Pennsylvania we have here in our hands.

Brothers.

If after all these precautions of our great Chief, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of justice or public good can restrain. But we hope & believe that none such will be found.

Brothers.

After these explanations we hope you will possess your minds in peace; relying on the good faith of the United States that no injury is to be apprehended by you during the treaty.

Brothers.

We now come to the second point—whether we are properly authorised to run & establish a new boundary line between your lands & ours.

Brothers.

*We answer explicitly that we have that authority*—where this line should run will be the great subject of discussion between you & us at the treaty, and we sincerely hope & expect that it may then be fixed to the satisfaction of both parties. Doubtless some concessions must be made on both sides. In all disputes & quarrels, both parties usually take some wrong steps; so that it is only by mutual concessions that a true reconcilement can be effected.

Brothers.

We wish you to understand us clearly on this head, for we mean that all our proceedings should be marked with candor. We therefore repeat & say explicitly that some concessions will be necessary on your part, as well as on ours, in order to establish a just & permanent peace.

Brothers.

After this great point of the boundary shall be fully considered at the Treaty we shall know what concessions & stipulations it will be proper to make on the part of the United States, and we trust they will be such as the world will pronounce reasonable & just.

Brothers.

You have told us that you represent the nations of Indians, who own the lands north of the Ohio & whose chiefs are now assembled at the Rapids of the Miamie.

Brothers.

It would be a satisfaction to us to be informed of the names of those Nations, and of the numbers of the Chiefs of each so assembled.

Brothers.

We once more turn our eyes to your representation of the warlike appearances in your Country and, to give you complete satisfaction on this point, we now assure you that as soon as our councils at this place are ended, we will send a messenger on horseback to the Great Chief of the United States, to desire him to renew & strongly repeat his orders to his Head Warrior, not only to abstain from all hostilities against you; but to remain quietly at his posts, untill the event of the treaty shall be known.

B. LINCOLN. —Commissioners.
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

The above Speech & Belt of Wampum and Strings were then delivered to Captain Joseph Brandt.

The Indians communed among themselves. Cats-Eyes, a Shawanoe Chief arose & spoke.

Brothers,

Bostonians attend. We have heard your words & our Fathers the English have also heard them. We thank God, he has preserved you till now to bring our Pipes together. The People of the different Nations who have heard you this day salute you. They have rejoiced to hear your words, and that our Fathers the English have heard them. We shall for the present take up your Pipes, and return to our Camp, where we shall deliberately consider your Speech, and all that you have said to us—and we shall return you an answer to-morrow.

Joseph Brandt spoke.

Brothers,

We suppose you have nothing further to add; we shall take up your Speech and consider it, so as there is nothing else to be done this day we shall cover up the Council Fire.

Minutes of the Council continued (third meeting).

FREE MASON'S HALL, Tuesday, July 9th, 1793.

Present
His Excellency Colonel Simcoe, &c., &c. and the Commissioners of the United States, &c.

Joseph Brandt spoke,
And addressed himself to the English and Americans, he was glad the Great Spirit had preserved them all in Peace to meet this day.

A Belt of White Wampum & strings of White & Purple Wampum.

Brothers of the United States,
You yesterday made a reply to us the Deputies from the Great Men at the Miamis. You have replied to the two particulars—You may depend we understand Your Speech. We shall take this Belt and these Strings and repeat your Speech to the Great Men, who sit round the Council Fire at the Miamis.

Brothers,
We have something further to say, yet it is not much. We are but small—the Great People are at the Miamis—but tho' we are small, yet we have something to say.

From your Speech there is a prospect of our meeting. We are all of one mind and one heart. We are all Relations—and we hope whatever may be done may be lasting and binding. Our Prospects, Brothers, are the more encouraging as our minds are now all one—and we are now altogether as the Indians' Deputies.

Our first wishes in Land affairs were that all the nations of the Indian Confederacy should be together, it approaches now near to our wishes.

The Reasons why matters have not been properly transacted before, are because those whom you treated with were but few—only a small part of the Indian Confederacy, but now they are *all* about to assemble, business may be done, so we take you by the hand and conduct you to the meeting.

(The Belt delivered.)

Brothers,

This is all we have to say.

Brothers,

As you yesterday expressed your wishes to know the Nations, and their numbers, we cannot say exactly, but we know who were there when we came away, and they were increasing daily. He then delivered the names of the Several Nations & principal Men, as follows.

Five Nations.
Wyandots.
Shawanese.
Delawares.
Munsees.
Miamis.
Ottawas.
Chippewas.
Potawatamies.
Mingoes.
Cherokees.
Nantikokes.

General Lincoln spoke,

Brothers,

Our ears have been open to your Speech. It is agreeable to us, we are ready to take you by the hand, and attend you to the place of Treaty where I hope we shall be guided by the Great Spirit, and that there may be a termination to the present disputes on terms equally advantageous and satisfactory to all parties.

The ceremony of covering up the Council Fire was gone through & then the meeting broke up.

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## FROM JOHN ASKIN TO ISAAC TODD IN LONDON.

Detroit, July 9, 1793.

My dear Sir,

.......................................................................
..................................................

The only news in this Quarter is the Indians being assembled near Sandusky to treat with the American Commissioners, who have been long at Niagara & who, I really believe, will not come farther —or if they did that it would not answer any purpose, for what they want the Indians never will agree to—however I believe they would consent to a new line if the latter would let them have [it] near ye Miamis Town. ........................................................
..............................................

John Askin.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 168.)

Extracts from the Journal of the Commiſsioners of the United States appointed to hold a Treaty at Sandusky for the purpose of making peace with the Western Indians.

as to accepting the Ohio River as the Boundary

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Extract from the answer of the Commiſsioners to a ſpeech delivered by Capt. Brandt on the 7th of July 1793.

"Niagara 8th July 1793."

"Brothers You told us that the people whom we see here, were sent to represent the Indian Nations who own the Lands on the northern side of the Ohio, as their common property; & who are all of one mind - one heart."

"Brothers - We now come to the ſecond point: whether we are properly authorized to run & establish a new boundary line between your lands & ours."

"Brothers. We answer explicitly that we have that authority. Where this line ſhould run will be the great ſubject of diſcuſsion at the treaty between you & us: & we ſincerely hope & expect that it may then be fixed to the ſatisfaction of both parties. - Doubtleſs ſome conceſsions must be made on both sides. In all disputes & quarrels both parties usually take ſome wrong steps; so that it is only by mutual conceſsions that a true reconcilement can be effected." -

"Brothers - We wish you to understand us clearly on this head, for we mean that all our proceedings ſhould be marked with candour. We therefore repeat & ſay explicitly, that ſome conceſsions will be neceſsary on your part as well as on ours, in order to establish a just & permanent peace." -

Extract from Capt. Brants answer to the foregoing -

Niagara 9th July 1793.

"Brothers We think from your ſpeech that there is a prospect of our coming together. We who are the Nations at the Westward, are of one mind; & if we agree with you, as there is a prospect that we shall, it will be binding & lasting."

"Brothers Our prospects are the fairer because all our minds are one. You have not before spoken to us unitedly. Formerly because you did not ſpeak to us unitedly, what was done was not binding. Now you have an opportunity of ſpeaking to us together; and we now take you by the hand to lead you to the place appointed for the meeting." —

a white belt of ſeven rows.

Capt. Brant in continuation —

"Brothers. One thing more we have to ſay. Yesterday you expreſsed a wish to be informed of the names of the Nations & numbers of Chiefs aſsembled at Miami. But as they were daily coming in, we cannot give you exact information. You will ſee for yourſelves in a few days. When we left it the following Nations were there viz. Five Nations — Wyandots — Shawanoes — Delawares — Munsees — Miamis — Ottawas — Chippewas — Potawatamies — Mingoes — Cherokees — Nantikokees. —

"The principal Men of all these nations were there". —

Copy of a written Meſsage delivered by a Deputation of the Indians.

"To the Commiſsioners of the U. S. July 30th 1793.

"Brothers. The Deputies we ſent to you did not fully explain our meaning: We have therefore ſent others to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask of you, & to which we expect an explicit answer in writing. —

"Brothers — You are ſent here by the U. S. in order to make peace with us the Confederate Indians. —

"Brothers — You know very well that the boundary line which was run between the white people & us, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix was the river Ohio.

"Brothers — If you seriously design to make a firm & lasting peace you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that river.

"Brothers. We therefore ask you, are you fully authorized by the U. S. to continue & firmly fix on the Ohio river as the boundary line between your people & ours?"

Done in General Council at the foot of the Miamis Rapids 27th July 1793. In behalf of ourselves & the whole Confederacy, & agreed to in full Council. —

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Signed) | Wyandots | Bear. | Patawatamies | Fish. |
| | Delawares | Turtle. | Ottawas | |
| | Shawanoes | Snake | Connoys | Turkey. |
| | Miamis | | Chippewas | |
| | Mingoes | Snipe. | Munsees | |

July 31st. At the close of the afternoon, the Commiſsioners delivered the following answer to the Deputation viz:

The Speech of the Commiſsioners of the U. S. to the Deputies of the Confederated Indian Nations aſsembled at the Rapids of the Miami River —

"Brothers You yesterday addreſsed us, mentioning a former deputation who met us at Niagara. At that meeting you ſaid we did not come to a right understanding: that your Deputies did not fully explain your meaning to us, nor we ours to them: that you desired we might rightly understand each other. & therefore thought it best that what you had to say should be put into writing. Then handing us a paper you ſaid "Here is the meaning of our hearts."

"Brothers. That Paper is directed to the Commiſsioners of the U. S. & speaks to them these words. viz: [Here is repeated their written addreſs as transcribed in the preceding pages]

"Brothers, The Deputies here present. — We have now repeated the words contained in the paper which you delivered to us; & those words have been interpreted to you. We presume the interpretation agrees with your idea of the contents of the paper. It is expreſsed to be signed by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Miamis, Mingoes, Pattawatamies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippewas & Munsees in behalf of themselves & the whole Confederacy, & agreed to in a full Council. —

"Brothers. We are a little surprized at the ſuggestion, that in the conference at Niagara, we did not come to a right understanding; & that your Deputies did not fully explain your meaning. Those Deputies appeared to be men of good understanding, and when we ſaw them they were perfectly sober. In short we never saw men in public Council more attentive, or behave with more propriety. We could not therefore suppose they could mistake your meaning or ours. Certainly we were ſufficiently explicit, for in plain terms we declared, "that in order to establish a just & permanent peace, some conceſsions would be neceſsary on your part, as well as on ours." — These words, Brothers, are a part of our ſpeech to your Deputies; & that ſpeech, they aſsured us they fully understood. What those conceſsions should be on both ſides, & where the boundary line should be fixed, were proper ſubjects of discuſsion at the Treaty, when we ſhould ſpeak face to face. — This we are certain would be the best way to remove all difficulties. But your Nations have adopted another mode, which, by keeping us at a distance, prevents our knowing each other, & keeps alive those jealousies, which are the greatest obstacles to a peace. We are therefore desirous of meeting your Nations in full Council, without more delay. — We have already waited in this Province, ſixty days beyond the time appointed for opening the treaty.

"Brothers – We have now expreſsed our opinion of the proper mode of ſettling the differences between you & the U. S. But as your Nations have desired answers to certain questions previous to our meeting, & we are diſposed to act with frankneſs & sincerity, we will give an explicit answer to the great question you have now proposed to us. But before we do this, we think it neceſsary to look back to ſome former transactions, & we desire you patiently to hear us.

"Brothers – We do know very well, that at the treaty of Fort Stanwix 25 years ago, the river Ohio was agreed on as the boundary line between you & the white people of the British Colonies. And we all know that about ſeven years after that boundary was fixed a quarrel broke out between your father the King of G. B. & the people of those Colonies, which are now the U. S. – This quarrel was ended by the treaty of peace made with the King about ten years ago, by which the Great Lakes & the waters which unite them were by him declared to be the boundaries of the U. S.

"Brothers – Peace having been thus made between the King of G. B. & the U. S., it remained to make peace between them & the Indian Nations who had taken part with the King. For this purpose Commiſsioners were appointed, who ſent meſsages to all those Indian Nations, inviting them to come & make peace. The first treaty was held about 9 years ago at Fort Stanwix, with the Six Nations; which has stood firm & unviolated to this day. The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort Mc. Intosh with the Half King of the Wyandots, Capt. Pipe & other Chiefs in behalf of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa & Chippewa Nations. Afterwards treaties were made with divers Indian Nations, South of the Ohio river; & the next treaty was made with Kakiapilathy, here present & other Shawanoe chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanoe nation, at the mouth of the Great Miami which runs into the Ohio.

"Brothers, – The Commiſsioners who conducted these treaties in behalf of the U. S. sent the papers containing them to the Great Council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the Nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of the lands thereby ceded; & a great number of people removed from other parts of the U. S. & settled upon them – also many families of your antient fathers the French came over the great Water and settled upon a part of the same lands.

"Brothers – After ſome time it appeared that a number of people in your Nation were diſsatisfied with the treaties of Fort Mc. Intosh & Miami. Therefore the Great Council of the U. S. appointed Govr. St. Clair their commiſsioner with full powers for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade & ſettling boundaries between the Indian Nations in the Northern department & the U. S. – He accordingly sent meſsages inviting all the Nations concerned to meet him at a Council fire which he kindled at the falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, ſome mischief happened at that place, & the fire was put out. So he kindled a Council fire at Fort Harmar, where near ſix hundred Indians of different Nations, attended – The Six Nations then renewed & confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix, & the Wyandots & Delawares renewed & confirmed the treaty of Fort Mc. Intosh. Some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pattawatamies & Sacs were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar.—

"Brothers— All these treaties we have here with us. We have also the ſpeeches of many Chiefs who attended them & who voluntarily declared their ſatisfaction with the terms of those treaties.

"Brothers— After making all these treaties, & after hearing the Chiefs freely expreſs their ſatisfaction with them, the U. S. expected to enjoy peace, & quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly large tracts have been ſold & ſettled, as before mentioned.— And now Brothers, we answer explicitly, that for the reasons here ſtated to you, it is impoſsible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your people & the people of the U. S.—

"Brothers— You are men of understanding, & if you consider the customs of white people, the great expences which attend their ſettling in a New Country, the nature of their improvements in building houses & barns, & clearing & fencing their lands, how valuable the lands are thus rendered, & thence how dear they are to them, you will ſee that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the northern ſide of the Ohio. Your Brothers the English, know the nature of white people, & they know, that under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the U. S. cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you & us.

"Brothers— You seem to consider all the lands in dispute on your side of the Ohio as claimed by the U. S.— but ſuffer us to remind you, that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot & Delaware Nations to the State of Pennsylvania. This tract is East of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek at the Ohio due north to Lake Erie. This line is the western boundary of Pennsylvania, as claimed under the charter given by the King of England to your antient friend William Penn.— Of this sale made by the Wyandot & Delaware Nations to the State of Pennsylvania we have never heard any complaint.

"Brothers— We are on this occasion obliged to make a long Speech. We again desire you to hear us patiently— the business is of the highest importance, & a great many words are neceſsary fully to explain it, for we desire you may perfectly understand us: And there is no danger of your forgetting what we say, because we will give you our ſpeech in writing.

"Brothers— We have explicitly declared to you, that we cannot now make the Ohio river the boundary between us. This agrees with our ſpeech to your Deputies at Niagara," that "in order to establish a just & permanent peace, some conceſsions would be neceſsary on your "part as well as on ours."—

"Brothers— The conceſsions which we think neceſsary on your part are that you yield up & finally relinquish to the U. S. some of the lands on your ſide of the river Ohio. The U. S. wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the Treaty of Fort Harmar, & also a small tract of land at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by Genl. Clarke for the use of himself & his Warriors: And in consideration thereof, the U. S. would give ſuch a large ſum in Money or Goods as was never given at one time, for any quantity of Indian lands since the white people firſt set their feet on this Island. And because those lands did every year furnish you with ſkins & furs, with which you bought clothing & other neceſsaries, the U. S. will now furnish the like constant ſupplies; & therefore besides the great ſum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of ſuch goods as are beſt suited to the wants of yourſelves, your Women & Children.—

"Brothers— If all the lands before mentioned cannot be yielded up to the U. S. then we shall deſire to treat & agree with you on a new boundary line; & for the quantity of land you relinquish to us within that new boundary line, we shall ſtipulate a generous compensation, not only for a large ſum to be paid at once, but for a yearly rent for the benefit of yourſelves & your Children forever.—

"Brothers— Here you ſee one conceſsion that we are willing to make on the part of the U. S.— Now listen to another, of a claim which has probably more disturbed your minds than any other whatever.

"Brothers— The Commiſsioners of the U. S. have formerly ſet up a claim to your whole Country Southward of the Great Lakes, as the property of the U. S.: grounding this claim on the treaty of peace with your father the King of G. B. who declared as we have before mentioned the middle of those Lakes & the Waters which unite them to be the boundaries of the U. S.—

"Brothers— We are determined that our whole conduct shall be marked with openneſs & sincerity. We therefore frankly tell you, that we think those Commiſsioners put an erroneous construction on that part of our treaty with the King. As he had not purchased the Country of you of course he could not give it away. He only relinquished to the U. S. his claim to it. That claim was founded on a right acquired by treaty with other white Nations, to exclude them from purchasing or settling in any part of your Country; & it is this right which the King granted to the U. S.— Before that grant, the King alone had a right to purchase of the Indian Nations any of the lands between the Great Lakes the Ohio & the Miſsiſsipi excepting the part within the Charter boundary of Pennsylvania; & the King by the treaty of peace, having granted this right to the U. S., they alone have now the right of purchasing. So that now, neither the King nor any of his people have any right to interfere with the U. S. in respect to any part of those lands. All your Brothers the English know this to be true: & it agrees with the declaration of Lord Dorchester to your Deputies two years ago at Quebec.—

"Brothers— We now concede this great point. We by the expreſs authority of the President of the U. S. acknowledge the property or right of ſoil of the great Country above described to be in the Indian Nations, so long as they desire to occupy the ſame. We only claim particular tracts in it as before mentioned & the general right granted by the King, as above ſtated, & which is well known to the English and Americans, & called the right of pre-emption, or the right of purchasing of the Indian Nations, diſposed to ſell their lands, to the exclusion of all other white people whatever.—

"Brothers— We have now opened our hearts to you. We are happy in having an opportunity of doing it, tho' we should have been more happy to have done it in the full Council of your Nations. We expect soon to have this ſatisfaction; & that your next deputation will take us by the hand & lead us to the Treaty. When we meet & converse with each other freely we may more easily remove any difficulties which may come in the way of peace."—

At Capt. Elliots, at the mouth of Detroit River 31st July 1793.

(signed) B. L. } Commiſsioners
B. R. } of the U. S.—
T. P. }

August 1st 1793.

In Council, present as Yesterday—

The Wyandot Chief, Sa-wagh-da-wunk, arose & spoke— Simon Girty interpreted.

"Brothers— We are all Brothers you ſee here now.—

"Brothers - It is now three years ſince you have desired to ſpeak with us. We heard you yesterday & understand you well perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you.

"Brothers - You mentioned the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver Creek & other places. Those treaties were not compleat. There were but a few Chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands: they belong to us. you tried to draw off some of us. -

"Brothers Many years ago, we all know, that the Ohio was made the boundary - It was settled by Sir William Johnson - This side is ours - We look upon it as our property. -

"Brothers - You mentioned Genl. Washington: He & you know you have houses & people on our land. - You say you cannot move them off; and we cannot give up our land. -

"Brothers We are ſorry we cannot come to an agreement. The line has been fixed long ago.

"Brothers - We dont say much. There has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, & thought you did the ſame. We shall talk to our Head Warriors. - You may return whence you came, & tell Washington." -

The Council here breaking up, Capt. Elliot went to the Shawanoe Chief, Kakiapalathy, & told him the last part of the ſpeech was wrong. - That Chief came back & ſaid it was wrong. Girtie said, he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot Chief spoke. - An explanation took place & Girtie added as follows -

"Brothers - Instead of going home we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your ſpeech in our hearts & shall consult our head Warriors." -

The Commiſsioners then ſaid, that they would wait to hear again from their Council at the Rapids, but desired their answer might be given without delay. -

August 16th 1793. At the mouth of Detroit river.

In the afternoon of this day, the Commiſsioners received by the hands of two Wyandot runners, from the Indian Council at the rapids of the Miami the following answer to their ſpeech of 31st July.

"To the Commiſsioners of the United States.

"Brothers We have recd. your ſpeech dated the 31st of last month, & it has been interpreted to all the different Nations. We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the ſubject: But we now answer it fully, having given it all the consideration in our power. -

"Brothers - You tell us that after you had made peace with the King our father, about ten years ago, - "it remained to make peace between the U. S. & the Indian Nations who had taken "part with the King. For this purpose Commiſsioners were appointed, who ſent Meſsages to all those Indian "Nations, inviting them to come & make peace." - And after reciting the periods, at which you say treaties were held, at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh & Miami, all which treaties according to your own acknowledgement were for the ſole purpose of making peace: you then say - "Brothers - The Commiſsioners "who conducted these treaties in behalf of the U. S. sent the papers containing them to the General "Council of the States, who supposing them ſatisfactory to the Nations treated with, proceeded to dispose "of the lands thereby ceded." -

"Brothers - This is telling us plainly what we always understood to be the case, & it agrees with the declarations of those few, who attended these treaties, viz. that they went to meet your Commiſsioners to

& make peace, but thro' fear were obliged to ſign any paper that was laid before them; & it has ſince appeared, that Deeds of Ceſsion were signed by them instead of Treaties of peace.—

"Brothers— You then say— "After ſome time it appeared that a number of people in your Nations were diſsatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh & Miami: therefore the Council of the U. S. appointed Govr. St. Clair, their Commiſsioner with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy relating to trade & settling boundaries, between the Indian Nations in the Northern Departmt. & the U. S. — He accordingly ſent Meſsages, inviting all the Nations concerned to meet him at a Council fire he kindled at the Falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them ſome mischief happened at that place & the fire was put out. So he kindled a Council fire at Fort Harmar, where near Six hundred Indians of different Nations attended. The Six Nations then renewed & confirmed the Treaty of Fort Stanwix; & the Wyandots & Delawares, renewed & confirmed the Treaty of Fort McIntosh. Some Ottawas Chippewas— Pattawatamies & Sacs were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar."—

"Now, Brothers, these are your words; & it is neceſsary for us to make a short reply to them.—

"Brothers— A General Council of all the Indian Confederacy was held, as you well know in the fall of the year 1788 at this place: And that General Council was invited by your Commiſsioner Govr. St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix & Fort McIntosh.—

"Brothers— We are in poſseſsion of the ſpeeches & letters that paſsed on that occasion between those deputed by us, the confederated Indians & Govr. St. Clair the Commiſsioner of the U. S.— These papers prove that your said Commiſsioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the General Council of the preceeding fall, that no bargain or ſale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding, unleſs agreed to by a General Council, neverthеleſs persisted in collecting together a few Chiefs of two or three Nations only, & with them held a Treaty for the ceſsion of an immense Country, in which they were no more interested than as a branch of the General Confederacy, & who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or ceſsion whatever.—

"Brothers— How then was it poſsible for you to expect to enjoy peace & quietly to hold these lands, when your Commiſsioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a General Council was absolutely neceſsary to convey any part of these lands to the U. S.? The part of these lands which the U. S. now wish us to relinquish, & which you say are ſettled, have been ſold by the U. S. since that time.—

"Brothers— You say— "The U. S. wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the Treaty of Fort Harmar, & also a small tract at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark for the use of himſelf & his Warriors: And in consideration thereof the U. S. would give ſuch a large ſum in money or goods, as was never given at one time for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their feet on this Island. And because these lands did every year furnish you with ſkins & furs with which you bought clothing & other neceſsaries; the U. S. will now furnish the like constant supplies. And therefore, besides the great ſum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of ſuch goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women and Children."—

"Brothers— Money, to us, is of no value, & to most of us unknown: And as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get ſuſtenance for our women & Children; we hope we may be allowed to point out a Mode by which your ſettlers may be easily removed & peace thereby obtained.—

"Brothers— We know that these ſettlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in

a

a Country which has been in continual trouble ever since they croſsed the Ohio. Divide therefore this large ſum of Money which you have offered to us, among these people: Give to each also, a proportion of what you say you would give us annually over & above this very large ſum of Money; And we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it in lieu of the lands you sold to them. If you add also the great ſums you must expend in raising & paying Armies, with a view to force us to yield you our Country, you will certainly have more than ſufficient for the purposes of repaying these ſettlers for all their labour & their improvements.—

"Brothers You have talked to us about conceſsions. It appears ſtrange that you ſhould expect any from us who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. —We want peace— Restore to us our Country & we Shall be enemies no longer.—

"Brothers— You make one conceſsion to us by offering us your money, & another, by having agreed to do us justice, after having long & injuriously witheld it: We mean in the acknowledgement you have now made, that the King of England never did nor ever had a right to give you our Country by the treaty of peace: And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your conceſsions, and seem to expect that because you have at last acknowledged our Independance, we should for ſuch a favor ſurrender to you our Country.

"Brothers— You have talked also a great deal about pre-emption & your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the King at the treaty of Peace.

"Brothers— We never made any agreement with the King, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands: And we declare to you that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or ceſsion of lands whenever & to whomsoever we please. If the white people as you say, made a treaty, that none of them but the King should purchase of us, & that he has given that right to the U.S. it is an affair which concerns you & him, & not us. We have never parted with ſuch a power.—

"Brothers— At our General Council held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet Commiſsioners from the U.S. for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge & confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio: And we determined not to meet you until you gave us ſatisfaction on that point, that is the reason we have never met.— We desire you to consider, Brothers, that our only demand, is the peaceable poſseſsion of a ſmall part of our once great Country. Look back & view the lands from whence we have been driven to this ſpot. We can retreat no further, because the Country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants. And we have therefore resolved to leave our bones in this ſmall ſpace to which we are now confined.

"Brothers We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unneceſsary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes, as our meſsage last fall was principally directed to obtain that information."—

Done in General Council, at the foot of the Miamis Rapids, the 13th day of August 1793.—

Nations

Wyandots—
Seven Nations of Canada—
Delawares—
Shawanoes—
Miamis—
Ottawas—

Chippewas—
Senekas of the Glaize—
Pattawatamies—
Connoys—
Munsees—
Nantikokes—

Mohickens—
Meſsasagues—
Creeks—
Cherokees.—

To the foregoing answer of the Indian Nations, the Commiſsioners immediately made the following reply, & delivered it to the two Wyandot Runners who brought the answer.—

"To the Chiefs & Warriors of the Indian Nations aſsembled at the foot of the Miamis Rapids."

"Brothers—We have just recd. your answer dated the 13th inst: to our speech of the 31st of last month, which we delivered to your Deputies at this place. You say it was interpreted to all your Nations, & we presume it was fully understood. We therein explicitly declared to you, that it was now impoſsible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your lands & the lands of the U. S.—Your answer amounts to a declaration that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. The negociation is therefore at an end. We sincerely regret that Peace is not the result: but knowing the upright & liberal views of the U. S., which as far as you gave us an opportunity, we have explained to you, we trust that impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them."

Done at Capt. Elliots, at the mouth of Detroit river, the 16 day of August 1793.

(signed) Ben: Lincoln
Bev: Randolph
Tim: Pickering
} Commiſsioners of the U. S.

No. 8.

Extracts from the
Journal of the Commissioners
appointed in 1793. to
treat of peace with the
Western Indians*

of these very interesting papers
* The endorsement is in the
handwriting of Gen Wayne
was purchased at sale of his

No. 8.

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handwriting of Gen Wayne
& was purchased at sale of his
papers . T.W.H.

Dear Sir, + Niagara July 10. 1793.

[Various causes have hitherto prevented the Commiſsioners from proceeding to Sandusky, where the treaty with the Indians is to be held. A fortnight ſince we left this place to embark on Lake Erie; but while detained by contrary winds, a large deputation from the Western Indians arrived, which occasioned our return hither with them. The preliminaries which caused their coming being adjusted to mutual ſatisfaction, we are now on the point of ſtarting again to embark for Sandusky, with better prospects of ſucceſs than before. — Our personal ſafety I consider as ſecure.]

In great haste adieu!

Rev.d John Clark (Hanover) T. Pickering.

Queenston ½ past one, July 10. 1793.
7 miles from Niagara.

I am waiting the arrival of a boat with our baggage. Here the Carrying place of 9 miles commences. In this space of 9 miles we pass the great Falls of Niagara, which viewed from above do not ~~by~~ in any degree appear so magnificent as the representations lead us to expect. At the end of the 9 miles our baggage will be again put into boats & carried to Fort Erie, 17 miles further. where we shall embark for Sandusky.

[ I closed the preceding page with an opinion that no injury to the Commissioners was to be apprehended, let the event of the treaty be what it might. I mentioned this because many people supposed our undertaking extremely hazardous; and my eastern friend might entertain the same opinion, which you can now remove.

It will probably be the first of August before the treaty commences; and I have no expectation of getting home again till October.

I pray you to make known to my numerous friends my affectionate remembrance of them. My son at College I again recommend to your patronage. Your knowledge, your genius, your benevolence, your affection for me, will enable and induce you to give him the best advice & assistance. I am most sincerely yours

F. Pickering.

ev.d John Clarke.

Free
T. Pickering

The Rev.d FREE
Mr. John Clarke
Boston

July 10, 1793

at no
ended,

M

Sir   Cop.

Navy Hall July 10th 1793.

I do myself the honor of acquainting your Excellency that on Friday last a Deputation from the American Indians assembled at the Miami Rapids arrived at Fort Erie, consisting of Joseph Brant ~~and~~ near fifty Chiefs of the several Nations, the Commissioners of the United States not having ~~left that place~~ sailed from Fort Erie owing to contrary winds, the Deputation waited upon and informed them, that they would assemble at Niagara ~~the next morning~~ as soon as they conveniently could, and in my presence acquaint them of the object of their Mission, this the Commissioners ~~immediately~~ with great readiness assented to, and the meeting was ~~convened~~ held ~~agreeably to mutual agreement on~~ last on Sunday Morning the 7th. The Proceedings of which, I have the honor to enclose to your

Excellency, ~~the Proceedings, and~~ the Commissioners
go ~~proceed~~ this day to Fort Erie to ~~[illegible]~~
~~emb~~ embark in his Majesty's Schooner the
Dunmore, which as I have informed your Excellency
is ordered to attend these Gentlemen to the place
appointed for the ~~accomplishment~~ Treaty. —

I beg leave to add that the
seven Nations of Canada amounting ~~[illegible]~~
nearly 280 Indians arrived here from
Kingston yesterday under the superintendence
of Mess: Lorimier and La Motte; they will
be forwarded with the utmost expedition to
their western Brethren with the deputation
who are also upon the eve of their departure
to the Westward —

It appears singular that the Canadian Indians are to proceed without any of their Officers belonging to that Branch of the Superintendant's Department to the Meeting —

Colonel Butler returned with the deputation from the Miamis, & I do not understand that his health will permit him to return thither.

I enclose for your Excellency's Information the Copy of two Letters which I have received from Colonel McKee —

Brant seems inclined to give up some cultivated Settlements on the North of the Ohio & intimates the Shawanese to be of that Opinion — nothing like this, appears in Colonel McKee's letters, nor does Lt Talbot, who has returned hither, place such a Construction on the Conversations He had in Confidence with Colonel McKee —

It is remarkable that Colonel McKee told Mr Talbot, that He had been informed ~~by Colon~~ that Captn Brant in conversation with Colonel Butler said that He was pledged to Congress to give it as his opinion to the Council that the Indian nations should give away part of the territory on the Northern Side of the Ohio —

Your Excellency will see therefore that tho' there may be still a difference of opinion in the Indian Councils, I propose to write strongly on this subject to Colo McKee, & have endeavoured more strongly to fix upon Brants mind, the necessity of that Union which I trust in the result will be the safeguard of the Indian Nations, & highly beneficial to Great Britain —

I am sorry to observe to your Excellency likewise that ~~the difficulties relative to the [illegible] of [illegible] daily increasing [illegible] on the Grand River [illegible] our possession of that tract~~

I have

## FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, July 10, 1793.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of acquainting Your Excellency that on Friday last a Deputation from the American Indians assembled at the Miamis Rapids, arrived at Fort Erie, consisting of fifty Chiefs of the several Nations:—The Commissioners of the United States, not having sailed from Fort Erie owing to contrary winds, the Deputation waited upon and informed them that they would assemble at Niagara as soon as they conveniently could, and in my presence acquaint them of the object of their Mission, this the Commissioners with great readiness assented to, and the meeting was held on Sunday morning the 7th. The proceedings of which I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency: The Commissioners go this day to Fort Erie to embark in His Majesty's Schooner Dunmore, which as I have informed your Excellency is ordered to attend those Gentlemen to the place appointed for the Treaty.

I beg leave to add that the Seven Nations of Canada amounting to nearly 280 Indians arrived here from Kingston yesterday, under the Superintendence of Messrs Lorimier and La Motte: they will be forwarded with the utmost expedition to their Western Brethren with the Deputation who are also upon the eve of their departure to the westward.

It appears singular that the Canadian Indians are to proceed without any of the officers belonging to that branch of the Superintendent's Department to the meeting. Colonel Butler returned with the Deputation from the Miamis; and I do not understand that His Health will permit him to return thither.

I enclose for your Excellency's information the Copies of two Letters I have received from Colonel McKee.

Brandt seems inclined to give up some cultivated settlements on the North of the Ohio, and intimates the Shawanese to be of that opinion—nothing like this appears in Colonel McKee's letters, nor does Lt. Talbot who has returned hither, place such a construction upon the conversations he had in confidence with Colonel McKee.

It is remarkable that Colonel McKee told Mr. Talbot that he had been informed that Capt. Brandt in conversation with Colonel Butler said that "He was pledged to Congress to give it as his opinion to the Council that the Indian Nations should give up part of the territory on the Northern side of the Ohio."

Your Excellency will see therefore that there may be still a difference of opinion in the Indian Councils. I purpose to write strongly on this subject to Colonel McKee, and have endeavoured more strongly to fix upon Brandt's mind the necessity of that Union, which I trust in the result will be the safeguard of the Indian Nations, and highly beneficial to Great Britain.

I have the honor, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

Major Genl Clarke.
*Commander in Chief.*

Fort Franklin July 10th 1793.

His Excellency Major General A. Wayne

Sir,

Ever since there has been a Garrison at this Post the Commanding Officers have not only been particularly attentive to me themselves but have always told me they doubted not every thing would be done for me by the United States reasonable. Accordingly in my Conference with you this Spring you promised to inform me when you should move against the Hostile Indians, as it was my wish to accompany you; but as since then it is the wish of the United States to be at peace with ~~the~~ with the hostile Nations. I am now going with the Six Nations to the Treaty to endeavour to accomplish a peace – Shewing myself always ready to do any thing in my power for the good of my Brothers the Americans. The Wolf Enterpret.r & Roſsecrantz who accompanies us I shall consider it my particular Care to see safe return, that he may be able to give you the Earliest intelligence – I shall use my utmost endeavours to accompany him in. You will be so good as to acquaint Capt.n Butler and Capt.n Jeffers I am well and hope soon to see them I remain –

Sir

Your Humble Obliged

and Sincere Friend

The Big Tree

10th July 1793
from
Big Tree
Ex: 1815

His Excellency Major Genl. Anthony Wayne

Head-quarters

Navy Hall,
11 July, 1793
Littlehales, E.B., to Messrs. Sheehan
and Johnson, Interpreters

instructions

V, 221-24

Duplicate

Instructions to Mess$^{rs}$ Sheehan and Johnston (Interpreters

Navy Hall July 11$^{th}$ 1793

It is his Excellency Colonel Simcoe's orders that as Col$^{o}$ Butler (Deputy Superintendant) is prevented owing to indisposition, from attending the Treaty at Sandusky; that you immediately give an exact account of the Stores and Rum in your possession to Colonel McKee, and likewise of all the Stores, and Rum, belonging to the Indian department, (which you brought from Niagara, and that you do not issue any one article without previously making application to Col. McKee & receiving his sanction for so doing in such a Mode as He shall be pleased to approve

In all points whatever you are to be guided and directed by Colonel McKee, who is invested as His Majesty's Superintendant for Indian Affairs, with all such Civil, and Military Authority as may be necessary to fulfil the object of his important Trust, and is solely responsible for the due execution of the same

The Union of the Indians being the great object of your being sent to Sandusky I am directed to add that His Excellency the Lieut. Governor having the firmest reliance on your Loyalty and Duty and Prudence, makes no doubt but that you will exert all your influence to encourage & cement the same and to dispose the Indian Nations under your guidance, to adopt such Measures as Colonel McKee shall from time to time direct, as necessary to their Common benefit and Preservation

July 11. 1793.

It is His Excellency Colonel Simcoe's Orders that as Colonel Butler (Deputy Superintendant) is prevented owing to indisposition from attending the Treaty at Sandusky, that you immediately give a exact account of the Stores and Rum in your Possession to Colonel Mc. Kee, an likewise of all the Stores and Rum belonging to the Indian department, which you brough from Niagara, and that you do not issue any one article without previously making application to Colonel Mc. Kee, and receiving his sanction for so doing, in such a mode, as He shall be pleased to approve.

In all points whatsoever you are to be guided, and directed by Colonel Mc. Kee Who is invested as his Majesty's Superintendant for Indian Affairs, with all such civil, and military Authority as may be necessary to fullfill the Object of his

July 11th 1793.

By His Excellency's Command

Edwd Baker Littlehales

Major of Brigade

exact account of the Stores and Rum in your Possession to Colonel McKee, and likewise of all the Stores and Rum belonging to the Indian department, which you brough from Niagara, and that you do not issue any one article without previously making application to Colonel McKee, and receiving his sanction for so doing, in such a mode, as He shall be pleased to approve.

In all points whatsoever you are to be guided, and directed by Colonel McKee, Who is invested as his Majesty's Superintendant for Indian Affairs, with all such civil, and military Authority as may be for the due Execution of the same.

The Union of the Indian Nations being the great object of your being sent to Sandusky, I am directed to add that his Excellency The Lieutenant Governor having the firmest reliance on your Loyalty, Duty, and Prudence makes no doubt but that you will exert all your Influence to encourage and cement the same, and to dispose the Indian Nations under your Guidance, to adopt such measures as Colonel McKee shall from time to time direct as necessary to their common benefit & Preservation.

By His Excellency's Command
Edward Baker Littlehales
Major of Brigade

Recis d'un Conseil des Sauvages du Bas Canada, adreſsé a Son Excellence Jean Graves Simcoë Ecuier, Lieutenant Gouverneur de la Province du Haut Canada, et Colonel Commandant les Forces de sa Majesté dans la ditte Province &.ca &.ca &.ca

Mon Pere; Apres vous avoir salué avec les expreſsions les plus sincers, et respectueux que notre Langue peut nous fournir; nous commencons a vous prevenir, que nos freres, les Six Nations nous ont appellé a leurs aſsemblé avec les Amerquains, ou ils ont resolu en notre presence de les prendre par la main, et les conduire au grand feu dans le bas de la Reviere Sandoské

Mon Pere; Nous vous prevenont que nous ne voulont avoir aucune connexion avec les gens des Colonies crainte de quelque entretien ou engagement, ayant des instructions particulieres de nos Villages de ne lever la tete qu'en votre presence, et a l'aſsemblé generale des Sauvages

Mon Pere; Nous voyons avec peine que Lorimier est obligé de retourner dans nos Villages, ou nous le trouvons tres neceſsaire pour nos interets; mais comme vous etes tout puiſsant, nous vous prions, de nous accorder un de vos officiers digne de votre confiance pour nous conduire, et vous rendre compte de la facon que nous nous comporterons sous ses ordres ——

Mon Pere; Nous vous prions d'observer que tous nos endroits de chasse sont presentement etablis par vos sujets, et que par consequence nous n'avons d'autre rescource que l'agriculture pour faire subsister nos familles, et que notre absence ayant laissé nos femmes et nos enfants sans la moindre rescouvre pour faire faire nos foins, si ce n'est de vous supplier d'avoir égard a notre situation, et d'implorer pour nous notre Pere le General Clark d'avoir pitié de notre pauvreté. Nous nous persuadons que le voyage que nous faisons, est autant pour le bien du Service, que pour l'interet general des Sauvages.

Ch.er Lorimier
Interprete

Niagara le 12 Juillet
1793

Recu Dun Conseil Des Sauvages Du Bas
Canada; aDesée a Son Excelence John Graves
Simcoe Ecuier Leut: Gouverneur De La province
Du-aut Canada, Et Colonnelle; Commandant
Les forces De Sa majesté D'ans La Ditte province
H.Q.Libre

Mon pere appres vous avoir Saluée avec Les Expresions
Les plus Sincers Et Respecteux que notre Lang peut
nous fournir; nous Commansons á vous prevenir,
que nos freres + Les Six nations nous onts apelée á Leurs asemblée
avec Les ameriquien, ou jls onts Resollû En notre
presence De Les prendre par La main Et Les
Conduire au Grand feu D'an Le Bas De La riviere
Sandoské

Mon pere nous vous prevenons que nous ne voulonts avoir
aucune Colation avec Ces Jeunes Des Colonnies
Crainte De quelque Entretien ou Engagemant:
ayeints Des instructions particulier De nos vilages
De ne Lever La tete quan votre presence, Et á La
Semblée Generale Des Sauvage

mon pere nous voyon avec penne que Lorimier Est obligé
De Retourner Dans nos vilages ou nous Le trouvonts
tres nésésair pour nos interaites; mes Comme vous
Este tous puisant nous vous priontes De nous acorder
un De vos officer Digne De votre Confience pour
nous Conduir Et vous Rendre Compt De La façon
que nous nous Comportrons Sou Ces ordres

Mon pere nous vous prionts D'oppserver que tous nos Endrottes
De Chasse Sonte presentemant Établie par vos
Sujestes, Et que par Conseran nous n'avonts Dautre
Resurce que La gréculture pour fair Supsister nos
familles Et que notre apsence aurente Lesé nos femme Et nos
Enfans San La moindre Resurce pour fair fair nos
foins; Ci Ce n'ai De vous Suplier Davoir Égard
à notre Situation, Et D'apsorer pour nous notre pere
Le Générale Clark D'avoir pitier De notre pauvreté

nous persuadant que Le voyage que nous fesonts
Este autent pour Le Bien Du Service que pour
L'interaite Général Des Sauvages

Chr Lorimier
interprette

niagara Le 12 juillette 1793

Queens Rangers Camp
July 12th 1793

Sir,

I have received your letters from Fort Erie with their Enclosures— I am perfectly satisfied with the Proceedings of the Indian Councils, & from the Conduct of the Commissioners of the United States, I am sorry to say, that I am confirmed in my Opinion that they do not wish manfully & openly to meet the Question whether the Treaties made by Sinclair were just or unjust, but aim to avert its decision & to carry their point by sowing Jealousies among the various tribes of the American Indians—

My direction to Mr Johnson to place himself under the Orders of Colonel McKee, was solely intended in case you should not yourself have undertaken the Journey or joined till a later period— there can be no necessity for Orders to the Commanding Officer at Detroit to assist you, as he has general Instructions to that purpose, & without doubt will attend to all your ~~proper~~ requisitions.

In regard to Instructions they will be forwarded to you by Capt. Bunbury who will accompany the Commissioners

& be the Bearer of such precise Orders, as I shall think it proper to communicate, when I shall have received the Official Documents from Mr Chew — In the mean time, I have held so many conversations with you, & Colonel McKee has been so long in the habit of having the most confidential Communications with me, that I trust little difficulty can remain on that Head — It is obvious that as the precise Arrangement of the Treaty more particularly affects the Nations under Colonel McKee's Superintendancy, He, in that view must take the lead, & It will be your business to use your influence to keep the Six Nations in the strict Union, & that the whole of the ~~Colour~~ American Indians may have but one Opinion — but It is to be observed by each of you, & I request that you communicate this Letter to Colonel McKee, That you do not attend the Indian Council, as Mediators, but Solely upon the request of the Indians, (to which the Government of the United States have given their Sanction) to give to them the best Advice in all respects, that may be suited to their Interests; & in making such Communications, I must direct, that it may be done without ~~ostentation~~, and as circumspectly & privately as may be consistent with the full & free expression of your opinions; assisting with ~~rather affording~~ the substance of your knowledge the Indian Nations, & not being anxious to impress the Commissioners with any Idea of your superior Influence — for It is evident that your conduct will be narrowly watched, & if possible Reasons will be extracted from it to palliate the failure, should ~~it~~ such be the Event happen, of the Negociation —

It will therefore be extremely advisable, that both you & Colonel McKee should decline all meeting with the Commissioners except upon business, & I should rather wish that such intercourse should be managed by Lt. Selby, than by your own personal appearance.

I need not say, how highly a beneficial Peace would redound to your Honour, & that I trust, you will to your utmost practise & inculcate thro' your whole department the strictest Economy.

I am Sir with great truth & Consideration

Your faithful &c

University of Toronto Library

Letter from Indians of Lower Canada to J. G. Simcoe. (In French.)
ARCHIVES AT ONTARIO, TORONTO, SIMCOE PAPERS, 1: 385-386.

1200, miles from
the Cherokees —

Mr Welbank left Cowetas
April 12th & was 98 Days on the road

Mr Gillivray sent two men to put Bowles to Death soon after he arrived from England; Bowles fell in company with them they told him their Errand but relinquished it, the Chiefs of the Creeks upon this held a Council, the result of which was a message by Red Shoes one of their Chiefs, to Mr Gillivray "that he should suffer the same fate as might befall Bowles —

Mr Gillivray lost his Credit among the Indians by the Treaty he formed with the United States, by being himself concerned in the sale of their Lands, to such an extent as to have included the post at the Natchez; he was ordered to retire which he did, & died lately of hard drinking in February last —

The intended meeting in April between Mr Seagrove & the Creeks fell through, & hostilities were commenced by the Creeks — & on the 24th of March accounts arrived at the Cowetas of three Parties having returned from expeditions, & the destruction of the American Agent's Traders Store on St Mary's River —

The Upper Creeks were supposed to have a thousand men which had marched towards the Oconee River under the "Tear Off King of the Tallassees — & 1600 of the Lower Creeks & Seminoles destined for St Mary's & Georgia, under Galphin & Mico de Coxe, & King of the Ufalees — several smaller Parties of the Upper Creeks were out against the Cumberland River.

should not act as if in the subordinate character of a military man in your own Government, but in the independent one of Governor, that all the Departments in your Government are under your control, that consequently you must take responsibility on yourself and give such orders as you think necessary, carrying the same into execution, and transmit a copy of those orders to the Commander in Chief, who, if they are palpably wrong, will interfere, but not otherwise. 'Tis the general complaint of His Majesty's Ministers that you will not take enough of responsibility on yourself, that by not doing it you give them great trouble and subject yourself to frequent great inconvenience. They request you to act more from yourself and that you will meet with every support from them. They say a man in your situation must not expect to find himself without enemies, and that you ought to do all in your power to make your Government strong and respectable, that if you do not, on your return you will be attacked on what you have not done, and that you will have no ground to stand on without His Majesty's Ministers shall have refused you any pecuniary aid that you may have required.

The Marquis says you do not know the extent of your power and that consequently you are not aware of how much the public will require of you; that the Governor of Nova Scotia whose instructions are word for word the same as yours is as much independent of Lord Dorchester, when not in his Province, either in a military or civil capacity, as if he was not in existence, and acts as independently.

I wrote to Mr. Dundas about the transporting of the Newfoundland Settlers into U. Canada, but have not heard from him on that subject, and therefore when the Committee wanted me to propose terms on the part of Government I begged leave to declare it not being authorized.

I believe Government thought it would be expensive and that the people would most probably of their own will settle in Canada as being so near them. I see no opportunity of sending this off sometime as Lord Dorchester has made a demand for a large vessel to carry him out, the of 36 guns. I shall therefore write again when he has got his ship and can resolve on sailing. I remain your obliged and faithful friend.

CHARLES STEVENSON.

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## FROM THE INDIANS OF LOWER CANADA TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Recit d'un Conseil des Sauvages du Bas Canada adressé a son Excellence Jean Graves Simcoe Ecuier, Lieutenant Gouverneur de la Province du Haut Canada, et Colonel Commandant les Forces de sa Majesté dans la ditte Province. &c., &c. &c.

Mon Pere...... Apres vous avoir salué avec les expressions les plus sinceres et respectieux que notre langue peut nous fournir nous commençons à vous prevenir, que nous frêres, les six Nations, nous ont appellé a leurs assemblés avec les Ameriquains, ou ils ont resolu en notre presence de les prendre par la main, et les conduire au grand feu dans le bas de la rivière Sandoski.

Mon Pere. Nous vous prevenons que nous ne voulons avoir aucune connexion avec les gens des Colonies crainté de quelque entretien ou engagement; ayant des instructions particulières de nos Villages de ne lever la tête qu'en votre presence, et a l'assemblée generale des Sauvages.

Mon Pere. Nous voyons avec peine que Lorimier est obligé de retourner dans nos Villages, ou nous le trouvons três necessaire pour nos Interets; mais comme vous étes tout puissant nous nous prions, de nous accorder un de vos Officiers digne de votre confiance pour nous conduire, et vous rendre compte de la façon que nous nous comporterons sous ses ordres.

Mon Pere. Nous vous prions d'observer que tous nos endroits de chasse sont presentement établis par vos sujets, et que par consequence nous n'avons d'autre resource que l'agriculture pour faire subsister nos familles, et que notre absence ayant laissé nos femmes et nos enfants sans le moindre resource (pour faire nos foins, si ce n'est de vous supplier d'avoir égard) a notre situation, et d' implorer pour nous notre Pere le General Clarke d'avoir pitie de notre pauvreté. Nous nous persuadons que le voyage que nous faisons, est autant pour le bien du service que pour l'Interêt general des Sauvages.

CHR. LORIMIER.

*Interprete.*

Niagara le 12 Juillet.
1793.

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## MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF UPPER CANADA.

At the Council Chamber Navy Hall in the County of Lincoln July 13th, 1793

Present.

His Excellency John Graves Simcoe, Esqr.
Lieutenant Governor, &c., &c., &c.

The Hon'ble William Osgoode Chief Justice.

The Hon'ble Alexr. Grant.

The Hon'ble James Baby.

His Excellency laid before the Hon'ble Board a Resolution of the House of Assembly of the following Tenor.

State.
A—16.

House of Assembly, Tuesday, 9th July, 1793.

Resolved, that His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor be requested through the Speaker to grant a loan to this House for the purpose of paying the Salaries and contingent Expences thereof, which Salaries and contingent Expences shall respectively be certified under the Hand and Seal of the Speaker to His Majesty's Receiver General or other person appointed by His Excellency to issue such loan; the Speaker keeping minutes of every Certificate by him so vouched in order to submit the same to the consideration of the House in the next Session thereof.

Resolved that should the funds provided this session be insufficient to reimburse His Excellency in the amount of the said Loan that this House will be responsible to make provision during the next Session thereof, for making good this deficiency.

Ordered that the Speaker be desired to lay before this Board an Estimate of the Salaries and contingent Expences as voted by the House.

Na[illegible],
12 July, 1793

Littlehales, E. B., to McKee, A.,

interpreters

V, 225-26

225

Navy Hall July 12th 1793

Dear Sir

His Excellency directs me to enclose to you a duplicate of instructions to Messrs: Shehan & Johnson, which he has lost no time in ordering me to transmit, Lieut: Talbot being the bearer of his Excellency's dispatches to you, will bring the original with him.

I am Dear Sir, with Regard & Esteem

Your most Obedient
humble Servant

Edward Baker Littlehales.

Colonel McKee
&c. &c.

July 15th Draws again 227

# List of Indians drawing Provisions, Rapids 13th July 179[illegible]

| No | commencing the 13th for 3 Days | | No of Men |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Pottawatamies (Wastenas) | | 15 |
| 2 | Ditto | | 6 |
| 3 | Do | Salt Spring | 8 |
| 4 | Do | St. Josephs | 4 |
| 5 | Do | R. Resine | 6 |
| 6 | Do | St. Joseph | 17 |
| 7 | Do | Wastena | 42 |
| 8 | Do | Lamothes | 7 |
| 9 | Do | St. Joseph | 15 |
| 10 | Do | Windigo | 11 |
| 11 | Do | St. Joseph | 9 |
| 12 | Do | head of R. Resine | 9 |
| 13 | Do | St. Joseph | 6 |
| 14 | Do | Do | 7 |
| 15 | Chippewa's | [illegible]chinay | 28 |
| 16 | Do | Matatawasson | 45 |
| 17 | Do | Detroit River | 8 |
| 18 | Do | beyond Saginan | [illegible] |
| 19 | Do | Pinery | 18 |
| 20 | Do | Small Racoon | 7 |
| 21 | Do | R. La Tranche | 10 |
| 22 | Do | Chabockqua | 7 |
| 23 | Ottawa's | R. Resine | 7 |
| 24 | Do | Sandusky | 12 |
| 25 | Do | Pinery | 19 |
| 26 | Do | Stony Creek | 13 |
| 27 | Do | Nagoushuay Michilmakina | 25 |
| 28 | Do | Carrying River | 15 |
| 29 | Do | Otter Creek | 10 |
| 30 | Do | Point au Chene | 14 |
| 31 | Do | Turkey Point | 13 |
| 32 | Do | Miamis Bay | 18 |
| 33 | Mohickons | | 25 |
| 34 | Sac | | 1 |
| 35 | Nantikokes | | 28 |
| 36 | Shawenese | | 40 |
| 37 | Delawares | (Glaize) | 8 |
| | | | 536 |

| No | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 38 | Tuscarora George | | 1 |
| 39 | Chippewas | (Messasas) | 5 |
| 40 | Do | Big Cheeks | 13 |
| 41 | Do | M. Mattenac | 9 |
| 42 | Do | Sagina | 6 |
| 43 | Ottawas | Sandusky | 3 |
| 44 | Mingoes | Glaize | 2 |
| 45 | Do | do | 4 |
| | Commencing the 14th for 3 Ds | | |
| 46 | Miamies | Little Turtle | 10 |
| 47 | Do | | 6 |
| 48 | Chippawas | [illegible]rkey Point | 4 |
| 49 | Senecas | [illegible] | 20 |
| 50 | Ditto | | 6 |
| 51 | Do | Buffaloe Creek | 5 |
| 52 | Do | Farmers Brother | 53 |
| 53 | Delawares | (Tetebachshee | 13 |
| 54 | Do | R. La Tranche) | 21 |
| 55 | Do | Buckongehelas | 15 |
| 56 | Do | his family | 3 |
| 57 | Do | Grand River | 24 |
| 58 | Cherokees | | 20 |
| 59 | Do | | 5 |
| 60 | Onondagoes & Senecas | | 13 |
| 61 | Cayugas | | 24 |
| 62 | Do | | 59 |
| 63 | Tuscaroras | | 11 |
| 64 | Oghquagoes | | 23 |
| 65 | Mohawks | | 45 |
| 66 | Messasagues | | 10 |
| 67 | Do | NB. a ticket for only 30 | 32 |
| 68 | Ottawas | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 69 | Wyandots | | [illegible] |
| 70 | Do | | |
| 71 | | | 8 |
| 72 | | | 23 |
| 73 | | | 10 |
| 74 | | | 39 |
| | | | 563 |

Indians
Assembled Summer
1793
Rapids Miamis

| | |
|---|---|
| 7 Nations | 280 |
| Senecas &c | |
| Hurons | 120 |
| Ottawas R. de L. | 120 |
| Shawanese | 100 |
| Delawares | 70 |

13

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Potawatamies Wastenas | 15 | ✓ |
| Egouchewa | 27 | ✓ |
| Ottawas Riv: Rosonie | 7 | ✓ |
| D° Sandusky | 12 | ✓ |
| D° Pinery | 19 | ✓ |
| D° Stony Creek | 11 | ✓ |
| Mohickens | 25 | ✓ |
| Makinages (Nagamin) | 25 | ✓ |
| Makalawasson Chipawas | 45 | ✓ |
| Potawatamies | 6 | ✓ |
| Ottawas Carrying River | 15 | ✓ |
| Nanticokes | 28 | ✓ |
| Shawenoes | 34 | ✓ |
| Potawatamies Salt Spring | 7 | ✓ |
| Chippawas Det: Riv | 8 | ✓ |
| Potawatamies S<sup></sup>t Joseph | 11 | ✓ |
| D° R Rasine | 5 | ✓ |
| Chippawas beyond Sagina | 10 | ✓ |
| D° Pinery | 18 | ✓ |
| Potawatamies S<sup></sup>t Joseph | 17 | ✓ |
| D° Wastenos | 42 | ✓ |
| a Sac | 1 | ✓ |
| Ottawas Maquck | 10 | ✓ |
| | 398 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Potawatamies LaMothe | 7 | ✓ |
| D° S<sup></sup>t Joseph | 14 | ✓ |
| D° Windigo | 11 | ✓ |
| Ottawas P. au Chene | 14 | ✓ |
| Potawatamies S<sup></sup>t Joseph | 9 | ✓ |
| Chippawas (Small Racoon) | 7 | ✓ |
| Potawatamies head of R Resine | 9 | ✓ |
| D° S<sup></sup>t Joseph | 5 | ✓ |
| D° d° | 7 | ✓ |
| Ottawas Turkey P<sup></sup>t | 13 | ✓ |
| Chippawas R La Tranche | 10 | ✓ |
| Delawares (Glaize) | 8 | ✓ |
| Ottawas Miami Bay | 13 | ✓ |
| Chippawas Chabocque | 7 | ✓ |
| Tuskarora George | 1 | ✓ |
| Chippawas Messass | 5 | ✓ |
| D° Mattina | 13 | ✓ |
| D° D° | 9 | ✓ |
| D° Sagina | 6 | ✓ |
| Ottawas Sandusky | 3 | ✓ |
| Mingoes Glaize | 14 | ✓ |
| D° d° | 4 | ✓ |

| | |
|---|---|
| Bonnas P.t [illegible] | 13 |
| Saginan | 13 - 2 |
| Carrying River | 11 |
| D° | 15 |
| La Mothes Potawatamies | 7 |
| Mackalawasson | 56 |
| Rivr La Tranche | 10 |
| Coeur de Cerfe | 14 |
| M: Mackinac | 22 - 2 |
| D° | 25 . 2 |
| Chabocque | 9 |
| Messassagues | 10 |
| D° | 20 |
| Buckangehalis | 23 |

390
186

14 July for 3 Days

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Miamis | Little Turtle | 18 | ✓ |
| Do | | 6 | ✓ |
| Chippaways | Turkey Pt. | 4 | ✓ |
| Senecas | Civil Man | 20 | ✓ |
| Delawares | Tatebackshica | 13 | ✓ |
| Do. | R. La Tranche | 16 | ✓ |
| Do | Buckangehelas | 14 | ✓ |
| Do | Do | 3 | ✓ |
| Senecas | | 6 | ✓ |
| Delawares | Grand River | 24 | ✓ |
| Cherokees | | 10 | ✓ |
| Onondagoes & Senecas | | 19 | ✓ |
| Cayugas | | 22 | ✓ |
| Tuscaroras | | 11 | ✓ |
| Senecas | Buffalo Creek | 5 | ✓ |
| Oghquagoes | | 23 | ✓ |
| Mohawks | | 45 | ✓ |
| Senecas | Farmers Brd | 53 | ✓ |
| Cayugas | | 35 | ✓ |
| Messassagues | | 1 | ✓ |
| Ottaways Sandusky | | 3 | ✓ |

Messasagues — [illegible]

N.B. a ticket for only 30 to be made 32

Hurons — 1

Cherokees — 7

144
74

Sir

Detroit July 24th: 1793

Messrs Parish, Savory, Lindley, Elliot, Hartshorn, and Moore, All of the Society called Quakers, who have been for six Weeks past at this Post, by Permission of His Excellency Lieut. Governor Simcoe, have requested me to introduce them to You

They have been deputed by their Society to attend the proposed Council at Sandusky, And to assist by their friendly Offices, to make Peace between the United States, and the American Indians.

These Gentlemen while here have conducted themselves very Correctly, as far as came within my Knowledge, which they wish me to mention to You. And at the same time, to beg Your Protection and Countenance when they go to the Council.

They are provided with such Stores, Tents, and Bedding as they may have Occasion for, and I understand from them that they are totally distinct, and separate from the Commis-

Colonel McKee

&c &c

=signed

246

In what view they are to be considered by the Indians, they will best explain, I have not discovered that they have any Credentials, except from their own Society

I have the Honor to be Sir
Your very Obedient
and very Humble Servant
R. England

Sandusky. 26th July. 1793
2~~45~~ 11

Father here is now our brothers the Six Nations Arrived and is in Great want for Provisons. as I have but little it will not last long for such a Number of People. I wish father, that you would make all the haste you can to send some to your Childr as they are in a manner Starving —

Father you will not Think strange that I have not came yet with a Second Message from the Chiefs. as it is the Oppinion of all here and what few Chiefs there is that I aughto not to leave this place. the Reasons the have for is this that they are not able to Speak. to our Brothers the Six Nations. that is to Give them a Consolation, that is very True they are not able to do it — and I cannot Get any of them to Go in my place

Tar his X he
mark

Sandusky 28 July

Speech from the Cran

the arrival of the 6 Na

1793

## FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, July 27, 1793.

Sir,

I am sorry that I am under the disagreeable necessity of informing Your Excellency that the testimony of Mr. Smith of the 5th Regt., on the late trial of Capt. Charleton, subjected Major Smith to the necessity of putting him under arrest, in order that his conduct might be enquired into by a General Court Martial.

In this very disagreeable situation, the friends of this unfortunate young Gentleman thought it most advisable that he should retire from the King's Service, which he has thought proper to acquiesce in, and for that purpose, has requested leave of absence to return to Europe, which, as far as in me lays, I have felt it my duty to comply with. I am to regret that it is my opinion, that this very young gentleman has been led step by step into errors, that if proved, were unpardonable, and I cannot but consider him as an object of the most sincere compassion.

I am sorry to inform Your Excellency that during the trial of five Deserters by the General Court Martial of the 5th Regt. which is not yet closed, two men of the same Regt. deserted. I cannot upon the strictest enquiry find any reason whatsoever for the continuation of crimes, so detrimental to the King's Service, and am persuaded that neither severity nor undue relaxation of discipline is to be attributed to Major Smith. The opportunity is very open, and the circumstance of Regiments being long shut up in Garrison, appear as far as I have had experience, always to encourage that roving tendency which too frequently fixes in the mind of the unemployed soldier. The duty of rowing up the King's stores from Navy Hall to Queenston was severe, and became unnecessary, as the gunboats or vessels themselves have been proved fully adequate to fulfill that part of the service. I have therefore taken this heavy duty from the Regt. during the present season: not more with a view to lessen the fatigue of the Regt., than to employ their force in such additions to the works at Niagara, as appeared to me, to be absolutely requisite.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Major General Clarke.

I transmit by this opportunity, the paper for the future management of the Indians, included in Lord Dorchester's schedule. Sir William Johnson's map has been forwarded to Colonel McKee.

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## FROM THE WESTERN INDIANS TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

**Brothers;—**

**The Deputies we sent to you did not fully explain our meaning; we have therefore sent others, to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing.**

**Brothers;—**

**You are sent here by the United States in order to make peace with us the Confederate Indians.**

Brothers;—

You know very well that the Boundary line which was run between the White People and us at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix was the River Ohio.

Brothers;—

If you seriously design to make a lasting and a firm Peace you will immediately remove all your People from our side of that River.

Brothers;—

We therefore ask you, Are you fully authorised by the United States to continue and firmly fix on the Ohio River as the Boundary line between your People and ours?

DONE in General Council at the Foot of the Miamis Rapids, 27th July, 1793.

In behalf of ourselves and the whole Confederacy and agreed to in a full Council.

J.G.S.

| Nations. | Marks. |
|---|---|
| Wyandots | Bear. |
| Delawares | Turtle. |
| Shawanese | Snake. |
| Miamies | Turtle. |
| Mingoes | Snipe. |
| Poutawatamies | Black cat. |
| Ottawas | Sturgeon. |
| Connoys | Turkey. |
| Chippewa's | Crow. |
| Muncies | Turkey. |

A true copy.
(Signed) A. McKee,
D.A.I.A.

*Endorsed:—27th July, 1793. Speech of a General Council to the Commissioners of the United States.*

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## FROM JOSEPH BRANT TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Foot of the Miamis Rapids, 28th July, 1793.

Sir,

The Indian Affairs in this quarter having lately taken a turn which as a great part of the Indians do not approve, make it necessary for me to address Your Excellency on this subject.

When we left this with a Deputation to meet the Commissioners at Niagara, everything seemed to promise fair and we had a prospect of attaining the end of our wishes, but on our return we found these desirable objects vanished, distrust seemed to prevail, and the Deputies were blamed. this great change may be owing to advice received from the Creek Country.

It was alledged that we should then have insisted on the line made in 1768 between the English and Indians—But we differed in opinion, thinking that Sandusky was the place appointed for the discussion of that object, and where a permanent boundary should be fixed face to face in the presence of all the Indians & if we did not agree, the Reasons would then be adduced.

The Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottewatamies and some others were perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the Deputies, but I must say that I do not see the least inclination for peace amongst some of the Tribes.

They have yesterday come to [a] point of sending a Speech to the Commis-

## To The Commissioners of the United States.

Brothers — The Deputies we sent to you, did not fully explain our meaning; we have therefore sent others to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing.

Brothers — You are sent here by the United States in order to make peace with us the Confederate Indians.

Brothers You know very well that the boundary-line which was run between the White people and us at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix was the River Ohio.

Brothers — If you seriously design to make a lasting and a firm peace, you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that River.

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| Mingoes | Snipe |
| Pottawatamies | Black bass |
| Ottawas | Sturgeon |
| Connoy's | Turkey |
| Chippawas | Crane |
| Munsey's | Turkey |

A true Copy.

A McKee D. A. I. A.

27th. July 1793.

Speech of a General Council
to
The Commissioners of the U: States.

(A)

Copy

To the Commissioners of the
United States

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Brothers

If you Seriously design to make a firm and lasting Peace you will immediately remove all your People from our Side of that River

Brothers

We therefore Ask you, are you fully authorised by the United States to Continue and firmly fix on the Ohio as the Boundary Line between your People and ours, ——

Done in General Council at the foot of the Miamis Rapids 27th July 1793 ——

Speech of the Confederate
Indians Miami Rapids
July 27th/93 - to the Comrs of
the U. S. —

Ent: & Ex page 352.

E. B. L.

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| (Signed) A. McKee, | Connoys | Turkey. |
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*Endorsed:—27th July, 1793. Speech of a General Council to the Commissioners of the United States.*

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It was alledged that we should then have insisted on the line made in 1768 between the English and Indians—But we differed in opinion, thinking that Sandusky was the place appointed for the discussion of that object, and where a permanent boundary should be fixed face to face in the presence of all the Indians & if we did not agree, the Reasons would then be adduced.

The Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottewatamies and some others were perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the Deputies, but I must say that I do not see the least inclination for peace amongst some of the Tribes.

They have yesterday come to [a] point of sending a Speech to the Commissioners who are still at the mouth of Detroit River, of which the enclosed paper is a Copy, from which I think it almost certain that no peace will take place.

After the most attentive consideration and weighing the situation of the Confederacy, I am still of the same opinion that I have been these five years, and which I think I explained to Your Excellency, that the Ohio ought to be the boundary as far up as the Muskingum and this is the line the Confederacy have contended for, it appears to me as the most proper, as it would answer the expectations of the moderate & neutral Indians, & would only be opposed by the hot-headed, this would in my opinion be the true interest of the Indians, but I am afraid the steps they are now taking will have a contrary effect.

I hope Your Excellency will excuse me for speaking thus freely, but the present situation of the Indians and my own feelings prompt me to do everything in my power for what I look upon to be inseparable from my own. If I do not succeed I shall have the satisfaction to reflect that I have done everything I could and time will show whether I was right or not.

As matters are thus circumstanced I request Your Excellency will have the goodness to assist Us with your advice, which I shall wait for here, and indeed I cannot think of leaving the Country, at a time when there is no appearance of an abrupt termination of the present business, which must unavoidably create some confusion.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Jos. Brant.

His Excellency Govr. Simcoe, &c., &c.

2.

*Endorsed:—In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas No. 93.*

## FROM CAPT. DOYLE TO LT. GOVERNOR SIMCOE.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Doyle of the 24th Regiment, Commanding the Post of Michillimackinac to His Excellency Lieut. Governor Simcoe, Dated 28 July, 1793.

"Previous to Your Excellency's commands respecting the possibility of encouraging a Trade between this Post and Kentucky, I made some inquiries, the result of which were that at present little could be expected from that Quarter, the only return the Americans could make, would be in provisions and Tobacco, the latter article of a superior quality, but from the unwieldy size of the Hogsheads, it would be next to an impossibility their being transported across the different Portages; were the Americans acquainted with a mode of manufacturing Tobacco, either in imitation of Brazil Rolls, or Carrots, it might become an object worth attending to.

"The most considerable Trade from this Post is to and beyond the Mississippi by the rout of La Prairie du Chien, from which place the Traders descend with facility to the American Settlements at the Illinois who are all affected to the British Government. The Trade to that Country is much in our favor, as they consume a great quantity of British Manufactures particularly Cottons, and not having a sufficiency of Peltries to give in return the balance is paid in cash which they receive from their neighbours the Spaniards.

"The Americans expect an impost of ten per cent will be paid upon the British Goods sent from this Post to the Illinois to act as a protecting duty, to a Trade

At the mouth of Detroit River.

July 30. 1793. the following written message was received from the Indian Council sitting at the Rapids of the Miami: being presented by their Deputies.

"To the Commissioners of the United States.

"Brothers, The Deputies we sent to you, did n fully explain our meaning: we have therefore sent others to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask of you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing.

"Brothers, You are sent here by the United States in order to make peace with us the Confederate India

"Brothers, You know very well the Boundary Line which was run between the white people and us, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, was the River Ohio.

"Brothers, If you seriously design to make a firm and lasting peace, you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that River.

"Brothers, We therefore ask you, Are you fully authorized by the United States, to continue and firmly fix on the Ohio River as the Boundary Line between your people and ours?

"Done in General Council, at

the Foot of the Miamis Rapids 27th July 1793.

"In behalf of ourselves and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in full council."

(signed) "Wyandots
Delawares
Shawanese
Miamies
Mingoes
Poutawatamies
Ottawas
Connoys
Chippawas
Munseys"

(And against each name, the figure of some animal, as the mark of the nation.)

July 31. 1793. The Commissioners delivered to the Deputies the following speech, in answer to the preceding message, and to the speech of the Chief who presented it.

"Brothers, the Deputies of the Confederated Indian Nations assembled at the Rapids of the Miamis, attend.

"Yesterday you addressed us, mentioning a former deputation who met us at Niagara. At that meeting you said we did not come to a right understanding: That your Deputies did not fully explain your meaning to us, nor we ours to them: That you desired we might rightly understand each other: and therefore thought it best that what you had to say ſhould be put into writing. Then handing us a paper, you ſaid "Here is the meaning of our Hearts."

" Brothers, That paper is directed to the Commiſsioners of the United States, and ſpeaks to them theſe words, to wit –

( Here was repeated the written meſsage before recited.)

" Brothers, the Deputies here preſent, we have now repeated the words contained in the paper which you delivered to us; and thoſe words have been interpreted to you. We preſume the interpretation agrees with your idea of the contents of the paper. It is expreſsed to be ſigned by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawaneſe, Miamies, Mingoes, Pottawatamies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippawas & Munſeys, in behalf of themſelves and the whole Confederacy, & agreed to in full Council.

" Brothers, We are a little ſurprized at the ſuggestion – That in the conference at Niagara we did not come to a right underſtanding; and that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning. Thoſe deputies appeared to be men of good ſenſe; and when we ſaw them, they were perfectly ſober. In ſhort, we never ſaw men in public council more attentive, or behave with more propriety. We could not therefore ſuppoſe they could miſtake your meaning or ours. Certainly we were ſufficiently explicit. For in plain words we declared, "That in order to eſtabliſh a juſt and permanent peace, ſome conceſsions would be neceſsary on your part as well as on ours." These words, Brothers, are a part of our ſpeech to your deputies; and that ſpeech, they aſsured us, they fully understood. What those conceſsions ſhould be, on both ſides, and where the boundary line ſhould be fixed, were proper ſubjects of diſcuſsion at the treaty, when we ſhould ſpeak face to face. This, we are certain, would be the beſt way to remove all difficulties. But your nations have adopted another mode, which, by keeping us at a diſtance, prevents our knowing each other, & keeps alive those jealousies which are the greateſt obſtacles to a peace. We are therefore desirous of meeting your nations in full council, without more delay. We have already waited in this Province ſixty days beyond the time appointed for opening the treaty.

"Brothers, We have now expreſsed our opinion of the proper mode of ſettling the differences between you and the United States: But as your Nations have desired answers to certain queſtions, previous to our meeting, and we are diſposed to act with frankneſs and ſincerity, we will give an explicit answer to the great queſtion you have now proposed to us. But before we do this, we think it neceſsary to look back to ſome former transactions; and we desire you patiently to hear us.

"Brothers, We do know, very well, that at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, twenty five years ago, the river Ohio was agreed on as the boundary between you and the white people of the British Colonies. And we all know that about ſeven years after that boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your father, the King of Great Britain, and the People of those Colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the treaty of peace made with the King about ten years ago, by which the Great Lakes and the Waters which unite them, were by him declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

"Brothers, Peace having thus been made between the King of Great Britain and the United States, it remained to make peace between them and the Indian Nations who had taken part with the King. For this purpose Commiſsioners were appointed, who sent meſſages to all those Indian Nations, inviting them to come and make peace.

"The first treaty was held about nine years ago with the Six Nations, at Fort Stanwix; which has ſtood firm and unviolated to this day.

"The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort Mc. Intosh, with the Half King of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other Chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa & Chippawa nations.

"Afterwards treaties were made with divers Indian Nations ſouth of the River Ohio; and the next treaty was made with Kakaipilathy, here present, and other Shawanoe Chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanoe

Nation, at the mouth of the Great Miami which runs into the Ohio.

"Brothers. The Commiſsioners who conducted these treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the Great Council of the States, who ſuppoſing them ſatisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of the lands thereby ceded; and a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States, and ſettled upon them. Also many families of your ancient fathers the French, came over the Great Water, and ſettled on a part of the ſame lands.

"Brothers, After ſome time it appeared that a number of people in your nations were diſsatisfied with the treaties of Fort Mc. Intosh and Miami. Therefore the Great Council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their Commiſsioner with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and ſettling boundaries between the Indian Nations, in the Northern Department and the United States. He accordingly ſent Meſsages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a Council Fire which he kindled at the Falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, ſome mischief happened at that place, and the Fire was put out. So he kindled a Council Fire at Fort Harmar, where near Six hundred Indians of different

Nations attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix; and the Wyandots & Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh. Some Ottawas, Chippawas, Pattawatamies and Sacs were also parties to this treaty of Fort Harmar.

"Brothers, All these treaties we have here with us. We have also the ſpeeches of many Chiefs who attended them, and who voluntarily declared their ſatisfaction with the terms of those treaties.

"Brothers, After making all these treaties, and after hearing the Chiefs freely expreſs their ſatisfaction with them, the United States expected to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly, large tracts have been ſold and ſettled, as before mentioned.

"And now, Brothers, we answer explicitly, that for the reasons which we have here ſtated to you, it is impoſsible for us to make the Ohio the boundary between your people and the people of the United States.

"Brothers, You are men of understanding; and if you consider the customs of white people – the great expences which attend their ſettling in a new country – the nature of their improvements, in building houses and barns, and clearing & fencing their lands – how valuable the lands are thus rendered – & thence how dear they are to them; – you will ſee that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the Northern ſide of the Ohio. Your Brothers, the English, know the nature of white people; and they know that under the circumſtances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

" Brothers, You ſeem to consider all the lands in dispute, on your ſide of the Ohio, as claimed by the United States: but ſuffer us to remind you, that a large tract was ſold by the Wyandot and Delaware Nations to the State of Pennſylvania. This tract lies eaſt of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek, at the Ohio, due north to Lake Erie. This line is the Western Boundary of Pennſylvania, as claimed under the charter given by the King of England to your ancient Friend William Penn. Of this ſale made by the Wyandot and Delaware Nations to the State of Pennſylvania, we have never heard any complaint.

" Brothers, we are obliged on this occasion to make a long ſpeech. We again desire you to hear us patiently. The buſineſs is of the higheſt importance; and a great many words are neceſſary fully to explain it: for we desire you may perfectly underſtand us. And there is no danger of your forgetting what we say, because we will give you our ſpeech in writing.

" Brothers, We have explicitly declared to you, that we cannot now make the Ohio

River

August 16. 1793. At the Mouth of Detroit River.

In the afternoon of this day, the Commissioners received by the hands of two Wyandot Runners, from the Indian Council at the Rapids of the Miami, the following answer to their speech of the 31st of July.

" To the Commissioners of the United States.

"Brothers, We have received your speech dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different Nations: We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject: But we now answer it fully; having given it all the consideration in our power.

"Brothers, You tell us that after you had made peace with the King our Father, about ten years ago, -" it remained to make peace between "the United States and the Indian Nations who had "taken part with the King. For this purpose Commis"sioners were appointed who sent Messages to all "those Indian Nations, inviting them to come and "make peace." And after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held, at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh & Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgement, were for the sole purpose of making peace: You then say - "Brothers, The Commissioners who conducted these treaties, in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the General Council of the States, who ſuppoſing them ſatiſfactory to the Nations treated with, proceeded to diſpoſe of the lands thereby ceded." — Brothers, this is telling us plainly, what we always underſtood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended the treaties, viz. that they went to meet your Commiſsioners to make peace, but thro' fear were obliged to ſign any paper that was laid before them; and it has ſince appeared, that Deeds of Ceſsion were ſigned by them inſtead of Treaties of Peace.

"Brothers, You then ſay, "After ſome time
"it appeared that a number of people in your
"Nations, were diſſatiſfied with the treaties of Fort
"McIntosh & Miami: therefore the Council of the
"United States appointed Governor St. Clair their
"Commiſsioner with full powers, for the pur-
"poſe of removing all causes of controverſy,
"relating to trade and ſettling boundaries,
"between the Indian Nations in the North-
"ern Department of the United States. He accordingly
"ſent meſsages, inviting all the Nations concerned,
"to meet him at a Council Fire he kindled at
"the Falls of Muskingum. While he was wait-
"ing for them, ſome miſchief happened at that
"place, and the fire was put out: So he kind-
"led a Council Fire at Fort Harmar, where

"near ſix hundred Indians of different nations attend-
"ed. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the
"treaty of Fort-Stanwix, and the Wyandots & Delawares
"renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh.
"Some Ottawas, Chippawas, Pattawatamies & Sacs were
"also parties [illegible] treaty of Fort Harmar."

"Now, Brothers, these are your words; and it is neceſsary for us to make a ſhort reply to them.

"Brothers, A General Council of all the Indian Confederacy was held, as you well know, in the Fall of the year 1788, at this place: And that General Council was invited by your Commiſsioner, Governor St Clair, to meet him, for the purpose of holding a treaty with regard to the Lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix & Fort McIntosh.

"Brothers, We are in poſseſsion of the Speeches & Letters which paſsed on that occasion, between those deputed by us the Confederate Indians & Governor St Clair, the Commiſsioner of the United States. — These papers prove that your ſaid Commiſsioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the General Council of the preceeding Fall, that no bargain or ſale of any part of these Indian Lands, would be considered as valid or binding unleſs agreed to by a General Council, nevertheleſs perſiſted in collecting together a few Chiefs of two or three Nations only, and with them held a treaty for the ceſsion of an immenſe Country, in which they were no more intereſted, than as a branch of the General Confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or ceſsion whatever.

" Brothers, How then was it poſsible for you to expect to enjoy peace and quietly to hold theſe lands, when your Commiſsioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the conſent of a General Council was abſolutely neceſsary to convey any part of these lands to the United States? The part of these lands which the United States now wiſh us to relinquiſh, and which you ſay are ſettled, have been ſold by the United States, ſince that time.

" Brothers, You ſay "The United States wiſh
"to have confirmed all the Lands ceded to them
"by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a
"ſmall tract at the Rapids of the Ohio,
"claimed by General Clark for the use of him-
"ſelf and his warriors: And in considera-
"tion thereof the United States would give ſuch
"a large ſum in money or goods, as was never
"given at one time for any quantity of
"Indian Lands, ſince the White people firſt
"ſet their feet on this Iſland. And because

"these lands did every year furniſh you with ſkins
"& furs with which you bought cloathing and other
"neceſsaries; the United States will now furniſh the
"like conſtant ſupplies. And therefore, besides the
"great ſum to be delivered at once, they will every
"year deliver you a large quantity of ſuch goods
"as are beſt fitted to the wants of yourselves, your
"women and children."

" Brothers, Money, to us, is of no value, and to moſt of us unknown: And as no consideration whatever can induce us to ſell the Lands on which we get ſuſtenance for our women and children; We hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your ſettlers may be eaſily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

" Brothers, We know that these ſettlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble, ever ſince they croſsed the Ohio. — Divide therefore, this large ſum of money which you have offered to us, among these people: Give to each also a proportion of what you say you would give us annually, over and above this very large ſum of money: And we are persuaded they would moſt readily accept of it in lieu of the Land you ſold to them. If you add also the great ſums you muſt expend in raising & paying

Armies, with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than ſufficient for the purposes of repaying theſe ſettlers for all their labour & their improvements.

"Brothers, You have talked to us about Conceſsions: It appears ſtrange that you ſhould expect any from us, who have only been defending our juſt rights againſt your invaſions. — We want peace: — Restore to us our Country & we ſhall be enemies no longer.

"Brothers, You make one Conceſsion to us, by offering us your money, and another, by having agreed to do us justice, after having long and injuriously withheld it: We mean in the acknowledgement you have now made, that the King of England never did, nor ever had a right to give you our Country by the treaty of Peace: And you want to make this act of common justice, a great part of your Conceſsions: And ſeem to expect that because you have at laſt acknowledged our independence, we ſhould for ſuch a favour ſurrender to you our Country.

"Brothers, You have talked also a great deal about pre-emption and your excluſive right to purchase Indian Lands, as ceded to you by the King at the treaty of peace.

"Brothers, We never made any agreement with the King, nor with any other Nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands: And we declare to you that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or ceſsion of lands, whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the White people, as you say, made a treaty, that none of them but the King should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us: We have never parted with ſuch a power.

"Brothers, At our General Council held at the Glaize laſt Fall, we agreed to meet Commiſsioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace; provided they consented to acknowledge & confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio: And we determined not to meet you until you gave us ſatisfaction on that point: that is the reason we have never met.

"We desire you to consider, Brothers, that our only demand, is the peaceable poſseſsion of a ſmall part of our once Great Country. Look back and view the Lands from whence we have been driven, to this ſpot. We can retreat no further; because the Country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants. And we have therefore resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.

"Brothers, We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us: If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary: This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes; as our message last Fall was principally directed to obtain that information.

"Done in General Council at the Foot of the Miamis Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.

| Nations | Marks |
|---|---|
| Wyandots | |
| Seven Nations of Canada | |
| Delawares | |
| Shawanese | |
| Miamies | |
| Ottawas | |
| Chippawas | |
| Senecas of the Glaize | |
| Pautawatamies | |
| Connoys | |
| Munseys | |
| Nantikokes | |
| Mohickens | |
| Messasagues | |
| Creeks | |
| Cherokees | |

[Note: The marks were the figures of various Animals; as the Bear, Turtle &c.]

To the foregoing Answer of the Indian Nations, the Commissioners immediately made the following reply, and delivered it to the two Wyandot Runners who brought the answer.

"To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Indian Nations assembled at the Foot of the Miamis Rapids.

"Brothers, We have just received your answer, dated the 13th instant, to our speech of the thirty first of last month, which we delivered to your Deputies at this place. You say it was interpreted to all your nations; and we presume it was fully understood. We therein explicitly declared to you that it was now impossible to make the River Ohio the boundary between your lands and the lands of the United States. — Your answer amounts to a declaration that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. — The negociation is therefore at an end. We sincerely regret that Peace is not the result: but knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States, which as far as you gave us opportunity we have explained to you, we trust that impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them.

"Done at Captain Elliots, at the Mouth of Detroit River, the fifteenth day of August, 1793.

Beverly R[illegible]

Tim[illegible]

July 30th. In council at Captain Elliots, near the mouth of Detroit River.

Present, The Commissioners [illegible] [& other Citizens] of the United States,
The Deputation of Indians, — And
the British Officers & Inhabitants. —

The Deputation addressed the Commissioners as follows;
A Wyandot Chief, called Sâ-wâgh-da-wunk, (whose name signifies Carry one about) being their Speaker. —

"Brothers listen! We are glad to see you here in peace, & thank the great Spirit that has preserved us to meet again. —

"Brothers, We were sent to speak to you sometime ago at Niagara. Some Chiefs are now here who were there present. —

"Brothers, We did not explain ourselves to each other, & we did not rightly understand each other. —

"Brothers, We desired that we might rightly understand each other. We have thought it best that what we had to say should be put into writing: (presenting a paper to the Commissioners) and here is the meaning of our hearts." —
~~presenting a paper to the Commissioners~~. —

The above Speech was interpreted by Simon Girtie, a British Interpreter. —

The Commissioners received the paper, & told the Deputation they would well consider the subject of it, & return an answer in writing; and give them notice when they were ready to deliver it. — The contents of the paper were as follows. Viz:

"To the Commissioners of the United States. —

"Brothers, The Deputies we sent to you did not fully explain our meaning: We have therefore sent others to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great questions we have to ask of you; and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing.—

"Brothers, You are sent here by the United States, in order to make peace with us, the Confederate Indians.—

"Brothers, You know very well that the boundary line which was run between the white people & us, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, was the river Ohio.—

"Brothers, If you seriously design to make a firm & lasting peace you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that River.—

"Brothers, We therefore ask you, Are you fully authorised, by the United States, to continue & firmly fix on the Ohio River as the Boundary line between your people & ours?—

"Done in general Council at the foot of the Miamis Rapids, 27th July, 1793.— In behalf of ourselves and the whole confederacy, & agreed to in a full Council.—

(Signed,) Wyandots — a Bear —
Delawares — Turtle.
Shawanese — a Snake —
Miamis — —
Mingoes . . . a snipe.
Pottawatimies . . . a fish.
Ottawas — an Otter —
Connoys — a Turkey —
Chippawas — —
Munseys. —"

July 21st. At the close of the Afternoon, the Commissioners deliver'd the following answer to the Deputation. — Viz:

The Speech of the Commissioners of the United States to the Deputies of the Confederated Indian Nations, assembled at the Rapids of the Miamis River. —

Brothers, You yesterday addressed us, mentioning a former deputation who met us at Niagara. At that meeting you said we did not come to a right understanding: that your Deputies did not fully explain your meaning to us, nor we ours to them: that you desired we might rightly understand each other: & therefore thought it best that what you had to say should be put into writing. Then, handing us a paper, you said, "Here is the meaning of our hearts." —

Brothers, that paper is directed to the Commissioners of the United States, & speaks to them these words, Viz: [Here is repeated their written address, as ~~transcribed~~ in the preceeding pages, 38 & 39.

Brothers, the Deputies here present, —

We have now repeated the words contained in the paper which you delivered to us; and those words have been interpreted to you. We presume the interpretation agrees with your idea of the contents of the paper. It is expressed to be signed by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, Mingoes, Pottawattimies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippawas & Munsees, in behalf of themselves & the whole Confederacy, and agreed to in a full council. —

Brothers, We are a little surprised at the suggestion, that in the conference at Niagara we did not come to a right understanding; & that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning. Those

Deputies

appeared to be men of good understanding; & when we saw them they were perfectly sober. In short, we never saw men in public council more attentive, or behave with more propriety. We could not therefore suppose they could mistake your meaning or ours. Certainly we were sufficiently explicit; for, in plain terms, we declared — "That in order to establish a just & permanent peace, " some concessions would be necessary on your part, as well as on ours." These words, Brothers, are a part of our speech to your deputies; & that speech, they assured us, they fully understood. — What those concessions should be, on both sides, and where the boundary line should be fixed, were proper subjects of discussion at the treaty, where we should speak face to face. This we are certain would be the best way to remove all difficulties. But your nations have adopted another mode, which, by keeping us at a distance, prevents our knowing each other, & keeps alive those jealousies which are the greatest obstacle to a peace. We are therefore desirous of meeting your nations in full council, without more delay. We have already waited in this province sixty days beyond the time appointed for opening the treaty...

Brothers. We have now expressed our opinion of the proper mode of settling the differences between you & the United States: But as your nations have desired answers to certain questions, previous to our meeting, and we are disposed to act with frankness & sincerity, we will give an explicit answer to the great question you have now proposed to us. But, before we do this, we think it necessary to look back to some former transactions;

and we desire you patiently to hear us.—

Brothers, We do know very well that at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, twenty five years ago, the River Ohio was agreed on, as the Boundary line between you & the white people of the British Colonies. And we all know that about seven years after that boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your father, the King of Great Britain, & the people of these Colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the Treaty of Peace made with the King, about ten years ago, by which the great Lakes & the waters which unite them, were by him declared to be the boundaries of the United States.—

Brothers, Peace having been thus ~~been~~ made between the King of Great Britain & the United States, it remained to make peace between them & the Indian Nations who had taken part with the King.— For this purpose Commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian Nations, inviting them to come & make peace.—

The first treaty was held about nine years ago with the Six Nations, at Fort Stanwix; which has stood firm & unviolated to this day.—

The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort McIntosh, with the Half King of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe & other Chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa & Chippewa nations.—

Afterwards, treaties were made with divers Indian Nations south of the Ohio River; and the next treaty was made with Kakiapilathy, here present, and other Shawanoe Chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanoe Nation, at the mouth of the Great

"The Line of Property was a boundary agreed upon at a treaty held by Sir William Johnson with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, November 5, 1768, and was declared a limit beyond which neither party would claim title to the soil." This line began at the mouth of the Tennessee River, extended up the south bank of the Ohio to Kittaning above Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh), thence to the west branch of the Susquehannah, and across the mountains to the east branch of the Susquehannah, and thence up that branch to the Owego; thence to the Delaware, and up that river to a point opposite where the Tianaderha (Unadilla) falls into the Susquehannah; thence along the eastern boundary of Broome county, northward across and up the west branch of the Unadilla to the head of the same; and thence in a straight line to the junction of Canada Creek and Wood creek, about seven miles west of Fort Stanwix. The line from Unadilla to Wood creek was more particularly specified as the line of property in these treaties. It extended north 27° west, twenty two miles and forty-six chains, across the present towns of Bridgewater, Marshall, Kirkland, Westmoreland and Rome, and formed a part of the present line between the towns of Marshall and Paris." Munsell's Historical Series No. IX. p. 45.

Miami which runs into the Ohio. —

Brothers, the Commiſsioners who conducted these treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the Great Council of the States; who, supposing them satisfactory to the Nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of the lands thereby ceded; & a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States & settled upon them. — Also many families of your ancient fathers, the French, came over the Great water & settled upon a part of the same lands. —

Brothers, after some time it appeared that a number of people in your nations were diſsatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh & Miami. Therefore the Great Council of the United States appointed Governor St Clair their Commiſsioner, with full powers for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade & settling boundaries between the Indian nations in the Northern department & the United States. — He accordingly sent meſsages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a Council fire which he kindled at the Falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, & the fire was put out. So he kindled a Council fire at Fort Harmar, where near Six hundred Indians, of different nations, attended. The Six nations then renewed & confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix; and the Wyandots & Delawares renewed & confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh. Some Ottawas, Chippewas, Patawatimies & Sacs were also parties to this treaty of Fort Harmar. —

Brothers, All these treaties we have here with us. We have also the speeches of many Chiefs who attended them, & who voluntarily declared their satisfaction with the terms of those treaties.—

Brothers, After making all these treaties, & after hearing the Chiefs freely express their satisfaction with them, the United States expected to enjoy peace, & quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly large tracts have been sold & settled, as before mentioned.—

And now, Brothers, we answer explicitly; that, for the reasons here stated to you, it is impossible to make the River Ohio the boundary between your people & the people of the United States.—

Brothers. You are men of understanding, and if you consider the customs of white people, the great expences which attend their settling in a new country, the nature of their improvements, in building houses & barns, and clearing & fencing their lands, how valuable the lands are thus rendered, & thence how dear they are to them; you will see that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the northern side of the Ohio. Your Brothers, the English, know the nature of white people, and they know, that under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you & us.—

Brothers, You seem to consider all the lands in dispute, on your side of the Ohio, as claimed by the United States: but suffer us to remind you, that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot & Delaware nations to the State of Pensylvania. This tract

lies

East of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek, at the Ohio, due North to Lake Erie. This line is the Western Boundary of Pensylvania, as claimed under the Charter given by the King of England to your ancient friend William Penn. Of this Sale, made by the Wyandot & Delaware Nations to the State of Pensylvania, we have never heard any complaint.—

Brothers, We are on this occasion obliged to make a long speech. We again desire you to hear us patiently. The business is of the highest importance; and a great many words are necessary fully to explain it; for we desire you may perfectly understand us: And there is no danger of your forgetting what we say, because we will give you our speech in writing.—

Brothers, We have explicitly declared to you, that we cannot now make the Ohio River the boundary between us. This agrees with our speech to your Deputies, at Niagara, "that, in order
" to establish a just & permanent peace, some concessions would
" be necessary on your part as well as on ours."——

Brothers, The concessions which we think necessary on your part, are, that you yield up & finally relinquish to the United States some of the lands on your side of the Ohio. The United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar; and also a small tract of land at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clarke, for the use of himself & his Warriors: And in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum in money or Goods, as was never given at one time for any quantity of

Indian

lands, since the white people first set their feet on this island.— And because those lands did every year furnish you with skins & furs, with which you bought cloathing & other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies: and therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such Goods as are best suited to the wants of yourselves, your women & Children.—

Brothers, If all the lands before mentioned cannot be yielded up to the United States, then we shall desire to treat & agree with you on a new boundary line; and for the quantity of land you relinquish to us within that new boundary line, we shall stipulate a generous compensation; not only for a large sum to be paid at once, but for a yearly rent for the benefit of yourselves and Children forever.—

Brothers, Here you see one concession which we are willing to make on the part of the United States. Now listen to another, of a claim which probably has more disturbed your minds than any other whatever.—

Brothers, The Commissioners of the United States have formerly set up a claim to your whole Country, Southward of the great Lakes, as the property of the United States: grounding this claim on the treaty of Peace with your father, the King of Great Britain, wh. declared, as we have before mentioned, the middle of those lakes & the waters which unite them to be the boundaries of the United States.—

Brothers, We are determined that our whole conduct shall be marked with openness & sincerity.— We therefore frankly tell you, that we

think

those Commissioners put an erroneous construction on that part of our treaty with the King. As he had not purchased the Country of you, of course he could not give it away. He only relinquished to the United States his claim to it. That claim was founded on a right, acquired by treaty with other white nations, to exclude them from purchasing or settling in any part of your Country; and it is this right which the King granted to the United States. Before that grant, the King alone had a right to purchase of the Indian Nations any of the lands between the Great Lakes, the Ohio & the Mississippi, excepting the part within the charter Boundary of Pensylvania; and the King, by the treaty of peace, having granted this right to the United States, they alone have now the right of purchasing. So that now neither the King, nor any of his people, have any right to interfere with the United States in ~~any~~ respect to any part of those lands. All your Brothers, the English, know this to be true: and it agrees with the declaration of Lord Dorchester to your Deputies at Quebec two years ago.—

*Brothers*, We now concede this great point. We, by the express authority of the President of the United States, acknowledge the property, or right of soil, of the great Country above described, to be in the Indian nations, so long as they desire to occupy the same. We only claim particular tracts in it, as before mentioned, and the general right granted by the King, as above stated, & which is well known to the English & Americans, and called the *Right of Pre-emption*, or the right of purchasing of the Indian Nations, disposed to sell their lands, to the exclusion of all other white people whatever.—

Brothers. We have now opened our hearts to you. We are happy in having an opportunity of doing it: though we should have been more happy to have done it in the full council of your nations. We expect soon to have this satisfaction; and that your next deputation will take us by the hand & lead us to the Treaty. When we meet & converse with each other freely, we may more easily remove any difficulties which may come in the way of peace.—

At Captain Elliots, at the mouth of Detroit River.
July 31st. 1793.—

B. L.
B. R.
T. P.—
Commissioners of the United States.

A true Copy
Attest. E. S. Secry.

This speech was interpreted by Mr. Jones in the Seneka Tongue, which was well understood by the Wyandot Chief, Sā-wāgh-da-wunk, & divers others of the Deputation, & by Simon Girtie. The interpretation being finished the Commissioners handed the speech in writing to the Deputation, with a white belt crossed with thirteen stripes of black wampum.— The Deputation said it was now too late to make any reply: but they would speak to us in the morning.

August 1st. 1793.

In Council:

Present as yesterday.—

The Wyandot Chief, Sā-wāgh-da-wunk, arose & spoke. Simon Girtie interpreted—

Brothers, We are all Brothers you see here now.

Brothers, It is now three years since you have desired to speak with us.—

We heard you yesterday & understand you well – perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you.–

Brothers, You mentioned the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver Creek, & other places. Those treaties were not compleat. There were but a few Chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands: They belong to us. You tried to draw off some of us.–

Brothers, Many years ago, we all know, that the Ohio was made the boundary. It was settled by Sr. William Johnson. This side is ours: We look upon it as our property.–

Brothers, You mentioned General Washington: He & you know you have houses & people on our land. You say you cannot move them off:– And we cannot give up our land.–

Brothers, We are sorry we cannot come to an agreement.– The line has been fixed long ago.–

Brothers. We don't say much. There has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, & thought you did the same. We shall talk to our Head Warriors. You may return whence you came, and tell Washington.–

The Council here breaking up, Captain Elliot went to the Shawanoe Chief, Kakiapalathy, & told him the last part of the Speech was wrong. That Chief came back & said it was wrong. Girtie said he interpreted truly what the Wyandot Chief spoke.. An explanation took place; and Girtie added as follows; viz:

Brothers, Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts & shall consult our head Warriors.–

The Commissioners then said, that they would wait to hear again from their council at the Rapids; but desired their answer might be given without delay.–

Thursday. 8th August. This evening arrived two of Capt. Hendricks men, with letters, requesting some necessaries may be sent him; and informing of the proceedings of the Indian Council at the Miami & the disposition of the Indian nations relative to Peace & war, after our ~~last~~ speech of the 31. ulto. had been interpreted to them. By the information of the letters & Messengers, it appeared that all the nations were for peace, except the Shawanese, Wyandots, Miamies & Delawares; that these had at length yielded to the opinions of the other nations; and that peace would probably be made. Captn. Hendrick also expressed his opinion that we should receive an invitation from all the confederated nations to meet them at or near the mouth of the Miami this week.

August 9th. Twelve Munsees & Chippewas arrived. They said they came to this side of the River on purpose to see the Commissioners from the United States. They confirmed generally the information of Hendricks men. They said they were on their way home, (except a Munsee who lives at Sandusky,) for they had worne out their cloaths & were tired of the long continuance of the treaty: & they expected that, the greatest difficulties being got over, the Chiefs (some of all the nations remaining at the Council,) would now make peace. Two of the oldest of them said, that when the Warriors, who were going home, were about to leave the Council, they enjoined it on their Chiefs to make peace, that they might, without fear or interruption, return to their hunting.

Captain Bunbury (one of the two British Officers who accompany the Commissioners,) says that one of the twelve Indians, who arrived today, is an Ottawa (or Tawa as the name is often spoken) that he said the Shawanese & others are strong for war, & will not abide by a peace into which they shall be dragged by the other nations.--

Sunday 11th August. The King's vessell called the Chippewa arrived from Detroit. She is bound to Fort Erie. Twelve Senekas, including women & Children, & most of them sick, from the Indian Council at the Rapids of the Miami; came in her. These Senekas are well known to Genl. Chapin & Jones the Interpreter. One of them, an intelligent man, gave us the like information about the proceedings at the Council, upon our last Speech, with that recd. from Hendrick's men and the Munsees & Chippewas; only that the four nations, who inclined to continue the war, remained obstinate, when he departed from the Council. That the Six Nation Chiefs had twice addressed them, urging them to agree to a peace; were going to speak to them a third time; and, if they were still obstinate, would exceed their usual custom, & speak a fourth time; and if without effect, that they would then leave them & go home.-- He says the Farmer's Brother told him & his company, that they might expect to be overtaken by Messengers to the Commissioners, before they (the informant & his company) reached Detroit: but if none arrived before they got down to the Commissioners quarters, that then they might conclude no peace would be made.-- This Seneka said, that except the four nations before mentioned, the Indians were for peace. He particularly mentioned the Six nations & the Seven Nations of Canada as strongly recommending to the hostile Indians to make peace: and that for this purpose Captn. Brant & the Farmer's Brother spoke a great deal in the Council.

He added, that of the four excepted nations, near one half were disposed for peace; and that the Messasaugues, Chippawas and Ottawas are as strong for peace as the seven Nations of Canada.—

Monday, 12th August. No deputation or official information from the Indian Council having yet arrived, the Commissioners judged it would be expedient to proceed, without more delay, to the Miami Bay or River, that they might more easily & expeditiously send to & receive an answer from them. They accordingly wrote the following letter to Captn Ford, the commanding of the vessell assigned by Governor Simcoe for their accommodation.—

"Sir, [Dupl: in vol. 59. f. 205] Mouth of Detroit River, 12th Augt 1793.

"We have been waiting here twelve days for a reply to "our last answer to the Indian Nations assembled at the "Rapids of the Miami. We can think of no sufficient reason "for this delay; and must therefore take measures to obtain "that reply: or to ascertain whether we ought any longer "to expect it. For this purpose we judge it proper to proceed "ourselves to the Miami Bay or River, that the necessary "communication with the Indians may be easy and "expeditious: for it is time that the business of our mission "be brot: to an issue. We therefore request you to be prepared "to sail tomorrow morning, when we propose to embark.—

"We are Sir, Y.H.S.—

B.L.
B.R.
T.P.
Commissioners of the United States.

Capt. Henry Ford,
Commanding the Dunmore.

Captn Ford having read the letter, came & informed the Commissrs that he was instructed to attend the Commissioners; but to receive his orders from Captn Bunbury; & desired us to speak to him.—

We spoke to Capt. Bunbury; told him that Governor Simcoe had aſsigned the Dunmore, Captn Ford, to the use of the Commiſsioners; ~~and~~ that, from what the Governor & his Secretary had repeatedly said, we had a right to conclude she was under our direction, to go when & where we thought proper, for the purposes of the treaty;—except to Detroit.— He said he had his orders from Governor Simcoe; & that by those orders he could not consent that the Commiſsioners, or any Deputation from them, should go to the Miami Bay or River, untill Col. McKee should give notice that the Indians were ready to receive them.— But, says he, if the Commiſsioners choose to go to Sandusky, I will order the Dunmore to proceed thither.—. He read some broken paſsages in Governor Simcoe's letter to him. The Commiſsioners asked if he would give an extract of the letter containing his orders. He answered that Mr Storer might take an extract.— They retired together. Captn Bunbury read, & Mr Storer wrote down from his mouth, the following words, as an ~~extract from the Governor's letter~~.—

Extract of a letter from Colonel Simcoe to Captn Bunbury, dated at Navy-Hall, 28th of June 1793.—

"—the directing the King's veſsell to carry them [the Commiſsioners] thither. She will anchor therefore as conveniently as poſsible to the Northern shore of the River, on the banks of which they purpose to remain untill they hear from Col. McKee. The Indians do not wish they should visit the opposite shore."

Detroit River. 12th August. 1793. The above extract is this day verbally given me by Captn Bunbury; who, tho' desired, refuses to sign it.—

Chas Storer.

Tuesday 13th August 1793. Being thus prevented from proceeding to the
Miami Bay, the Commissioners concluded to send a message
to the Indian Nations at the Rapids; and a letter to Col. McKee.
The message & letter here follow.— [~~Published in vol. 5 p. 208~~]

"To the Chiefs & Warriors of the Indian Nations assembled at
" the Foot of the Rapids of the Miami River."
" Brothers, It is now fifteen days since we delivered our
" speech to your deputies at this place, in which we expli-
" citly answered the written question presented by them from
" you, & gave our reasons why we could not make
" the Ohio the boundary between you & the United States. We
" also mentioned some of the heads of the engagements we
" were willing to make in behalf of the United States. The
" particulars, together with other stipulations, for your
" benefit, we judged it proper to reserve, to be explained to
" you in full council, when we should meet face to face.—
" Brothers, The next morning your Deputies spoke to us;
" said they would lay our Speech before you; and desired us
" to wait here for your answer; which we desired & expected
" might be speedily given.—
" Brothers, We have waited fourteen days, and as yet no
" answer has arrived.—
" Brothers, It is time to bring the business to a conclusion.
" The Summer has almost passed away; and we do not yet
" know even whether we are to have a treaty.—
" Brothers, You know that we came to treat with you of
" peace: We again tell you that we earnestly desire to
" make peace: And in the terms of Peace we are disposed to do you
" ample justice: But if no treaty is to be held; if peace is not

"to be obtained; we desire immediately to know it
"that we may go home." — {Done at Capt. Elliot's, at the Mouth of Detroit River, the 14th day of August, 1793.

Signed by the Commissioners B.L.
B.R.
T.P."

Copy of the letter to Col. McKee.

"Sir. "Mouth of Detroit River. 14th Augst 1793./

"To the speech we delivered here to the Deputation of the "Indian nations, assembled at the Rapids of the Miami, we "expected an early answer. We have waited fourteen days, "& no answer has arrived. We have therefore dispatched "Runners with a speech to the Chiefs & Warriors, manifesting "our wishes to begin the Treaty without more delay; and "desiring to know immediately their decision on the "subject. A Copy of our Speech is enclosed. —

"We presume it will be in your power to forward "the business. Your aid therein will be gratefully acknowledged. The mode, in which the Negotiations have hitherto "been conducted is new; and as improper as it is new. — "All the questions which have been stated, might have "been proposed to our faces, & have received prompt answers. "We must soon close the negotiation, unless substantial "reasons demand procrastination. In that case we may "think ourselves justified in giving further proofs of our "patience. — We again request your assistance to expedite the business which is the object of our mission. — "and are, Sir, Yr &c

B.L. B.R. T.P. —
Commissioners of United States.

The message, accompanied with seven strings of black & white wampum, much intermixt, & the letter to McKee, were committed to two Runners, an Onondago & Oneida; who set off this evening & expect to reach the Rapids tomorrow night.—

NB. The message & letter were by mistake dated the 14th.—

Instructions to the Runners.

When you arrive at the Miami Council fire, find Capt. Brant, the Farmer's Brother, the Cornplanter, the Fish Carrier & Great Sky, and tell them you have a speech to the Indian Nations there assembled, from the Commissioners of the United States; & request them to call the Chiefs together. When the Chiefs are met, then deliver the written speech and strings of wampum.—

Assoon as this is done, find Col. McKee, and deliver the letter to him.—

Find Captain Hendrick, the Chief of the Mohicans, and tell him you have brought a written speech to the Indians, & that you have delivered, or are going to deliver it, to the Chiefs.— We shall be glad to have you return to us speedily: but speak to Capt. Brant & the other Chiefs of the Six Nations, & take their direction when to return. Let Col. McKee know when you propose to come back, that you may bring an answer from him.—

Let Captain Hendrick know when you propose to return.— On your way to the Miami, and back to us, tell nobody your business.—

August 16. 1793. At the Mouth of Detroit River.

In the afternoon of this day, the Commiſsioners received, by the hands of two Wyandot Runners, from the Indian Council at the Rapids of the Miami, the following answer to their ſpeech of the 31st of July.

"To the Commiſsioners of the United States.

"Brothers,

We have received your ſpeech dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations. We have been long in ſending you an anſwer, because of the great importance of the ſubject; but we now answer it fully, having given it all the consideration in our power.

"Brothers, You tell us that after you had made peace with the King our Father, about ten years ago, "it remained to make peace between the United States & "the Indian Nations who had taken part with the King: "for this purpose Commiſsioners were appointed who "ſent meſsages to all those Indian nations inviting them to "come and make peace." — And after reciting the periods at which you ſay treaties were held at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Miami, all which treaties according to your own acknowledgement were for the ſole purpose of making peace: You then ſay— "Brothers, the Commiſsioners who conducted these treaties, in behalf of the United States, ſent the papers containing them to the General Council of the States, who ſuppoſing them ſatisfactory to the Nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded." — Brothers, this is telling us plainly, what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended these treaties, viz. that they went to meet your Commiſsioners . . . . . . . .

to make peace; but thro' fear, were obliged to ſign
any paper that was laid before them; and it has
ſince appeared, that Deeds of Ceſsion were ſigned by
them, inſtead of treaties of peace.

"Brothers, You then ſay—" After ſome time it ap-
"peared that a number of people in your Nations,
"were diſsatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh
"& Miami: therefore the Council of the United States
"appointed Governor St. Clair their Commiſsioner
"with full powers, for the purpoſe of removing
"all causes of controversy relating to trade and
"ſettling boundaries between the Indian Nations in
"the Northern Department and the United States.
"He accordingly ſent meſsages, inviting all the Na-
"tions concerned to meet him at a Council-Fire
"he kindled at the Falls of Muskingum. While he
"was waiting for them, ſome miſchief happened
"at that place, and the Fire was put out: So he
"he kindled a Council-Fire at Fort Harmar, where
"near Six Hundred Indians of different Nations attended.
"The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the
"treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots and
"Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of
"Fort McIntosh. Some Ottawas, Chippawas, Patte-
"watamies & Sacs were also parties to the treaty
"of Fort Harmar.

"Now, Brothers, these are your words; and
it is neceſsary for us to make a ſhort reply to them.

"Brothers, A General Council of all the In-
dian Confederacy was held, as you well know,
in the fall of the year 1788, at this place: And that
General Council was invited by your Commiſsioner
Governor St. Clair, to meet him, for the purpoſe of hold-
ing a treaty with regard to the lands mentioned by
you

you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix & Fort McIntosh.

" We are in poſseſsion of the Speeches and letters which paſsed on that occasion, between those deputed by us the Confederate Indians & Governor St. Clair the Commiſsioner of the United States. — These papers prove that your said Commiſsioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the General Council of the preceding Fall, that no bargain or ſale of any part of these Indian Lands would be considered as valid or binding, unleſs agreed to by a General Council, nevertheleſs perſisted in collecting together a few Chiefs of two or three nations only, & with them held a treaty for the ceſsion of an immense country, in which they were no more intereſted, than as a branch of the General Confederacy; and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or ceſsion whatever.

" Brothers, How then was it poſsible, for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your Commiſsioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a General Council was absolutely neceſsary to convey any part of these lands to the United States? — The part of these Lands which the United States now wiſh us to relinquiſh, and which you say are ſettled, have been ſold by the United States, ſince that time.

" Brothers, ~~You say~~ "The United States wiſh to "have confirmed all the Lands ceded to them by the "Treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a ſmall tract at "the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark

"for the uſe of himſelf and his warriors: and in conſide-
"ration thereof the United States would give ſuch a large
"ſum in money or goods as was never given at one
"time for any quantity of Indian Lands, ſince the
"White people firſt ſet their feet on this Island.
"And because these lands did every year furnish
"you with ſkins and furs, with which you bought
"cloathing and other neceſsaries: the United States
"will now furnish the like conſtant ſupplies. And
"therefore, besides the great ſum to be delivered at
"once, they will every year deliver you a large
"quantity of such goods as are beſt fitted to the
"wants of yourſelves, your women and children."

" Brothers, Money, to us, is of no value, & to moſt of us unknown: And as no consideration whatever can induce us to ſell the Lands on which we get ſuſtenance for our women (and children; we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your ſettlers may be eaſily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

" Brothers, We know that theſe ſettlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble, ever ſince they croſsed the Ohio. – Divide therefore this large ſum of money which you have offered to us, among theſe people. Give to each alſo a proportion of what you say you would give us annually, over and above this very large ſum of money: and we are perſuaded they would moſt readily accept of it, in lieu of the lands you ſold to them. If you add also the great ſums you muſt expend in raiſing and paying Armies, with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than ſufficient for the purposes of repaying theſe ſettlers for all their labour & their improvements.

" Brothers, You have talked to us about Conceſsions. It appears ſtrange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights, againſt your invaſions. — We want peace: — Reſtore to us our Country, and we ſhall be enemies no longer.

" Brothers, You make one Conceſsion to us, by offering us your money, and another, by having agreed to do us justice, after having long and injuriously withheld it: we mean in the acknowledgement you have now made, that the King of England never did, nor ever had a right to give you our country by the treaty of Peace: And you want to make this act of common justice, a great part of your conceſsions; and ſeem to expect that because you have at laſt acknowledged our independance, we ſhould for ſuch a favour, ſurrender to you our Country.

" Brothers, You have also talked a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian Lands, as ceded to you by the King at the treaty of peace.

" Brothers, We never made any agreement with the King, nor with any other Nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands: And we declare to you that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or ceſsion of lands, whenever & to whomſoever we please. If the White people, as you say, made a treaty, that none of them but the King ſhould purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, & not us: We have never parted with ſuch a power.

"Brothers, At our General Council held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet Commiſsioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring Peace, provided they consented to acknowledge & confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio: And we determined not to meet you, untill you gave us ſatisfaction on that point; that is the reason we have never met.—

"We desire you to consider Brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable poſseſsion of a ſmall part of our once great Country.— Look back & view the lands, from whence we have been driven, to this ſpot:— We can retreat no further, because the Country behind, hardly affords food for its present inhabitants; And we have therefore resolved, to leave our bones, in this, ſmall ſpace, to which we are now confin'd.

Brothers. We ſhall be persuaded, that you mean to do us justice if you agree that the Ohio ſhall remain the boundary line between us: If you will not consent thereto, our meeting

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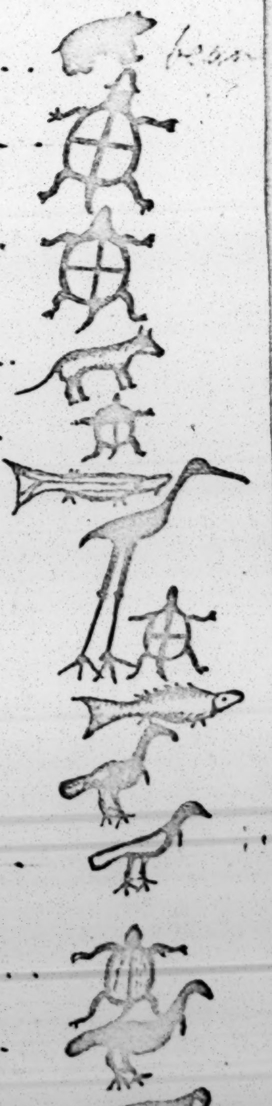
17

| Nations | Marks |
|---|---|
| Wyandots ........ | |
| Seven Nations of Canada .... | |
| Delawares ......... | |
| Shawanese ........ | |
| Miamies ....... | |
| Ottawas ...... otter | |
| Chippawas ........ | |
| Senecas of the Glaize ... | |
| Poutawatamies | |
| Connoys ......... | |
| Munseys ......... | |
| Nantikokes ......... | |
| Mohickons ........ | |
| Messasagues ....... | |
| Creeks ......... | |
| Cherokees ....... | |



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will be altogether unnecessary: This is the great point which we hoped, would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message last fall was principally directed to obtain that information: —

"Done in General Council at the foot of the Miamis Rapids the 13th day of August 1793. —

| Nations — | Marks |
|---|---|
| Wyandots — | Against the names of the Nations were the figures of various Animals, as their distinguishing marks. |
| Seven Nations of Canada | |
| Delawares — | |
| Shawanese — | |
| Miamies — | |
| Ottawas — | |
| Chippawas — | |
| Seneca's of the Glaize — | |
| Potawattamies, — | |
| Connoys — | |
| Munseys — | |
| Nantikokes — | |
| Mohickens — | |
| Messasaguees. — | |
| Creeks — | |
| Cherokees —" | |

To the foregoing Answer of the Indian Nations the Commissioners immediately made the following reply, and delivered it to the two Wyandot runners who brought the answer. —

64. [Dupl. in vol. 59 f. 208]

To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Indian Nations aſsembled at the Foot of the Miami Rapids. —

Brothers. We have just received your answer dated the 13th instant, to our Speech of the thirty first of last month, which we delivered to your Deputies at this place. You say it was interpreted to all your nations: and we presume it was fully understood: We therein explicitly declared to you that it was now impoſsible to make the River Ohio the boundary between your lands and the lands of the United States. Your answer amounts to a declaration that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. — The negociation is therefore at an end. We sincerely regret that peace is not the result: but knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States, which as far as you gave us opportunity, we have explained to you, we trust that impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them. —

Done at Captn. Elliots, at the mouth of Detroit River, the sixteenth day of August, 1793. —

B. Lincoln
Beverly Randolph
Timothy Pickering

Commissioners of the United States

The next morning (Saturday August 17th) the Commiſsioners sent by their own Runners (being one Onondaga & two Oneidas) the following letter and the papers therein mentioned, to the Chiefs of the Six Nations.

"To the Chiefs of the Six Nations.

"Brothers, Two Runners were sent by us this week with a meſsage dated the 14th of this month, to the Indian Nations aſsembled at the Rapids of the Miami. Our inſtructions to the Runners were, to inform you that they had ſuch a Meſsage from us; and to request you to aſsemble the Chiefs of the other Nations, and then deliver it to you altogether. From the report of the Runners, we are apprehensive that they mistook our orders, and that our meſsage has not been communicated to you. We therefore now send a copy of it, N°. 1. — We at the ſame time ſent a letter to Col.° McKee, of which also we incloſe a copy. N°. 2.

"Brothers, Our Runners returned hither this evening: But a few hours before their arrival, two Wyandot Runners arrived with a written ~~answer~~ (N°. 3.) to our ſpeech of the 31ſt of laſt month; inſiſting on the Ohio as the boundary between the Indian Lands and those of the United States. — As we had already explicitly declared that we could not make the Ohio the boundary, the buſineſs, of course, was at an end. However, we have delivered a ſhort ſpeech, in writing, to the ſame Runners, who set off this evening, to return to the Council at the Rapids. We incloſe a copy of it, N°. 4.

"Brothers, Being desirous that you ſhould be fully informed of these transactions, we have sent you copies thereof, which you may not otherwiſe obtain.

"Brothers, We came hither with the moſt ſincere desires to make a peace that would be beneficial to the

Indians as well as to the United States. And had ſuch a peace been accompliſhed, we felt a confidence that the juſtice and humanity of the United States, according to their preſent views of Indian Affairs, would not only have continued, but extended their beneficence to the Indian nations; and ſo far as it depended on them, have rendered the peace as laſting as the Hills. And we should have been extremely happy in laying the foundation of ſo much good. We have now only to return home, and report our proceedings to the Preſident of the United States. We shall sail with the firſt fair wind for Fort Erie.

Mouth of Detroit River }
August 16. 1793. }

B. L. }
B. R. } Commiſsioners of the United States.
T. P. }

Friday August 23. 1793. This morning we arrived at Fort Erie, and diſpatched the following letters.

Letter to Major Craig, }
Deputy Quarter Master, }
Pittsburg. No. 1. } Fort Erie, August 23. 1793.

Sir, Incloſed are two letters for Major General Wayne, which we deſire you to send to him by two ſeperate conveyances: one of them with all poſsible diſpatch: the other by the next conveyance which shall preſent.

You can beſt tell in what way the firſt letter may with the *utmoſt ſpeed* and *certainty* be conveyed to General Wayne; and that we deſire you to adopt. No expence is to be ſpared to effect this. The commanding officer at Pittsburg will certainly give you any aid in his power.

We ſhall send at leaſt four other letters, of the ſame tenor, for General Wayne, which we deſire you to forward to him, one by one, as faſt as conveyances shall present.

We are on our way home: the Western Indians having refused to make peace.

This packet is committed to Sylvester Ash. If he delivers it to you with reasonable dispatch, he is to receive ten dollars, which we desire you to pay him.

If General Knox should have given you any orders about the conveyance of our letters to General Wayne, observe them: only remembering the important points of certainty and speed. The enclosed letter to General Knox you will forward by the first, safe [illegible] conveyance shall offer [illegible] W.

We are &c.

B.L.
B.R.
T.P.
} Comrs. of the U. States

Letter to Major Craig, No. 2.

Fort Erie August 23d. 1793.

Sir,

We wrote you this day, and committed the letter to Sylvester Ash. The copy of our letter by him is inclosed.

If Ash should not have arrived, then be pleased to observe precisely the orders expressed in our letter by him, with respect to the letters for General Wayne; sending off one in the way which shall afford the utmost speed and certainty of conveyance.

We commit this letter to two Indian Runners, to carry as far as Fort Franklin; and thence the same, or others, we expect will carry it to Fort Pitt; as the commanding officer there shall think best. Whoever brings it, be pleased suitably to reward.

We are, &c.

B.L.
B.R.
T.P.
} Comrs. of the U.S.

of the United States.

Brothers — You are men of understanding & if you consider the customs of White people, the great expences which attend their settling in a new country — the nature of their improvements, in building Houses and Barns, & clearing & fencing their Lands — how valuable the Lands are thus rendered, & thence how dear they are to them — You will see that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the Northern side of the Ohio. — Your Brothers the English know the nature of white people; & they know that under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

Brothers You seem to consider all the lands in dispute, on your side of the Ohio, as claimed by the United States. But suffer us to remind you, that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot & Delaware Nations to the state of Pensylvania. This tract lies East of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek, at the Ohio, due North to Lake Erie. This Line is the Western boundary of Pensylvania, as claimed by the Charter given by the King of England to your ancient friend Willia

Ohio, as claimed by the United States. But suffer us to remind you, that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot & Delaware Nations to the state of Pensylvania. This tract lies East of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek, at the Ohio, due North to Lake Erie. This Line is the Western boundary of Pensylvania, as claimed by the Charter given by the King of England to your ancient friend William Penn. Of this sale made by the Wyandot & Delaware Nations to the state of Pensylvania, we have never heared any complaint.

Brothers We are obliged on this occasion to make a long speech. We again desire you to hear us patiently. The business is of the highest importance; & a great many words are necessary fully to explain it: for we desire you may perfectly understand us. And there is no danger of your forgetting what we say, because we will give you our speech in writing

Brothers We have ~~now~~ explicitly declared to you that we cannot now make the Ohio River the boundary between us. This agrees with our Speech to your Deputies at Niagara — that in order to establish a just & permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary on your part as well as ours. Brothers the concessions which we think necessary on your part are, that you yield up & finally relinquish to the United States some of the Lands on your side of the Ohio. The United States wish to have confirmed all the Lands ceded to them by the Treaty of Fort Harmar; And also a small tract of Land at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark, for the use of himself & his warriors: and in consideration thereof the United States would give such a large Sum in Money or goods as was never given, at one time, for any quantity of Indian Lands, since the White people first set their feet on this Island — And because those Lands did every year furnish you with Skins & furs with which you bought Cloathing & other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies; & therefore besides the great Sum to be delivered at once, they will every Year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your Women and Children.

+
Brothers — If all the Lands before mentioned cannot be yielded up to the United States, then we shall desire to treat and agree with you on a new boundary line; and for the quantity of Land you relinquish to us within that New boundary, we shall stipulate a

Year deliver you a large quan

fitted to the wants of yourselves, your Women and Children.

Brothers – If all the Lands before mentioned cannot be yielded up to the United States, then we shall desire to treat and agree with you on a new boundary line; and for the quantity of Land you relinquish to us within that New boundary, we shall stipulate a generous compensation; not only for a large Sum to be paid at once, but for a yearly Rent for the benefit of yourselves and your Children for ever.

Brothers, Here you see one concession which we are willing to make on the part of the United States. – Now listen to another, of a claim which probably has more disturbed your Minds than any other whatever.

Brothers, The Commissioners of the United States have formerly set up a claim to your whole Country, Southward of the Great Lakes, as the property of the United States; grounding this Claim on the treaty of Peace with your father the King of Great Britain, who declared as we have before mentioned, the middle of those Lakes & of the Waters which unite them, to be the boundaries of the United States.

Brothers — We are determined that our whole conduct shall be marked with openneſs & sincerity. We therefore frankly tell you, that we think those Commiſsioners put an erroneous construction on that part of our treaty with the King. — As he had not purchased the Country of you, of course he could not give it away. He only relinquished to the United States his claim to it. That claim was founded on a right acquired by treaty, with other White Nations to exclude them from purchasing or settling in any part of your country; And it is this right which the King granted to the United States. Before that grant, the King alone had a right to purchase of the Indian Nations any of the Lands between the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Miſsiſsippi; excepting the part within the Charter boundary of Penſylvania. And the King by the treaty of Peace, having granted this right to the United States they alone have now the right of purchasing. So that now, neither the King, nor any of his people, have any right to interfere with the United States in respect to any part of those Lands. All your Brothers the English know this to be true: and it part within the

by the treaty of Peace, having granted this right to the United States they alone have now the right of purchasing. So that now, neither the King, nor any of his people, have any right to interfere with the United States in respect to any part of those Lands. All your Brothers the English know this to be true: and it agrees with the declaration of Lord Dorchester, to your Deputies at Quebec, two years ago.

Brothers: We now concede this great point: We by the express authority of the President of the United States, acknowledge the property or right of soil, of the great Country above described, to be in the Indian Nations, so long as they desire to occupy the same. We only claim particular tracts in it, as before mentioned, & the general right granted by the King, as above stated, & which is well known to the English & Americans, and called the right of pre-emption, or the right of purchasing of the Indian Nations disposed to sell their Lands, to the exclusion of all other White People whatever.

Brothers. We have now opened our hearts to you: We are happy in having an opportunity of doing it; though we should have been more happy to have done it in the full Council of your Nations, We expect soon to have this satisfaction; and that your next Deputation will take us by the hand, and lead us to the Treaty. When we meet and converse with each other freely, we may more easily remove any difficulties which may come in the way of Peace. +

At Captain Elliots, at the Mouth of Detroit River, the thirty first day of July, 1793.

B Lincoln
Beverley Randolph
Timothy Pickering
} Commissioners of the United States

A true Copy
H Wm Key D. A. I. G.

Speec
Confedera
da

the thirty first day of

B Lincoln — } Commissioners
Beverley Randolph } of the
Timothy Pickering - } United States

A true Copy
AMcKee D. A. I. A

Copy.
Speech of the Commissioners
to the
Confederate Indian Nations.
dated 31st July 1793

8

B.

## THE SPEECH OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE CONFEDERATE INDIAN NATIONS ASSEMBLED AT RAPIDS OF THE MIAMIS RIVER.

BROTHERS;—

Yesterday you addressed us, mentioning a former deputation who met us at Niagara. At that meeting you said, we did not come to a right understanding, that your Deputies did not fully explain your meaning to us, nor we ours to them; that you desired we might rightly understand each other, and therefore thought it best that what you had to say, should be put into writing then handing us a paper you said. Here is the meaning of our Hearts.

BROTHERS;—

That paper is directed to the Commissioners of the United States, and speaks to them these words; to wit

"Brothers, The Deputies we sent to you did not fully explain our meaning; "we have therefore sent others to meet you once more that you may understand "the great question we have to ask of you, and to which we expect an explicit "answer in writing. Brothers, you know very well that the Boundary line which "was run between the White People and us, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, was the "River Ohio."

BROTHERS;—

The Deputies here present, we have now repeated the words contained in the paper which you delivered to us, and those words have been interpreted to you. We presume the interpretation agrees with your idea of the contents of the paper. It is expressed to be signed by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, Mingoes, Poutawatamies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippawas and Munseys, in behalf of themselves and the whole Confederacy, and agreed to in a full Council.

BROTHERS;—

We are a little surprised at the suggestion, that in the conference at Niagara, we did not come to a right understanding, and that your Deputies did not fully explain your meaning. Those Deputies appeared to be men of good sense, and when we saw them, they were perfectly sober. In short we never saw Men in public Council more attentive, or behave with more propriety. We could not therefore suppose they could mistake your meaning or ours. Certainly we were sufficiently explicit, for in plain words we declared "that in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concession would be necessary on your part as well as ours." These words, Brothers, are a part of our speech to your Deputies; and that speech, they assured us, they fully understood. What those concessions should be, on both sides, and where the boundary line should be fixed, were proper subjects of discussion at the Treaty, when we should speak face to face. This we are certain would be the best way to remove all difficulties. But your Nations have adopted another mode, which by keeping us at a distance, prevents our knowing each other, and keeps alive those jealousies which are the greatest obstacles to a Peace. We are therefore desirous of meeting your nations in full council without more delay. We have already waited in this Province sixty days beyond the time appointed for opening the treaty.

BROTHERS;—

We have now expressed our opinion of the proper mode [to] settle the differences between you and the United States; But as your Nations have desired answer to certain questions previous to our meeting, and we are disposed to act with frankness and sincerity, we will give an explicit answer to the great question you have now proposed to us. But before we do this we think necessary to look back to some former transactions and we desire you patiently to hear us.

BROTHERS;—

We do know very well that at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, twenty-five years ago, the River Ohio was agreed on as the boundary between you and the White People of the British Colonies. And we all know that about seven years after that Boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your Father the King of Great Britain, and the People of those Colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the treaty of Peace made with the King about ten years ago, by which the great Lakes and the waters which unite them, were by him declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

BROTHERS;—

Peace having thus been made between the King of Great Britain and the United States, it remained to make peace between them and the Indian Nations who had taken part with the King. For this purpose Commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian Nations, inviting them to come & make peace.

The first treaty was held about nine years ago with the six-Nations at Fort Stanwix; which has stood firm and inviolated to this day.

The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort McIntosh, with the half king of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other Chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, and Chippawa Nations.

Afterwards treaties were made with divers Indian Nations south of the River Ohio, and the next treaty was made with Kakaissithaly, here present, and other Shawanoes chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanoes Nation, at the mouth of the Great Miami which runs into the Ohio.

BROTHERS;—

The Commissioners who conducted these Treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the Great Council of the States, who supposing them satisfactory to the Nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of the lands thereby ceded and a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States and settled upon them. Also many families of your ancient Fathers the French came over the great Water, and settled on a part of the same lands.

BROTHERS;—

After some time it appeared that a number of your people were dissatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami. Therefore the Great Council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their Commissioner with full powers for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy regulating trade and settling boundaries between the Indian Nations in the Northern Department of the United States. He accordingly sent messages inviting all the Nations concerned to meet him at a Council fire which he kindled at the Falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place and the fire was put out. So he kindled a Council fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians of different Nations attended. The six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh. Some Ottawas, Chippawas, Poutawatamies and Sacs were also parties to this treaty of Fort Harmar.

BROTHERS;—

All these treaties we have here with us. We have also the speeches of many Chiefs who attended them, and who voluntarily declared their satisfaction with the terms of those treaties.

BROTHERS;—

After making all these treaties and after hearing the Chiefs freely express their satisfaction with them, the United States expected to enjoy Peace, and quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly large tracts have been sold and settled as before mentioned.

And now Brothers, we answer explicitly, that for the reason which we have here stated to you, it is impossible for us to make the river Ohio the Boundary between your people and the people of the United States.

BROTHERS;—

You are men of understanding and if you consider the customs of white people, the great expences which attend their settling in a new country, the nature of their improvements in building houses and barns, and clearing and fencing their lands how valuable the lands are thus rendered and thence how dear they are to them, you will see that it is more impracticable to remove our people from the northern side of the Ohio. Your Brothers the English know the nature of White People; and they know that under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

BROTHERS;—

You seem to consider all the lands in dispute, on your side of the Ohio, as claimed by the United States; But suffer us to remind you that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot and Delaware Nations to the State of Pennsylvania, this tract lies east of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek, at the Ohio, North to Lake Erie. This line is the western boundary of Pennsylvania, as claimed by the charter given by the King of England to your ancient friend William Penn, of this sale made by the Wyandot and Delaware Nations to the State of Pennsylvania, we have never heard any complaint.

BROTHERS;—

We are obliged on this occasion to make a long speech. We again desire you to hear us patiently. The business is of the highest importance; and a great many words are necessary fully to explain it, for we desire you may perfectly understand us. And there is no danger of your forgetting what we say because we will give you our speech in writing.

BROTHERS;—

We have explicitly declared to you that we cannot now make the Ohio River the boundary between us. This agrees with our speech to your deputies at Niagara, that in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary on your part as well as ours. BROTHERS, the concessions which we think necessary on your part are that you yield up and finally relinquish to the United States some of the lands on your side of the Ohio. The United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract of land at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clarke for the use of himself and his warriors, and in consideration thereof the United States would give such a large sum in money or goods as was never given, at one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the White People first set their feet on this island. And because those lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs with which you bought cloathing and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies, and therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women and children.

BROTHERS;—

If all the lands before mentioned cannot be yielded up to the United States, then we shall desire to treat and agree with you on a new boundary line; and for the quantity of land you relinquish to us within that New boundary, we shall stipulate a generous compensation; not only for a large sum to be paid at once, but for a yearly rent for the benefit of yourselves and your children for ever.

BROTHERS;—

Here you see one concession which we are willing to make on the part of the United States. Now listen to another, of a claim which probably has more disturbed your minds than any other whatever.

BROTHERS:—

The Commissioners of the United States have formerly set up a claim to your whole Country, southward of the Great Lakes, as the property of the United States; grounding this claim on the treaty of Peace with your Father the King of Great Britain, who declared as we have before mentioned, the middle of those Lakes and of the Waters which unite them, to be the boundaries of the United States.

BROTHERS;—

We are determined that our whole conduct shall be marked with openness and sincerity. We therefore frankly tell you, that we think those Commissioners put an erroneous construction on that part of our treaty with the King, as he had not purchased the Country of you, of course he could not give it away. He only relinquished to the United States his claim to it. That claim was founded on a right acquired by treaty, with other White Nations to exclude them from purchasing or settling in any part of your country; and it is a right which the King granted to the United States. Before that grant, the King alone had a right to purchase of the Indian Nations any of the lands between the great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi; excepting the part within the charter boundary of Pensylvania; And the King by the treaty of Peace having granted this right to the United States they alone had now the right to purchasing. So that now, neither the King nor any of his People, have any right to interfere with the United States in respect to any part of those lands. Your brothers the English know this to be true; and it agrees with the declaration of Lord Dorchester, to your Deputies at Quebec two years ago.

BROTHERS;—

We now concede this great point; We by the express authority of the President of the United States, acknowledge the property or right of soil, of the great Country above described, to be in the Indian Nations so long as they desire, to occupy the same. We only claim particular tracts in it, as before mentioned, and the right granted by the King, as above stated, and which is well known to the English and Americans, and called the right of pre-emption, or the right of purchasing of the

Indian Nations disposed to sell their lands, to the exclusion of all other White People whatever.

BROTHERS;—

We have opened our hearts to you; We are happy in having an opportunity of doing it; though we should have been more happy to have done it in the full Council of your Nations. We expect to soon have this satisfaction; and that your next Deputation will take us by the hand, and lead us to the Treaty. When we meet and converse with each other freely, we may more easily remove any difficulties which may come in the way of peace.

At Captain Elliott's at the mouth of Detroit River, the thirty first day of July, 1793.

B. LINCOLN. Commissioners
BEVERLEY RANDOLPH. of the
TIMOTHY PICKERING. United States.[1]

A TRUE COPY.

(Signed) A. McKEE,
*D.A.I.A.*

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## FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO HENRY DUNDAS.

The Following requisitions and statements for the Province of Upper Canada are submitted to Mr. Dundas for his approbation by desire of Colo. Simcoe.

Article 1. A Field Train of Artillery absolutely necessary for the defence of the Country there being at present none in it.

2d. The Artificers Company as stated by Colo. Simcoe in his request to His Majesty's Ministers when in England is very much wanted and would have much contributed to his speedy establishment in U. Canada and by the price of their

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[1] William Savery, one of the Quaker deputies, kept a journal, part of which has appeared in print, and contained the following:

"3d August. The vessel called the Detroit, bound to Fort Erie, appeared in sight. I wrote a hasty letter. Appointed a meeting to be held at Simon Girty's to-morrow at ten o'clock.

"4th. First day morning. Very rainy, and much wet in my tent; rose about three o'clock, bundled up my mattress, and tied it in a painted cloth, and sat upon it till sunrise. The rain continuing, three of us went to Simon Girty's, but finding none met, except the family, returned. Captain Hamilton, an amiable man, and an officer in the Fifth Regiment, dined with us. The Chippeway, a vessel bound from Fort Erie to Detroit, brought one hundred and eighty Indians and landed them at the Miami river. The afternoon being pleasant, had a meeting at Simon Girty's, about one and a half miles from our camp, at which a number of Indians were present and behaved soberly. General Lincoln, General Chapin, Captain Hamilton, Lieutenant Givans, and several seamen also attended. I believe it was to satisfaction. The few scattered white people in this settlement, many of whom have been prisoners of war, have no opportunity of public worship; yet some of them are glad of our meetings; among whom was the wife of Simon Girty, who also had been a prisoner among the Indians."—A Journal of the Life, Travels, &c., of William Savery, p. 67, Phila., 1863.

At least two more of the six Quakers on this mission of peace kept journals of their impressions and experiences—Jacob Lindley and Joseph Moore—and these have been reprinted from the "Friends' Miscellany" in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. 17, pp. 565-671.

Copy.

Instructions to the Runners, (an Onandago and Oneida) to whom was committed by the Commissioners, a Message to the Indian Council at the Rapids of the Miami, and a letter to Col<sup>o</sup>. McKee, in August 1793.

When you arrive at the Miami Council fire, find Captain Brant, the Farmers Brother, the Cornplanter, the Fish Carrier, and Great Sky, and tell them you have a speech to the Indian Nations there assembled, from the Commissioners of the United States, and request them to call the Chiefs together. When the Chiefs are met, then deliver the written Speech and Strings of Wampum. As soon as this is done find Col<sup>o</sup>. McKee, and deliver the letter to him.

Find Captain Hendricks the Chief of the Mohicans and tell him you have brought a written speech to the Indians and that you have delivered, or are going to deliver it to the Chiefs. We shall be glad to have you return to us speedily, but speak to Captain Brant, and the other Chiefs of the Six Nations, and take their directions when to return

Let Col°. McKee know when you propose to come back, that you may bring an answer from him. Let Captain Hendrick know when you propose to return. —

Copy of Instructions
to the Runners &c. &c.
in August 1793.–

Miamis
4 August, 179

Brant, J., to McKee, A.,
Sandusky Council;
Six Nations

V, 285-88

Miamis Rapids 4th August 1793

Sir

Having for some time pass'd observed that the confederate Indians do not act with that Unanimity so necessary to their Interest induces me to offer my sentiments to you on the Occasion

Agreeable to two letters I received from you last spring and winter requesting my attendance and assistance at the private Council fire at this place, I took the earliest Opportunity to come with that part of the Six Nations Inhabiting the Grand River -- It is now three months since I left home, and I do not see that the great Business we were invited here to assist in is at all forwarded, I am in some measure at a loss to account for the Delay, I do not mind my time, provided I ~~would~~ could be of Service, It has for these many years past been solely devoted to the Good of that confederacy which which I have laboured to Support and I trust my exertions in this Business are not wholely unknown you, We well know that without being United we are nothing - how then comes it to pass that the only material Bussiness is conducted by one part. We look upon ourselves as equally concerned in the welfare of this Country and we are part of the confederacy but we have been Kept in the dark private Consultations have held without we having any knowledge of them, It cannot be supposed that we will implicitly agree to what is daily doing by a few people. It is Contrary to what are understood to be Intention of this Meeting -

I have before wrote you that people who were disafected to the confederacy ought not to be Consulted, those only who would Support a War for the Interest of the Indians should be admited to the Councils - I now repeat that

Col. McKee D. A. I. A.

We come here not only to assist with our Advice but otherways if Just, we come here with arms in our hands — But the unmerited Slight offered us is too apparent to be passed over in silence. I should be glad to be told with candor in what Instance we have acted wrong. but we are not told any thing, our opinion and that of three respectable Tribes has not been attended to. I mean the Ottawas, Pottewatamies, and Chippawas, but perhaps there may be some Substantial reasons for this with which I am unacquainted, what passed between the above mentioned tribes and the Six Nations was merely a renewal of the Antient Customs of Indians and had no reference to any General Proceedings we would not refuse the Intercourse proposed by them on such a flattering occasions. as that of renewing and strengthening the antient friendship between us — If I recollect right the result of the last General Council was that a Written message was to be sent by Young men to the Commissioners and return with an answer in writing but we now understand that some principal Chiefs are gone to meet the americans and that they have Authority to relax from the Written message if they see cause —

We have been told that such a part of the Country ~~belon~~ belongs to the six nations but I am of opinion that the C c to the Confederate Indians in Common, if we say such a part of the Country belongs to on nation, and such a part to another, the Union cannot subsist, and we cannot more Effectually serve our enemies whose whole aim has been to divide us. This plan was attempted in Lord Dunmores time by Land Jobbers —

upwards of one hundred Years ago a moon of Wampum was placed in this Country with four Roads leading to the Centre for the convenience of the Indians from Different Quarters to come and settle or hunt here a Dish with one Spoon was likewise put here with the moon of Wampum, this shews that my Sentiments respecting the Lands are not New.

I therefore beg you will consider of this Letter and favor me with an answer as I think the present proceedings are hurtfull to all the Indians nations and will be so to their Posterity, I am Dear Sir Your most obedient

and most humble Servant

Jos. Brant

ntry belongs

Capt. Brant
4th Augt. 1793
Ansd. 5th do.

19

Col. McKee
Miamis River

Speech of the Genl. Council
To the
Commissioners of the U: States
13th. Augt. 1793 —

C.

To the Commissioners of the United States.

Brothers. — We have received your Speech, dated the 31st of last Month, and it has been interpreted to all the different Nations: — We have been long in sending you an Answer, because of the great importance of the Subject, but we now answer it fully, having given it all the considera=tion in our Power. —

Brothers. — You tell us, that after you had made peace with the King our Father, about Ten years ago "it remained "to make peace between the United States and the Indian "Nations, who had taken part with the King, for this "purpose Commissioners were appointed who sent Messages to all those Indian Nations, inviting them to come and the King our father, about ten

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"Nations, who had taken part with the King, for this
"purpose Commissioners were appointed who sent Messages to
"all those Indian Nations, inviting them to come and
"make "peace" — and after reciting the periods at which
you say Treaties were held at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh
and Miami, all which Treaties, according to your own
acknowledgement, were for the sole purpose of making
Peace: You then say "Brothers — The Commissioners who
"conducted these Treaties, in behalf of the United States,
"sent the papers containing them to the General Council of
"the States who supposing them satisfactory to the Nations
"treated with, proceeded to dispose of the Lands thereby ceded" —
Brothers, this is telling us plainly, what we always
understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations
of

of those few, who attended these treaties. Viz: that they went to meet your Commissioners to make peace but through fear were Obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared, that deeds of Cession were signed by them instead of Treaties of Peace. —

Brothers, You then say, "After some time it appeared that a "Number of People in your Nations, were dissatisfied "with the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami, therefore "the Council of the United States appointed Governor "St Clair their Commissioner with full powers for the "purpose of removing all causes of controversy relating "to Trade and Settling Boundaries between the Indian "Nations in the Northern department of the United "States: We accordingly sent messages inviting all the "Nations concerned to meet him at a Council fire he

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"States: He accordingly sent messages inviting all the
"Nations concerned to meet him at a Council fire he
"kindled at the falls of Muskingum, while he was
"waiting for them, some mischief happened at that
"place, and the fire was put out: so he kindled a
"Council fire at Fort Harmar where near Six hundred
"Indians of different Nations Attended, The Six Nations
"then renewed and confirmed the Treaty of Fort Stanwix:
"And the Wyandots and Delawares, renewed and
"confirmed the Treaty of Fort McIntosh: some Ottawas,
"Chippawas, Pottawatamies & Sac's were also parties to
"the Treaty of Fort Harmar."—

Now Brothers, these are your words: And it is neceſsary for us to make a short reply to them.—

Brothers, A General Council of all the Indian Confederacy, was held, as you well know, in the fall of the Year 1788 at this place; And that General Council was invited by your Commiſsioner Governor St. Clair to meet him at the falls of Muskinguum for the purpose of holding a treaty with regard to the Lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the Treaties of Fort Stanwix and McIntosh.—

Brothers, We are in poſseſsion of the Speeches and Letters which paſsed on that occasion, between those deputed by us the Confederate Indians and Governor St. Clair the Commiſsioner of the United States— These papers

[illegible] id Commiſsioner in the beginning

Brothers, We are in poſseſsion of the Speeches and Letters which paſsed on that occasion, between those deputed by us the Confederate Indians and Governor St. Clair the Commiſsioner of the United States:— These papers prove, that your said Commiſsioner in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the General Council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian Lands, would be considered as valid or binding, unleſs agreed to by a General Council, nevertheleſs persisted in collecting together a few Chiefs of two or three Nations only, and with them held a treaty for the ceſsion of an immense Country, in which they were no more Interested, than a small branch of the General Confederacy and who were in no manner Authorized to make any Grant or Ceſsion whatever.—

Brothers, How then was it poſsible for you to expect to enjoy Peace and quietly to hold these Lands, when your Commiſsioner was informed, long before He held the Treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of the General Confederacy was absolutely neceſsary, to convey any part of these Lands, to the United States?— The part of these Lands, which the United States now wish us to relinquish and which you say are settled, have been sold by the United States since that time.—

Brothers,— you say "The United States wish to have confirmed all "the Lands ceded to them by the Treaty of Fort Harmar, "and also a small tract at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed "by General Clark for the use of himself and his

Brothers, — you say "The United States wish to have confirmed all
"the Lands ceded to them by the Treaty of Fort Harmar,
"and also a small tract at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed
"by General Clark for the use of himself and his
"Warriors: And in consideration thereof, the United States
"would give such a large Sum in Money or Goods as
"was never given at one time for any quantity of Indian
"Lands, since the White People first set their feet on this
"Island — And because these Lands did every year
"furnish you with Skins and Furs with which you
"bought Cloathing and other necessaries: The United
"States will now furnish the like constant supplies.
"and therefore besides the great Sum to be delivered
"at once, they will every year deliver you a large
"quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of
"yourselves your Women and Children" —

Brothers, — Money to us, is of no value, and to most of us unknown; and as no consideration whatever, can induce us to sell the Lands, on which we get sustenance for our Women and Children. We hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may easily be removed and peace thereby obtained. —

Brothers, — We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. — Divide therefore this large sum of Money, which you have offered to us, among these people, give to each also a proportion of what you, you would give us annually over and above this – large sum of Money, and we are persuaded they

Money, which you have offered to us, among these people, give to each also a proportion of what you, you would give us annually over and above this large sum of Money, and we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it, in lieu of the Lands you sold to them: If you add also the great Sums you must expend in raising and paying Armies, with a view to force us to yield you our Country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purposes of repaying these settlers for all their Labour and their improvements. —

Brothers, You have talked to us about conceſsions: It appears Strange, that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just right, against your invasions: We want peace: Restore to us our Country and we shall be Enemies no longer. —

Brothers, You make one concession to us by offering us your Money, and another by having agreed to do us justice, after having long and injuriously withheld it: We mean in the acknowledgement you have now made, that the King of England never did; nor ever had a right to give you our Country by the Treaty of Peace: And you want to make this act of common justice, a great part of your concession and seem to expect that because you have at last acknowledged our Independence, we should for such a favor, surrender to you our Country. —

Brothers. You have talked a great deal about pre-emption have at last acknowledg

we should for such a favor, surrender to you our Country.—

Brothers, You have talked a great deal about pre=emption and your exclusive right to purchase Indian Lands, as ceded to you by The King at the Treaty of Peace.—

Brothers, We never made any agreement with the King nor with any other Nation that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our Lands: And we declare to you that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of Lands, whenever & to whomsoever we please: If the White People, as you say, made a treaty, that none of them but the King should purchase of us and that He has given that right to the United States: it is an affair which concerns you and him and not us: We have never parted with any such a Power.—

Brothers, — At our General Council held at the Glaize last fall we agreed to meet Commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary Line to be the Ohio: and we determined not to meet you, untill you gave us satisfaction on that point:— That is the reason we have never met.—

We desire you to consider Brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great Country— Look back and view the Lands from whence we have been driven, to this Spot— We cannot retreat any further, because the Country behind, We desire you to consider Brothers, that

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Brothers, — We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice if you agree, that the Ohio shall remain the boundary Line between us; if you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary: This is the great Point which we hoped would have been explained, before you left your homes, as our Message last fall, was principally directed to obtain that Information —

Done in General Council at the Foot of the Miamis Rapids the 13th. day of August 1793 —

| Nations | Marks |
|---|---|
| Wyandots | Bear |
| Seven Nations of Canada | Turtle |
| Delawares | Turtle |
| Shawanese | Wolfe |
| Miamis | Turtle |
| Ottawas | Sturgeon |
| Chippawas | Crane |
| Seneca's of the Glaize | Turtle |
| Pouttawatamies | Black fish |
| Connoys | Turkey |
| Munseys | Turkey |

| | |
|---|---|
| Seneca's of the Glaize | Turtle |
| Poutawatamies | Black fish |
| Connoys | Turkey |
| Munseys | Turkey |
| Nantikokes | Turtle |
| Mohickens | Turkey |
| Messasagues | Eagle |
| Creeks | Bear |
| Cherokees | Elk |

A True Copy

AMcKee D.A.G.

# To the Commissioners of the United States.

Brothers. We have rec<sup></sup>: your speech of the 31st of last month, & it has been interpreted to all the different nations. We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject; but we now answer it fully, having given it all the consideration in our power.

Brothers. You tell us that after you had made peace with the King, our Father, about ten years ago — "it remained to make peace between
" the United States & the Indian Nations, who had taken part
" with the King. For this purpose, Commissioners were appointed
" who sent messages to all those Indian Nations inviting them
" to come & make peace" — And after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held at Fort Stanwix, Fort Mc. Intosh, & Miamis, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgement, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say, "Brothers. The Commissioners, who conducted those treaties, in
" behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to
" the general Council of the States; who, supposing them satis-
" factory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the
" lands thereby ceded" — Brothers. This is telling us plainly what we always understood to be the case, & it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended those treaties, Viz: that they went to meet your Commissioners to make peace; but, through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them: And it has since appeared that deeds of Cession were signed by them instead of treaties of Peace.

Brothers. You then say, "After some time it appeared that a number of

" people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of
" Fort McIntosh & Miamis — therefore the Council of the United Stat
" appointed Governor St. Clair, their Commissioner, with full powers.
" for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, relating
" to trade & settling boundaries between the Indian Nations
" within the Northern Department of the United States. He accordingly
" sent messages inviting all the nations concerned to
" meet him at a Council fire he kindled at the falls of Muskinguam.
" While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened
" at that place, & the fire was put out. So he kindled a
" Council fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indi
" of different nations attended. The six nations then renewed
" confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots an
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" Some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatimies & Sacs were also
" parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar." —

Now, Brothers, these are your words, and it is necessary for us to mak a short reply to them —

Brothers. A general Council of all the Indian Confederacy was held, as yo well know, in the fall of the year 1788 at this place: And that general Council was invited by your Commissioner, Governor St. Clair, to meet him, for the purpose of holding a treaty with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh —

Brothers. We are in possession of the Speeches & letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by us, the Confederate Indians & Governor St. Clair, the Commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said Commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789,

after

| | |
|---|---|
| Munsees | Turkey |
| Nantikokies | Turtle |
| Mohikens | Turkey |
| Messasagues | Crow |
| Creeks | [illegible] |
| Cherokees | Buck 6 |

The above is a true Copy from the Original; received, at the mouth of Detroit River, by two Runners, on the 16th of August 1793.

Chas. Storer.
Secy. to Commissioners.

Answer of the
Western Indians
the Commissioners of
the United States

after having been informed by the general Council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding unless agreed to by a general Council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few Chiefs of two or three nations only & with them held a treaty for the Cession of an immense Country; in which they were no more interested than as a branch of the general Confederacy, & who were in no manner authorised to make any grant or Cession whatever —

Brothers. How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy Peace and quietly to hold these lands, when your Commissioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of the general Council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States? — The part of these lands which the United States wish us now to relinquish, & which you say are settled have been sold by the United States, since that time —

Brothers. You say, "The United States wish to have confirmed all the lands
"Ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small
" tract at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clarke,
" for the use of himself & his Warriors. And in consideration
" thereof the United States would give such a large sum in
" money or goods as was never given at one time for any
" quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set
" their feet on this Island — And because these lands did
" every year furnish you with skins & furrs, with which
" you bought cloathing & other necessaries, the United States
" will now furnish the like constant supplies: And therefore
" besides the great sum to be delivered at once they will

" every year deliver you a large quantity of such Goods a
" are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women an
" children" —

**Brothers.** Money to us is of no value, & to most of us unknown. And as n consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands, on which w get sustenance for our women & children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be removed, and peace thereby obtained —

**Brothers.** We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a Country, which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio — Divide therefore this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people; give to each also a proportion of what you say, you would give us annually, over & above this very large sum of money, and we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it, in lieu of the lands you sold to them. If you add also the grea sums you must expend in raising & paying armies, with a vie to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purposes of repaying these settlers for all their labor and their improvements —

**Brothers.** You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions — We want peace — Restore to us our Country, & we shall be enemies no longer —

**Brothers.** You make one concession to us by offering us your money — & another by having agreed to do us justice, after having long and injuriously withheld it. We mean in the acknowledgement;

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concessions; and seem to expect that, because you have at last acknowledged our independance, we should, for such a favor, surrender to you our Country—

**Brothers.** You have talked also a great deal about Pre-emption & your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by th
King, at the treaty of peace—

**Brothers.** We never made any agreement with the King, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands; and we declare to you that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands, whenever & to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, ma
a treaty that none of them but the King should purchase of us, & that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you & him — and not us. We have never parted with such a power—

**Brothers.** At our general Council, held at the Glaize last fall, we agre
to meet Commissioners from the United States for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge & confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio: And we determined not to meet you, untill you gave us satisfaction on that point— That is the reason we have never met—

We desire you to consider, Brothers, that our only deman
is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great

Country — Look back & view the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot — We can retreat no further; because the Country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants; and we have therefore resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.—

Brothers. We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unneceſsary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes; as our meſsage last fall was principally directed to obtain that information.—

Done in General Council at the foot of the Miamis Rapids. August 13th 1793.—

| Nations. | Marks. |
|---|---|
| Wyandots | Bear. |
| Seven Nations of Canada | Turtle. |
| Delawares | Turtle. |
| Shawanese | Wolf. |
| Miamies | Turtle. |
| Ottawas | Otter. |
| Chippewas | Crane. |
| Senekas of the Glaize | Turtle. |
| Pottawatamies | Fish. |
| Connoys | Turkey |

BROTHERS;—

These Belts and the Words belonging to them are yours, one of them is a belt of peace, and the other is a Road of Communication and these are the Pledges, of the Peace made between our Ancestors.

I replied;

BROTHERS;—

Altho we have no knowledge of these Belts of our Fore-fathers, we return you thanks for preserving them, it is very well to renew them, but we think they should have been Produced at our former meeting.

I then addressed the Confederacy.

BROTHERS;—

Since the Council is now over and you are come to a final resolution, we hope success will attend you, at this time it is not in our Power to assist you, we must first remove our People from amongst the Americans, and if any Choose to remain they must abide the consequence and it is owing to the English that they have not removed from there before.

It affords us satisfaction to learn from all their Speeches that our Brethren the 7 Nations are prepared to assist you, their women & children can be no obstacle as they are in a safe Situation.

A Belt of Wampum.

In the Evening the Chiefs of the Lake Indians, came to our encampment and requested us to promote a peace upon the boundary of the Muskingum which we promised to do and Delivered them a map with the lines marked on it.

When the Council was over a War feast was prepared, and the Chiefs of the Shawanoes singing the War Song encouraging the Warriors of all the Nations to be active in defending their Country, saying their Father the English would assist them and Pointed to Col. McKee.

When we arrived at Detroit a Deputation of the Lake Indians overtook us and repeated what they had before said they gave us a Belt with a Number of Streaks across it and said the tribes which these Streaks represent have made Peace with the Americans, and that they would go to Post Vincent and make Peace also.

*Endorsed;—Miamis Rapids, 1793, Capt. Brant's Journal.*)

## MESSAGE FROM THE WESTERN INDIANS TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

August 13th, 1793.

BROTHERS;—

We have received your speech dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations, we have been long in sending you an answer because of the great importance of the subject, but we now answer it fully having given it, all the consideration in our Power.

BROTHERS;—

You tell us that after you had made peace with the King our Father, about ten years ago, "it remained to make peace between the U. States, and the Indian Nations who had taken part with the King, for this purpose Commissioners were appointed who sent messages to all those Indian Nations, inviting them to come and make peace," and after reciting the periods at which you say "Treaties were "held at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh, and Miami, all which Treaties according "to your own acknowledgement, were for the sole purpose of *making peace;* you then "say, "Brothers, the Commissioners who conducted these Treaties, in behalf of "the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general Council of the "States, who supposing them satisfactory to the Nations treated with proceeded "to *dispose of the lands thereby ceded*" Brothers, this is telling us plainly what we always understood to be the case, & it agrees with the declaration of those few, who attended these treaties. Vizt. that they went to meet your Commissioners to *make peace*, but through fear were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them, and it has since appeared that deeds of cession were signed by them instead of Treaties of peace.

BROTHERS;—

"After some time it appeared that a number of people in your Nations, were dissatisfied with the Treaties of Fort McIntosh, & Miami, therefore the Council of the U. States appointed Governor St. Clair, their Commissioner, with full power for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy relating to trade & settling boundaries, between the Indian Nations in the Northern Department of the United States. He accordingly sent messages inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire he kindled at the falls of Muskingum, while he was waiting for them some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out, so he kindled a Council Fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred indians of different nations attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, & the Wyandot's, and Delaware's renewed and confirmed the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, some Ottawa's, Chippawa's, Potowatomies, and Sac's, were also parties to the Treaty of Fort Harmar.

Now Brothers, these are your words and it is necessary to make a short reply to them.

BROTHERS;—

A general Council of all the Indian Confederacy was held, as you know, in the Fall of the year 1788, at this place, and that General Council was invited by your Commissioner, Governor St. Clair, to meet him at the falls of Muskingum for the purpose of holding a treaty with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the Treaties of Fort Stanwix, and Fort McIntosh, Brothers, we are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by us the confederate Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the Commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said Commissioner in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed, by the General Council of the preceeding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of the Indian lands, would be considered as valid or binding unless agreed to by a general Council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few Chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them, held a treaty for the cession of an immense country in which they were no more interested, than as a small branch of the General Confederacy, and who were in no manner authorised, to make any grant or cession whatever.

BROTHERS;—

How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands when your Commissioner was informed long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States, the part of these lands which the United States now wish us to relinquish, and which you say are settled, have been sold by the U. States *since that time.*

BROTHERS;—

Your say "the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to "them by the Treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the Rapids of the "Ohio, claimed by General Clarke for the use of himself and his warriors, and "in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum in money, "or goods as was never given at one time for any quantity of Indian lands since "the white people first set their feet on this Island. And because these lands did "every year furnish you with skins & furs, with which you bought cloathing, and "other necessaries, & therefore besides the great sum to be delivered at once, "they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted "to the wants of yourselves, your women and children."

BROTHERS;—

Money, to us, is of no value, & to most of us unknown, and as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children; we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

BROTHERS;—

We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which have been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio; divide therefore this large sum of money which you have offered to us, among these people, give to each also a portion of what you say you would give us annually over and above this very large sum of money, and we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it in lieu of the lands you sold to them, if you add also the great sums you must expend in raising and paying Armies, with a view to force us to yield you our Country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purposes of repaying these settlers for all their labour and improvements.

BROTHERS;—

You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just Rights against your invasion; We want Peace; Restore to us our Country and we shall be Enemies no longer.

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BROTHERS;—

You have talked also a great deal about pre-emption and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the King at the Treaty of peace.

BROTHERS;—

We never made any agreement with the King, nor with any other Nation that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands. And we declare to you that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands, whenever & to whomsoever we please, if the white people as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the King should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the U. States, it is an affair which concerns you & him & not us. We have never parted with such a power.

BROTHERS;—

At our General Council held at the Glaize last Fall, we agreed to meet Commissioners from the U. States, for the purpose of restoring Peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio; and we determined not to meet you until you gave us satisfaction on that point; that is the reason we have never met.

We desire you to consider Brothers, that our only demand, is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great Country. Look back and view the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot, we can retreat no further, because the country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants. And we have therefore resolved, to leave our bones in this small space, to which we are now confined.

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We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice if you agree, that the Ohio, shall remain the boundary line between us, if you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary.

This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained, before you left your homes, as our message last Fall was principally directed to obtain that information.

DONE in General Council at the Foot of the Miamis Rapids the 13th day of August, 1793.

| NATIONS. | MARKS. |
|---|---|
| Wyandot's | Bear. |
| Seven Nations of Canada | Turtle. |
| Delaware's | Turtle. |
| Shawanoe's | Wolf. |
| Miami's | Turtle. |
| Ottawa's | Sturgeon. |
| Chippawa's | Crane. |
| Seneca's of the Glaize | Turtle. |
| Potowatamie's | Black Fish. |
| Connoy's | Turkey. |
| Munsey's | Turkey. |
| Nanticoke's | Turtle. |
| Mohiken's | Turkey. |
| Messasaga's | Eagle. |
| Creek's | Bear. |
| Cherokee's | Elk. |

Sent with Strings of Black and White Wampum.

A TRUE COPY
A. McKee, *D.A.I.A.*

Sup. Intend' General's Office,
MONTREAL.
a true copy.
Joseph Chew.
*S.I.A.*

*ENDORSED;—Speech of a General Council to the Commissioners of the U. States, 13th August, 1793.*

## FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE CHIEFS & WARRIORS OF THE INDIAN NATIONS ASSEMBLED AT THE FOOT OF THE RAPIDS OF THE MIAMI RIVER.

BROTHERS;—

It is now fifteen days since we delivered our speech to your Deputies at this place, in which we explicitly answered the written question presented by them from you, and gave our reasons why we could not make the Ohio the boundary between you & the United States. We also mentioned some of the heads of the engagements we were willing to make in behalf of the United States. The particulars together with other stipulations for your benefit, we judged it proper to reserve, to be explained to you in full council, when we should meet face to face.

BROTHERS;—

The next morning your Deputies spoke to us; said they would lay our speech before you, & desired us to wait here for your answer, which we desired & expected might be speedily given.

BROTHERS;—

We have waited fourteen days and as yet no answer has arrived.

BROTHERS;—

It is time to bring the business to a conclusion. The Summer has almost passed away, and we do not even yet know whether we are to have a treaty.

BROTHERS;—

You know that we came to treat with you of peace. We again tell you that we earnestly desire to make peace, and in the terms of peace we are disposed to do you ample justice. But if no treaty is to be held, if peace is not to be obtained, we desire immediately to know it, that we may go home.

DONE at Captain Elliott's at the Mouth of Detroit
River, the 14th day of August 1793.

B. Lincoln Comm. of the
B. Randolph
T. Pickering U. States.

*ENDORSED;—Speech of the Commissioners of the U. States, to the Confederate Indians, 14th August, 1793.*

---

## FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

Mouth of Detroit River August 14, 1793.

Sir.

To the Speech we delivered here to the Deputation of the Indian Nations assembled at the Rapids of the Miamis we expected an early answer. We have waited fourteen days and no answer has arrived. We have therefore dispatched Runners with a Speech to the Chiefs and Warriors, manifesting our wishes to begin the treaty without more delay; and desiring to know immediately their decision on the Subject. A copy of our Speech is inclosed.

We presume it will be in your power to forward the business. Your aid therein will be gratefully acknowledged.

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We presume it will be in your power to forward the business. Your aid therein will be gratefully acknowledged.

The mode in which the negotiations have hitherto been conducted is new; and is as improper as it is new; all the questions which have been stated, might have been proposed to our faces; and have received prompt answers. We must soon close the negotiation, unless substantial reasons demand procrastination; in that case we may think ourselves Justified in giving further proofs of our patience.

We again request your assistance to expedite the business which is the object of our mission, and are, Sir,

Your most obedient Servants.

B. Lincoln. Commissioners
Beverly Randolph for the
Timothy Pickering. U. States.

Colonel McKee.

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## FROM REV. JOHN STUART TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Sir,—

It has been intimated to me by the Chief Justice, that your Excellency has been pleased to nominate me as a Magistrate for this District. I have as great a respect for the dignity of that office as any person whatever, and am as sensible of the compliment paid me by that nomination; but I must beg leave to decline the honor intended for many reasons some of which I think it my duty to mention lest my refusal should be attributed to wrong causes.

In the first place I am totally unacquainted with the common forms of Law; consequently it would require more time and attention than I can well spare to qualify me to transact business with propriety in that time. The novelty of the case in this Country would certainly lessen my influence and usefulness as a Clergyman, and this is not a matter of mere opinion for my appointment formerly as first Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, gave me an opportunity of knowing the sentiments of people at large on that subject. Besides the plea of necessity then urged, cannot now be more forcible, when there are so many in this neighbourhood better qualified for the office than I am, and indeed to speak candidly I do not feel much disposed to undertake any laborious office to serve a people who have always been, and still remain unwilling to contribute anything towards my support as a Clergyman. For these and other weighty reasons, I must beg leave to decline the honor you intended me; at the same time I am truly sensible of the compliment paid to my understanding and probity.

I have intrusted Mr. Robinson with some papers, which at some interval of leisure are to be submitted to your Excellency's perusal. I have since explained myself fully to him on some other subjects, not so proper to be committed to paper.

From your polite attention and apparent inclination to serve me, I am encouraged to remind you of a memorial I formerly presented on the subject of Matrimonial Licenses, etc. The Answer I received was perfectly satisfactory at that time, but as I am informed that business will be conducted in a regular channel under the operation of an act of the Legislature, I humbly presume that the office of Surrogate for this District would not be incompatible with my clerical profession and would probably add something to my present small annual income. If this appointment is not already bestowed, I flatter myself that my offering myself as

Detroit River,
14 August, 1793

Pickering, T; B. Lincoln; and B. Randolph
to Col. A. McKee

Sandusky Council;

V, 293-94

Mouth of Detroit River ~~12~~

August 14. 1793.

Sir,

To the ſpeech we delivered here to the Deputation of the Indian Nations aſsembled at the Rapids of the Miami, we expected an early answer. We have waited fourteen days, and no answer has arrived. We have therefore dispatched Runners with a Speech to the Chiefs and Warriors, manifesting our wishes to begin the treaty without more delay; and desiring to know immediately their deciſion on the ſubject. A copy of our ſpeech is inclosed.

We presume it will be in your power to forward the busineſs. Your aid therein will be gratefully acknowledged.

The mode in which the negociations have hitherto been conducted is new; and as improper as it is new. All the questions which have been ſtated, might have been proposed to our faces, and have received prompt answers. We muſt ſoon, close the negociation, unleſs ſubſtantial

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substantial reasons demand procrastination: in that case we may think ourselves justified in giving further proofs of our patience.

We again request your assistance to expedite the business which is the object of our mission; and are, Sir,

Your most obedient Servants

B. Lincoln
Beverley Randolph
Timothy Pickering

Commissioners of the U. States.

Colonel McKee,

Brant, J. to McKee, A., Swan Creek, 18 August, 1793

Six Nation Chiefs;
Sandusky Council;
provisions

V, 301-02

Swan Creek 15th August 1793

Dear Sir

The Chiefs of the Six Nations have Just received a Message from their Bretheren at the Foot of the Rapids, requesting them to Return to that Place. But as this is the Place Proposed for the Meeting, and the Private Business having been finished and the trouble that attends moveing, they will wait here the Result of the Treaty, and hope they will be informed of any thing that has passed Since they moved from the Rapids — The Indians are Sent for Provisions, and will be Glad to know how they are to be Supplied with Provisions during their Stay here

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obed.

& most Humble Servt

Jos. Brant

Col. McKee
Esq

Capt. Brant
Swancreek 18 Aug.t
Ans.d same day

1793

On Lake Erie Aug. 21. 1793

Sir

The Indians have refused to make peace — We have not even been admitted to an interview with them, except by their deputations. The transactions with the first deputation at Niagara have been transmitted to you. Immediately afterwards we returned to Fort Erie, and embarked for the mouth of Detroit River where we arrived on the 21st of July and expected in a few days to receive notice from the Indians that they were ready to meet us at Sandusky. Captain Matthew Elliott Col. McKee's Assistant, at whose house we were furnished with quarters was at home waiting for a wind to sail to the Miami. He departed the next morning taking a letter from us to Col. McKee, advising him of our arrival, and requesting that our meeting with the Indians might be hastened —

On the 29th Elliott returned with another deputation of Indians at the head of which were Bu-kongehelas Head Warrior of the Delawares, Ka-kiapilathy Head Warrior of the Shawanese, and Sa-wagh-da-wunk, who is said to be the Head warrior of the Wyandots — The next day they presented a written message in the name of their conference, demanding an explicit answer to this question "Are you fully authorised by the United "States to continue and firmly fix on the Ohio "river as the boundary between your people and "ours?" — The next day we answered the question in writing, previously stating the reasons why the United States could not now make the Ohio the boundary. We also mentioned the principal concessions and the great compensations we were ready to make and stipulate, expressing the present and annual com[illegible]ations not in precise sums but in terms which we thought would forcibly strike them with ideas of magnitude.

The next morning they met us, and after mak[illegible] some observations on the subject said they would [illegible] our speech before their warriors. The speaker [illegible] told us we might go home but this seemed to [illegible] mistake and contrary to what our interpreters [illegible] heard other chiefs say, as they sat in this coun[illegible]. As soon as the speaker had done, Capt. Elliott [illegible] to the Shawanese chief mentioning the mistake [illegible] explanation took place, and we were told to [illegible] where we were for an answer. This we expected [illegible] have forwarded without delay.

On the 8th of August two of Captain Brant's [illegible] men arrived to obtain some refreshments [illegible] information there seemed to be a fair prospect of peace. Some runners and Chippewa chiefs on the 9th confirmed their account. On the 11th [illegible] Senecas arrived. They had come from the [illegible] by the way of Detroit in order to go home some [illegible] them being sick. Their information corresponded with the former in respect to all the nations [illegible] the Wyandots Delawares Shawanese and [illegible] who remained obstinate, yet they said that [illegible] these nations near one half were for peace. They said also that the six Nations including Capt. [illegible] and his Mohawks held fast together, and [illegible] urged the hostile nations to make peace.

We find that our speech of July 31st was well understood, having been interpreted to the Shawanese by Col. McKee — to the Six Nations by Capt. Brant, and to the Delawares by Capt. Elliott.

Having waited till the 12th of August [illegible] receiving an answer, we brought down the [illegible] assigned for our use to the Miami Bay

ne

mouth of the Miami River, that we might with more ease and expedition communicate with the Indian Council, *but this we were not permitted to do* So the next day we sent two runners of the Six nations (a few being with us) with a letter to Col. McKee, a written meſsage to the Indian Council and verbal meſsages to Capt. Brant and Capt. Hendricks to adviſe them of the written one. The object of the letter and meſsage was to obtain a decisive answer from the Indian Council "*whether a treaty was to be held or not*" and to bring the buſineſs to a speedy iſsue.

On friday the 16th in the afternoon two Wyandot runners arrived with an anſwer from the Indian Council. We made immediately a short reply and began to embark our effects. On saturday morning we completed the embarkation of our stores & baggage and in the afternoon sailed for Fort Erie.

On friday evening our own two runners returned. According to their information, the Six Nations knew nothing of the contents of the final anſwer of the Indian Council. Their memory is not sufficient to it. They had heard indeed of an anſwer; but were told it was to invite the Commiſsioners to meet the Indian Nations on the Miami (inſtead of Sandusky) about five miles below the Rapids — to which place the Six Nations propoſed to remove the day or the day after our runners left them. From the same information it seemed probable that the Six Nations were not made acquainted with our written meſsage of the 13th nor the letter to Colonel McKee. So we made out copies of them, of the final anſwer of the Indians and of our last reply, and on saturday morning sent them off by our runners, with directions to deliver them to Captain Brant and to inform the other Six Nation chiefs thereof. A letter was alſo written to Hendricks giving him information of theſe copies. We

receiv

[illegible] best to let the runners to tell their chiefs to be of good heart, and to assure them of the strong and alterable friendship of the United States for the Six Nations.

We had thought it a matter of no small moment that the Chiefs of the Six Nations should be seen and consulted on their return from the Miami, and our runners told us that the Chiefs wished us to stay for them at Buffaloe Creek. This did not seem necessary; but we directed the runners to tell them that on his return General Chapin would meet them at any place which they should appoint, and without delay transmit their information and the result of their deliberations to the President.

Inclosed is a copy of our letter to General Wayne. We shall send the same to him by different conveyances, but all by the way of Fort Pitt. We have written to the commanding officer there desiring him to give Major Craig to whose care we shall send all the letters for General Wayne every requisite aid in forwarding them. And we have also written to the commanding officer at Fort Franklin, to afford his aid in conveying them by land and by water to Major Craig. In the intermediate letters we have mentioned the result simply "that the western Indians refuse to make peace."

We have desired Major Craig to forward the *first* letter to General Wayne in that way which shall promise the *utmost speed* and *certainty*, sparing no expence to effect it; and the others in succession, one by one, as fast as conveyances shall present. But we added that if you should have given any orders about the conveyance of our letters to General Wayne, he was to observe them.

If the wind had permitted, we should [illegible]

Sylvester Ash ashore at Presqu' Isle, and the letters accordingly go by him. He will now proceed from Buffalo Creek. We expect General Chapin will procure two Seneka runners to go with him as far as Fort Franklin. From thence he will proceed by land or by water as he and the commanding Officer shall think best. But whichever route he pursues we have desired the commanding Officer to send some trusty Indians by the other to afford the greater certainty of conveyance. We enclose herein duplicate letters for Major Craig and General Wayne for that purpose —

Mr Wilson proposes to go as far as Genesee River, and thence proceed to the Susquehanna and thence to Pittsburg. By him we shall send the third set of letters for General Wayne. —

Fort Erie
June 28 } We arrived here between 12 & 1 o'clock this morning, and our letters having been prepared on the voyage, we shall be enabled to send them off as soon as General Chapin and Mr Jones can cross the river. They will go to Buffalo Creek and procure two Indian Runners to accompany Mr Ash. and two more to carry this letter to Canandaigua where General Chapin's son is instructed to procure an express to carry it to Philadelphia. —

We are with great respect

Sir

Your most obedt Servants

(signed)

B Lincoln
Beverley Randolph
Timothy Pickering } Commissioners of the United States

P.S. We could get no account of the numbers of the Indians at the river, except from the British & Brant's Indians who told us there were about fifteen hundred men. We have noted them accordingly, but suppose they are rather likely to be [illegible] than more —

To the Secretary of War

Foot of the Rapids 22d. August 1793. —

Sir

Our expectations of seeing a Peace accomplished between the United States and the Indian Americans, are disappointed, and the Commiſsioners departed immediately on receiving the Speech of the Confederacy (Marked C) which states that a Meeting would be altogether unneceſsary, unleſs they agreed to continue the Ohio as the boundary line between the Parties.

I have now the Honor to inclose copies of the various Speeches &c which have paſsed from the one to the other, since I last wrote to your Excellency. —

The 6 Nations from below, diſsented from the other Nations on the Subject of the Boundary & wanted the Confederacy to give up the Lands to the United States on the East side of the East Branch of the Muskingum as far to the Northward as the ponds near the carrying place to Guyahaga, and from thence in an Easterly direction to Venango, as had been formerly offered, but the other Nations would not consent to it — All my endeavours were exerted to accomplish a Union on that point, and I did not expect it would be difficult, as they had heretofore agreed to make Peace on these terms.

But whether from a Jealousy of the 6 Nations, who are supposed by the others to be attached to the United States, or from a conviction, that it would be wrong to make such an offer, before the Commiſsioners agreed to the Ohio, generally as the boundary, I do not know, they however insisted in demanding that River as the Boundary, without any limitation. —

The Council would have been unanimous, had they been so fortunate as not to have differed on this single Article, tho I doubt whether it would have made any alteration in the resolution the Commiſsioners took to depart as soon as they were informed that the Indians would not Meet them until the boundary should be ascertained —

Mr. Talbot who will have the Honor of delivering this, is able to inform your Excellency of every particular which has paſsed; especially of the attempts which were made by the 6 Nations to bring the Commiſsioners to a Council fire on this River, even before the Confederacy deliberated on an answer to the Speech (Marked B) and their attempts also to divide the Nations, by holding private Councils with some of the Lake Indians: And their Subsequent behaviour in withdrawing themselves to a Camp about a dozen Miles below, where they said they proposed to Meet the Commiſsioners

The numerous emiſsaries which have been sent to this place, with a view, as the Indians suppoſed, to divide the Nations was an additional inducement to the Confederacy to resolve, that they would not Meet the Commiſsioners, until the boundary which had been agreed to last fall at a General Council Vizt. the Ohio, should be first aſsented to by them. —

The Acknowledgement which the United States have at length made, that the Indian Nations poſseſs the property or right of the Soil of all Indian Lands has convinced the Natives of the falsities, long propagated, that Great Britain had given away their Country at the treaty of Peace and left them in a much worse condition than they were before the War.

Those Nations who have not already Sold their Poſseſsions, will now enjoy without dispute, all the Lands belonging to them respectively, and these Lands will form an extensive barrier between the British and American territory. ——

However conscious I may be of having used no improper Influence in the Councils of the Confederacy, so as to prevent the attainment of Peace, which I again assure your Excellency, would have afforded me a most sensible gratification; I never the less expect from the malevolent disappointed & Ill disposed, to be blamed for the Opinions which the Indians have adopted, and for their resolution, which put an end to the Negotiations: I shall not however lament on account of their animadversions while I continue to be honor'd with your Excellencys approbation of my conduct.

With the greatest respect I have the honor to be

Your Excellencys

Most Obedient and
faithful Servant
Alexr McKee

His Excellency
Governor Simcoe
&c &c &c

in the year 1783, obtained permission from the king of Spain to supply the Indians with goods for the space of ten years.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

*Aug*. 17. Our business being over, we left the mouth of the Detroit river for Fort Erie, where we arrived the 21st.

Aug. 23. Col. Pickering and Mr. Randolph having commenced their journey for Philadelphia by the way of the Mohawk river, Albany, and New York, I left Fort Erie and went to Queenstown, where we remained at Mr. Spencer's to the 28th. We then went down to Navy Hall, and there waited for the return of Capt. Bunbury of the 5th Regiment, who set off on the 24th to see the Governor and to receive his commands for me, if he had any. But being informed that he had not arrived at York, where the Governor was, on the 28th, and the wind being fair, we left Niagara the 30th of August, at four o'clock in the morning. We made that day the greatest part of our passage to Kingston, formerly called Frontenac, where we arrived on the 31st day, about ten in the morning. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

(Printed in the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. V. of the Third Series, Boston, 1836, pp. 109-176.)

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## FROM ALEXANDER McKEE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

FOOT OF THE RAPIDS, 22d. August, 1793.

Sir,

Our expectations of seeing a Peace accomplished between the United States and the Indian Americans are disappointed and the Commissioners departed immediately on receiving the speech of the Confederacy (marked C.) which states that a meeting would be altogether unnecessary, unless they agreed to continue the Ohio as the boundary line between the parties.

I have now the honor to enclose Copies of the various speeches, &c. which have passed from the one to the other, since I last wrote to your Excellency.

The Six Nations from below dissented from the other nations on the subject of the Boundary, and wanted the Confederacy to give up the lands to the United States on the East side of the east branch of the Muskingum; as far to Northward as the Ponds near the carrying place to Gayahaga, and from thence in an easterly direction to Venango, as had been formerly offered. But the other nations would not consent to it. All my endeavours were directed to accomplish a union on that point; and I did not expect it would be difficult, as they had heretofore agreed to make peace on these Terms.

But whether from a jealousy of the Six Nations, who are supposed by the others to be attached to the United States, or from a conviction that it would be wrong to make such an offer before the Commissioners agreed to the Ohio generally as the boundary, I did not know; they however persisted in demanding that River as the Boundary without any Limitation. The Council would have been unanimous, had they been so fortunate as not to have differed on this single Article; tho' I doubt whether it would have made any Alteration in the Resolution the Commissioners took to depart, as soon as they were informed that the Indians would not meet them until the Boundary should be ascertained.

Mr. Talbot, who will have the honor of delivering this, is able to inform your Excellency of every particular which has passed especially of the attempts which were made by the Six Nations to bring the Commissioners to a Council Fire on this River, even before the Confederacy deliberated on an answer to the speech (marked B.) and their attempts also to divide the nations by holding private councils with some of the Lake Indians; and their subsequent behaviour in withdrawing themselves to a Camp about a dozen miles below, where they said they proposed to meet the Commissioners.

The numerous Emissaries which have been sent to this place, with a view (as the Indians suppose) to divide the Nations, was an additional inducement to the Confederacy to resolve that they would not meet the Commissioners until the Boundary, which had been agreed to last Fall at a General Council (Vizt. the Ohio), should be first assented to by them.

The acknowledgement which the United States have at length made, that the Indian Nations possess the Property or Right of the Soil of all Indian Lands has convinced the Nations of the falsities, long propagated, that Great Britain had given away their Country at the Treaty of Peace, and left them in a much worse condition than they were before the War.

Those Nations who have not already sold their possessions will now enjoy without dispute all the lands belonging to them respectively; and these lands will form an extensive Barrier between the British & American Territory.

However conscious I may be of having used no improper influence in the Councils of the Confederacy, so as to prevent the attainment of peace, which I again assure your Excellency, would have afforded me a most sensible gratification; I nevertheless expect from the malevolent, disappointed & all ill disposed, to be blamed for the Opinions which the Indians have adopted for their Resolution which put an end to the Negociation I shall not, however, lament on account of their Animadversions while I continue to be honored with your Excellency's Approbation of my conduct.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient and faithful servant.
A. McKee.

J. G. S.

*ENDORSED;—A. McKee Esq.—to his Excellency Lt. Govr. Simcoe, Foot of the Rapids, 22nd. of August 1793.*

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## SPEECH OF THE CHIEFS OF THE WESTERN NATIONS IN BEHALF OF THE INDIAN AMERICAN CONFEDERACY.

To His Excellency Governor Simcoe.

Spoken by Captain Johnny, a Shawanese.

Father,

I now hold in my hand the Belt which accompanied your Speech in answer to what was sent you from the Glaize last fall.

Father,

In that Speech you told us, that it would always give you pleasure to afford us all the assistance in your power, in promoting peace on just and equitable terms. You also promised us, Father, to send us such writings as would assert our just claims; and provisions for our support, during the Councils to be held, for effecting a peace upon a just & solid foundation.

Fort Erie
August 23. 1793 -

Sir

We are on our Return home from the Mouth of Detroit River where we lay four Weeks waiting for the Indians to close their private Councils at the Rapids of the Miamis. that we might all remove to Sandusky and open the Treaty But after sending repeated deputations to us to obtain answers to particular questions they finally determined not to treat at all. This final answer we received on the 16 instant when we immediately began to embark to recross Lake Erie.

Although we did not effect a peace yet we hope that good may hereafter arise from the mission.

The tranquillity of the Country North West of the Ohio, during the (supposed) continuance of the treaty evinced your care of our safety and we could not leave this quarter without returning you our unfeigned thanks.

We are Sir with due respect
Your most obed: Serv:

B Lincoln -
Beverley Randolph } Commissioners of the United States
Timothy Pickering

Major General Anthony Wayne
Fort Washington

Sir

Niagara 2d. Sept. 1793.

I arrived here last evening from Detroit and am extremely sorry that our business to the westward did not terminate in a Peace as was by many of us wished for, as to the consequences. I am rather apprehensive, from the great divisions amongst us, unanimity by no means prevailing, without which the Indians it cannot be expected will do much, in my opinion the advice of some Whites was too much attended to but perhaps it may be for the best, I am still in hopes ~~that~~ an honorable peace may be obtained and the Boundary fixed to the satisfaction of the Indians in general — the Western nations being for the line as fixed by Sir Wm. Johnson, the Six Nations and Lake Indians having before mentioned the Muskingum — a Treaty is to be held at Buffaloe Creek as soon as the Indians all arrive, was it possible I should have been extremely happy in having consulted with your Excellency on the present situation of our affairs, but time I am afraid will not admit of it — I shall not trouble you with any detail of our Proceedings as Mr. Beeham I dare say will make his report to you as soon as he arrives — The result of the Treaty to be held, shall be made known to your Excellency as soon as it is over.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's
Most Obed.t
Hble. Servant

Jos. Brant

His Excellency
L.t Gov.r Simcoe

Capt: Brandt to His
Excellency Lt: Govr: Simcoe
dated. Niagara Septr: 2d
1793—

## FROM JOSEPH BRANT TO J. G. SIMCOE.

NIAGARA, 2d September, 1793.

Sir,

I arrived here last evening from Detroit and am extremely sorry that our business to the Westward did not terminate in a peace as was by many of us wished for, as to the consequences I am rather apprehensive, from the great divisions amongst us, unanimity by no means prevailing, without which the Indians it cannot be expected will do much, in my Opinion the Advice of some Whites was too much attended to, but perhaps it may be for the best. I am still in hopes that an honorable peace may be obtained, and the boundary fixed to the Satisfaction of the Indians in General—the Western Nations being for the line as fixed by Sir William Johnson, the Six Nations and Lake Indians having before mentioned the Muskingum.—

A Treaty is to be held at Buffaloe Creek as soon as the Indians all arrive, was it possible I should have been extremely happy in having consulted with Your Excellency on the present situation of our Affairs, but time I am afraid will not admit of it. I shall not trouble you with any detail of our proceedings as Mr. Sheehan, I dare say, will make his report to you, as soon as He arrives. The result of the Treaty to be held shall be made known to Your Excellency as soon as it is over.

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's &c.
JOS. BRANT.

His Excellency Govr. Simcoe.

*Endorsed:—In Lt. Govr. Simcoe's No. 18 of the 20th Septr., 1793.*

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## FROM ROBERT PILKINGTON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

NIAGARA, 6th Sept. 1793.

Sir,

Pursuing the Idea of occupying Point Gibraltar with a Cavelier or Stone Redoubt, for commanding the entrance into the Harbour of York, serving also in a more general view of a System for the Defence of the Place, and for the *immediate Purposes* of Government for depositing Naval and Military Stores in the greatest Security with the smallest Garrison, I beg to offer a square Blockhouse fifty-eight feet in the clear—the lower part consisting of a Powder Magazine and Store Rooms and the upper Part to serve as Barracks—The lower story, and a part of the Upper, forming the Breast Work of a Battery en Barbet, to be of Masonry, the remaining Part of the second story of Log work grooved into uprights, removable in case of any Emergence.

The whole of the lower part to be made Bomb Proof, by Timbers supported by Pillars and the Party Walls, and for the greater security of the Powder, the Magazine and the Passages leading to it to be arched with Brick.

As the proposed position of the Work is not subject to any fire on the North Side, but from the Harbour, it will be advisable to have the Entrance on that Side, and as the lower part of the building may serve for Barracks in case of any attack

(Duplicate)

No. 60

War department
September 3d. 1793

Sir

The Indians have refused to treat. The enclosed has been just received from the Commissioners

You are now to judge whether your force will be adequate to make those audacious savages feel our superiority in Arms. Every offer has been made to obtain peace by milder terms than the sword – the efforts have failed under circumstances which leave nothing for us to expect but war – Let it therefore be again and for the last time impressed deeply on your mind that as little as possible is to be hazarded, that your force be fully adequate to the objects you propose to effect, and that a defeat in the present time and under present circumstances would be pernicious in the highest degree to the interests of our Country.

You will see by the Commissioners letters that they have used due means to communicate the result to you But lest their messengers should have miscarried I transmit you the information by express.

Some apprehensions have taken place lest part of the Clothing may have been tainted by a malignant putrid fever which prevails in this town, known by the name of the yellow fever – I have directed Major Craig to smoak all which left this City after the Clothing at Pittsburg in order to remove all possibility of doubt upon the subject

I now direct Lt. Colonel Clarke and the detachment of the Troops under Lieutenant Read at Pittsburg to descend instantly with the rest of all the Clothing at Pittsburg which it is expected will embrace all excepting part of the Fourth Sub Legion. All the Stores destined for the Army it is expected have reached you.

Your arrangements having been prepared for this event if no unforeseen circumstances should occur to prevent your proceeding nothing further remains but to commend you and the Troops employed under you to the protection of the Supreme Being hoping you and they will have all possible success in the measures which you may be about to take to prevent the murder of helpless Women and Children

The Months pay will be transmitted immediately and also a duplicate of this letter —

I am
Sir
with great esteem
Your obedt. Servant
H Knox
Secy of War

Major General Wayne

War Department
H Knox

Major General Anthony Wayne

Western Army

Dispatched
3d Sepr 1793
[illegible]
[illegible]

pr Jacob Heleman

War department
September 11. 1793

Sir,

Mr John Clark delivered the dispatches from the Commissioners yesterday Morning—

I request that you would take charge of the Stores belonging to the Commissioners as soon as they shall arrive and transmit me a Return of the same, and also the result of any Conferences you may have with the Six Nations

Mr Clark he has received no money from me I am

Sir
Your humble Servant
H Knox

Israel Chapin Esqr

Genl. Knox letter to
Isrl. Chapin Sept. 4th
1793

War department

General Israel Chapin

Canandarqua

Copy

York (late Toronto) September 8th 1793.

Sir

As I have a favorable opportunity by Mr Brewerton an half pay Officer in the Kings Service, to communicate with your Excellency, I am to transmit for your Information the Copies of various Papers which I have received from Colonel McKee and his Information, that all Negotiation between the American Indians and the United States has proved, unavailing, and that our best endeavours to promote the desirable object of Peace have been to no effect —

It will appear from Colonel McKee's letter that He endeavoured to unite the Indians, and to persuade them to content themselves with the boundaries which they had formerly demanded, but to no effect, as the Western Indians insisted upon their requisition, as made in the Speech which I transmitted to your Excellency the last year, that the Ohio should be the Boundary —

Colonel McKee complains and as I apprehend with great reason of the six Nations. I enclose to your Excellency a Letter from Captain Brant, by which it appears that those Tribes are at this moment in Council, and He says, He has "still hopes that an honorable Peace may be effected." Captain Brant always was of opinion that the lesser Boundary that of the Ohio and Muskingum should be adopted, but that the greater one as settled by Sir William Johnson should be the preliminary stipulation —— on my asking him "how such intimation should be conveyed to the Commissioners". He told me, "He did not know" —— It is scarcely to be hoped that the Western Indians who are disposed to consider this Chief as a traitor will comply with any Councells held under his auspices —— His Character is very problematical, his Conduct has been very unsatisfactory to Colonel McKee — added, to these difficulties on the part of the Indian Nations the Commissioners told me that the Muskingum Boundary would never be consented to —

The Horrors of an Indian War need no explanation or comment, and I am truly distressed that they are so likely to be continued; should the Indians prove successful in the next rencounter, it is to be hoped that the Government of the United States may not for a shadow sacrifice the substance but be anxious for the King's mediation, which can alone, I am persuaded, unite the Indian Nations, and effect that termination of hostilities which if they be suffered to continue must eventually involve this Colony in the most serious Calamities.

Colonel McKee did not deliver the Speech to the Indian Nations which I left to his discretion, as the Treaty was not concluded; but I am happy that I wrote it, as Your Excellency will perceive in it a general coincidence with the sentiments of the Commissioners of the United States, and in particular, a clear statement that by the Treaty with the United States his Majesty precluded his Subjects from colonizing beyond the boundary stipulated, altho with the consent of the Indian Nations — And this I thought proper to explain, as I understood it has been thrown out in popular publications, that the Indian War was fomented by the British that they might avail themselves of the event, and colonize towards the Ohio —

I enclose for your Excellency's perusal the Copy of the Report of the Officer Commanding at Oswego, by which you will see that the People in that Country are ripening into a temper which may be productive of the most serious disputes — an armed Party lately passed that Post in the night with contraband

Goods, predetermined to seize the Preventive Officer and to imprison him should He stop their boat —— I am building a row boat to carry a gun to endeavour, by terror, to prevent such gross insults, and I shall direct the Officer Commanding, not to pursue any Deserters beyond certain bounds; but these arrangements will be at best, merely palliatives and the settlements making in the vicinity of the Kings Post must be productive of such hostilities as the Officer agreeably to his instructions cannot but consider as force, and *repell by force*, unless some speedy arrangement shall take place, either by the Kings Troops being withdrawn from the Posts, in consequence of a general Treaty, or that during the suspence of the negotiation, the Government of New York shall exert its power to restrain the lawless proceedings of its frontier subjects ——

I cannot but wish that some arrangement on this subject might be made between your Excellency, and the Government of the United States; any trifling complaints if such may have arisen on our parts (but which I have neither heard of or believe) may be easily remedied and guarded against, as the Post is purely military, and as such is the object of national consideration; but by no means ought to become subject to insults from any Individuals, which may lead to the most serious consequences.

I had the pleasure of receiving your Letter by Colonel Ogden, who has proceeded to Quebec.

Lieutenant Brewerton the bearer of this Dispatch is the Son of a provincial Colonel in this Colony to whose Family, the Council of this Province have granted the customary Lands — the young Man seems well behaved and means to settle in Upper Canada.

I have the honor to be with great Regard, Sir,

Your Excellency's

&c

His Excellency Geo: Hammond.
&c &c, &c —

(Signed) J Graves Simcoe

Dupte to Mr Hammond
8 Sept 93 —

At a meeting between the Indians of the six nations and their confederates ~~Ld~~ at the Onandaga village on Buffaloe Creek. and Col.^o John Butler. Superintendant of Indian affairs at Niagara in the province of upper Canada and Israel Chapin Esq.^r Superintendant of Indian affairs in the U.States for the Northern department, on Tuesday the 8.^th day of October 1793.

After the Council had met the Onandaga Chief Clear-Sky spoke as follows.

Brothers, We thank the great Spirit for our happy meeting that he has preserved us thro' all dificulties, dangers and sickness, and given us an oppertunity of meeting together at this place; he then went thro' the regular ceremony of Condolence and severally addressed Col.^o Butler ~~and~~ General Chapin, and the Indians of the several nations assembled — which ceremony was returned by Col.^o Butler and Gen.^l Chapin in their seperate Characters, agreeable to the custom of Indians.

The Farmers. Brother then ~~got up and spoke as follows~~: and delivered the speach of the Shawanes. Delawars and Twithuays &c spoke as follows —

Brothers — Col.^o Butler and Gen.^l Chapin. We wish you to attend

The Shawanes and other nations of Indians, thank'd the ~~Indians with the~~ six nations for their attention, and were glad to see them at the great Council fire which had been kindled some time at the Rapids of Miamia, —

Brothers. You are acquainted with the ~~ancient customs~~ Friendship which subsisted between you and our Fathers, and the reason that the present Fire is kindled, is to renew that Friendship ~~Subsistence which subsisted between~~ [illegible] ~~the Glaize~~ —

Brothers, We mentioned this ~~before~~ to you last Fall at a Council at the Glaize, and we now repeat it, to put you in mind of that Friendship which once subsisted between you and our wise forefathers —

A Belt of White Wampum made in a Circular form representing the place of their meeting, as in the center and crossed by four stripes of black wampum, representing all their confederates East, West, north and South

The Seven Nations of Canada then asked how long the confederacy had subsisted between the Shawanes &c. and the six nations and their confederates, the answer was three lives

The Shawanes &c then proceeded

Brothers The anteient confederacy which subsisted between us and the five nations was; That if any of the five nations were in distress we would take them to us, We now ~~know~~ see that you are in distress, that you are surrounded by water, and have not any land to stand upon. that a large white beast stands with open mouth, on the other side ready to destroy you; We have any land for you to stand on. and now take you by the hand. and invite you to come and bring your beds. and set down with us - A Belt of seven rows of black and white wampum

The Warriors now joined with the Chiefs and repeat the anteient agreement. and recommend a union of all the different nations, and ask them to follow. what is requested of them by the Chiefs — Sixteen Strings of Wampum

The six nations then advised the hostile Indians to send for the Commiss of the U States, who had arrived at the mouth of Detroit River and take them by the hand. and lead them to the Council fire which ~~they had kindled~~ was then kindled

Buck on ghe luh Head Warrior of the Delewars then spoke ~~as follows~~

Brothers. I call you my uncles. and all the other Indians my Grandchildren them I have already united and bound together and I now bind you altogether with this String. — A Bunch of black wampum

The Sachems of the Delewars then spoke

Brothers. You have heard the speech of the Chief Warriors, We join with them, are glad to hear they have bound all their Grandchildren together. and that they have spoke with great respect to their Uncles. and recommended to all to be of one mind — four Belts of Wampum

The six nations returned thanks for the advice they had received from the Delewars.

The Wyandots then spoke

Brothers You came to us 150 years ago when we lived above Detroit with a ſpeach from the six Nations. aſsembled at their Council fire at Onandaga Hill. and recommended to us to be Friends~~hip to us~~. and adviſed us not to listen to any bad report or any thing that would disturb our mind

Brothers. Listen to a few words more we have to say to you. We hear ~~that the present Fire is kindled to renew that Friendship which was established between us. and renewed by a Council held last Fall at the Grove~~

~~Brothers. We spoke of this buſineſs to you last Fall, and we now repeat it, to put you in mind~~ the virginians are near us, we shall not go to meet them, but if they should come among us we do not know what ~~we shall~~ do. will be the Consequence

The Chippewas and 26. other nations their Confederates then spoke

Brothers, We are sorry that the buſineſs for which the Council fire was kindled at the Rapids of the Miamia has not been compleated as we would wish; We were desired by the different Nations which we represent to attend the Council and use our endeavors. to bring about a General peace. and unite all the Nations;

The Wyandots again ſpoke. with a verry large Belt of Wampum with three pictures upon it. one in the middle and one at each end, representing the Americans at one end, the six Nations in the middle. and themselves at the other end. and expreſsed their ſorrow that the Americans were gone before they had an oppertunity to speak to them.

The Chippewas, Ottawas. and Pittewatamas, deputies from 27 Nations above Michalamalkanac. then ſpoke

Brothers. We are ſorry that we have attended all ſummer at the Council fire, and have not done any buſineſs as we expected

Brothers. We are now United with the six Nations and ask you to return to your seats. and let the United States know our determi=nation. and return with an anſwer to us by the middle of Winter. and not stop, as some Nations may confuſe you and make your minds bad.

1

The ſix Nations in anſwer to the Chippewas &c

Brothers. We thank you, and as ſoon as we get to our ſeats we will kindle our Council fire, and call Canadasago our Agent appointed by the United States, to meet with us, and thro' him will have our Determination communicated to Congreſs.

The Chiefs of the ſix Nations to Colo Butler and Genl Chapin

Brothers We have now made known to you our proceedings at the late proposed Treaty at the Rapids of the Miamia, and have informed you of the proposed line ~~proposed~~ between the ~~ſix Nations and~~ [illegible] ~~the~~ Indians, and the U States. which if accepted, we shall aſsist the white People to make a peace

Proceedings of a Council held at Buffaloe Creek Octr 10th 1793

Present
John Butler Esqr Superintendent Indian Affairs
Israel Chapin Esqr Superintendent Indian Affairs U States
with the Chiefs of the ſix Nations

of Octr The Farmers Brother in addition to what paſsed in Council the 8th inst. addreſsed them as follows

Brothers. I am sorry we were ~~yesterday~~ the other day obliged to close the council as we expected the Mohawks would have been present, and could have aſsisted us in giving a fuller explanation of the buſineſs we had called you together upon than was at that time in our power; they are now arrived and Captain Brandt will further inform you of what we have to say

Capt: Brant then spoke as follows.

~~Brothers. When the first Deputation from the Confederate Indians met the Commiſsioners of the U States~~

Brothers, You the King our Father, and you our Brothers of the U States attend to what we have to say. we will now explain to you the material point upon which we have requested your attendance at this Council, and which has not been fully explained, we wish to act openly that the world may judge of our proceedings

Brothers: It is unneceſsary to repeat what paſsed at the great Council at the Miamia Rapids as we know that you are already acquainted therewith, we shall therefore point out the cause of our parting from that meeting in the manner we did.

Brothers. When the first Deputation from the Confederate Indians met the Commiſsioners of the U States at Niagara, every thing seemed to promise a friendly termination of the treaty, but before their return to the Council fire at the Rapids of the Miamia, meſsengers from the Creek Nations arrived there, and brought Authentic information of the white people having encroached upon that part of the confederacy; this intelligence at once gave a change to the face of our proceedings, and probably was the ſole cause of the abrupt termination of the negociations for peace,

Thus you see that claims upon our land always have been and still continue to be the cause of the war.

Brothers. About five years ago we agreed upon a line of Demarkation with the U States, which you know to be the Muskingum, and notwithstanding the various accidents that have since occurred, we will still adhere to that boundary,

Brothers. We think the U States will agree to this line, which will shew the ſincerity and Justice they always profeſs for the Indians — ſhould they agree to this, we ſincerely hope that peace will still take place, and we think that the weight of our Branch of the Confederacy will be able to accomplish peace upon the reasonable line we have just mentioned; and we shall be exceeding sorry to find that this proposal should not be generally accepted by the Confederacy. If it is rejected we must be involved in Difficulties in our own Country —

Brothers

We will now proceed to explain the line upon which we hope peace will be made. we know that the lands along the Ohio are claimed by the Indians, but we propose to give up such part of those lands as are actually settled and improved which ſettlements are to be circumscribed by a line drawn round them, and no further Claims are to be admitted beyond such Line — the remainder of the boundary to be explained by Genl. Chapin. for which purpoſe it is the general wish of the ſix Nations that Genl. Chapin will himſelf proceed with this ſpeech to Congreſs.

a belt black & white wampum

Proceedings of a
Council at Buffalo Creek
Octr. 8th & 10th 1793 —

HSP
Wayne Papers
Vol. 33

At a meeting between the Indians of the Six Nations and their Confederates at the Onondoga village on Buffaloe Creek, and John Butler Esquire Superintendant of Indian affairs at Niagara in the Province of Upper Canada, and Israel Chapin Esquire Superintendant of Indian affairs in United States Northern Department, on Tuesday the 8th day of October 1793

After the Council had met the Onondaga Chief Clear-sky spoke as follows

Brothers – We thank the great Spirit for our happy meeting, that he has preserved us through all difficulties dangers and sickness, and given us an opportunity of meeting together at this place. He then went through the regular ceremony of condolence and severally addressed Col. Butler, General Chapin, and the Indians of the several nations assembled; which ceremony was returned by Col. Butler and General Chapin in their separate characters agreeable to the custom of Indians.

The Farmer's Brother then delivered the speech of Shawnese Delawares and Twithuays, and spoke as follows

Brothers Colonel Butler and General Chapin we wish you to attend! The Shawnese and other nations of Indians thanked the Six Nations for their attention and were glad to see them at the great council fire which had been kindled some time at the rapids of the Miami and then proceeded

Brothers! You are acquainted with the friendship which once subſisted between you and our fathers, and the reason that the present fire is kindled is to renew that friendship.

Brothers! We mentioned this to you laſt fall at a council at the Glaize, and we now repeat it to put you in mind of that friendship which once subſisted between you and our wise forefathers.

A belt of white wampum made in a circular form representing their place of meeting as in the center and croſsed by four stripes of black wampum, representing all their confederates, Eaſt, Weſt, North and South.

The seven nations of Canada then aſked how long the confederacy had subſisted between the Shawnese &c and the Six Nations and their Confederates – the answer was three lives

The Shawnese &c then proceeded

Brothers! The antient confederacy which subſisted between us and the five nations, was, that if any of the five nations were in distreſs we would take them to us. we now see that you are in distreſs, that you are surrounded by water, and have not dry land to stand upon — that a large *white beast* stands with open mouth on the other side ready to destroy you. We have dry land for you to stand on and we now take you by the hand, and invite you to come and bring your beds and sit down with us.   A belt of seven rows of black & white wampum

The Warriors now joined with the Chiefs and repeat the antient agreement and recommend a union of all the different nations and ask them to follow what is requested of them by the Chiefs.

Sixteen strings of wampum.

The Six Nations then advised the hostile Indians to send for the Commissioners of the United States who had arrived at the mouth of Detroit River and take them by the hand and lead them to the council fire which was then kindled.

*Puck on che luh* Head Warrior of the Delawares then spoke

Brothers! I call you my uncles and all the other Indians my Grandchildren them I have already united and bound together and I now bind you all together with this string.

A large bunch of black wampum.

The Sachems of the Delawares then spoke

Brothers! You have heard the speech of the chief,

Chief warriors, we join with them, are glad to hear they have bound all their Grandchildren together, and that they have ſpoke with great respect to their uncles and recommended to all to be of one mind

Four belts of wampum

The Six Nations returned thanks for the advice they had received from the Delawares.

The Wyandots then ſpoke

Brothers! You came to us one hundred and fifty years ago when we lived above Detroit with a speech from the Six Nations aſsembled at their Council fire at Onondago Hill, and recommended to us to be friends, and advised us not to liſten to any bad report, or anything that would diſturb our minds.

Brothers! Listen to a few words more we have to say to you. We hear the Virginians are near us. We shall not go to meet them, but if they should come among us we do not know what will be the consequence

The Chippewas and twenty six other Nations their Confederates then ſpoke

Brothers! We are sorry that the busineſs for which the Council fire was kindled at the rapids of the Miami has not been completed as we could wish, we were desired by the different nations which we represent to attend the Council and use our endeavours to bring about a general peace and unite all the nations.

The Wyandots again spoke. A very large belt of wampum with three pictures upon it; one in the middle and one at each end, representing the Americans at one end, the Six Nations in the middle, and themselves at the other end, and expreſsed their sorrow that the Americans were gone before they had an opportunity to speak to them.

The Chippewas Ottawas and Petewattamas deputies from twenty seven nations inhabiting along the lakes and above Michillemackinac then spoke

Brothers! We are sorry that we have attended all summers at the council fire, and have not done any busineſs as we expected.

Brothers! We are now united with you the six nations, and ask you to return to your seats and let the United States know our determination and return with an answer to us by the middle of winter, and not stop, as some nations may confuse you and make your minds bad.

The Six Nations in answer to the Chippewas &c

Brothers! We thank you, and as soon as we get to our seats we will kindle our Council fire and call Canadasago our Agent appointed by the United States to meet with us and through him will have our determination communicated to Congreſs.

The Chiefs of the Six Nations to Colonel Butler and General Chapin.

Brothers! We have now made known to you our proceedings at the late proposed treaty at the rapids of the Miami, and have informed you of the proposed line between the Indians and the United States, which if accepted we shall aſsist the white peoples to make a peace —

## Proceedings of a council held at Buffaloe Creek, October 10th 1793 —

present John Butler Esqr Superintendant
Indian Affairs
Israel Chapin Esqr Superintendant
Indian Affairs Northern Departmt
United States with the Chiefs of the
Six Nations.

The Farmer's Brother in addition to what paſsed in council the 8th of October inst. addreſsed them as follows

Brothers! I am sorry we were the other day obliged to close the council, as we expected the Mohawks would have been present, and could have aſsisted in giving a fuller explanation of the buſineſs we had called you together upon, than was at that time in our power, they are now arrived and Captain Brant will further inform you what we have to say.

Captain Brant then spoke as follows

Brothers! You the King our father, and you our Brother the United States, attend to what we have to say! We will now explain to you the material point upon which we have requested your attendance at this council and which has not been fully explained. We wish to act openly that the world may judge of our proceedings.

Brothers! It is unnecessary to repeat what passed at the great council at the Miami rapids as we know that you are already acquainted therewith. We shall therefore point out the cause of our parting from the meeting in the manner we did.

Brothers! When the first deputation from the confederate Indians met the Commissioners of the United States at Niagara, everything seemed to promise a friendly termination of the treaty, but before their return to the Council fire at the rapids of the Miami, messengers from the Creek nations arrived there and brought authentic information of the white people having encroached upon that part of the confederacy. This intelligence at once gave a change to the face of our proceedings, and probably was the sole cause of the abrupt termination of the negotiations for peace.

Thus you see that claims upon our lands always have been and still continue to be the cause of the war.

Brothers! About five years ago we agreed upon a line of demarkation with the United States, which you know to be the Muskingum, and notwithſtanding the various accidents that have ſince occurred we will still adhere to that boundary.

Brothers! We think the United States will agree to this line which will ſhew the sincerity and justice they always profeſs for the Indians, should they agree to this we sincerely hope that peace will still take place, and we think that the weight of our branch of the confederacy will be able to accomplish peace upon the reasonable line we have just mentioned, and we shall be exceeding sorry to find that this proposal should not be generally accepted by the confederacy. If it is rejected we must be involved in difficulties in our own country.

Brothers! We will now proceed to explain the line upon which we hope peace will be made. We know that the lands along the Ohio are claimed by the Indians, but we propose to give up such part of thoſe lands as are actually settled and improved, which ſettlements are to be circumſcribed by a line drawn round them, and no further claims are to be admitted beyond such line. The remainder of the boundary to be explained by General Chapin for which purpoſe it is the general wish of the six Nations that General Chapin will himself proceed with this speech to Congreſs.

A belt of black & white Wampum

True Copy -

Jno Stagg junr
Dep. Clk. W.D.

Proceedings of the General
Council of the Six Nations
and their Confederates –

October 1793 –

[Copy.]

At a meeting between the Indians of the six Nations and their confederates at the Onandaga Village on Buffaloe Creek, and John Butler Esquire Superintendant of Indian affairs at Niagara in the Province of upper Canada, and Israel Chapin Esquire Superintendant of Indian affairs in United States Nothern Department, on Tuesday the 8th day of October 1793.

After the Council had met the Onandaga Chief *Clear Sky* spoke as follows.

Brothers, we thank the great Spirit for our happy meeting, that he has preserved us thro' all difficulties dangers and sickness, and given us an opportunity of meeting together at this place — He then went thro' the regular ceremony of condolence, and severally addressed Colo. Butler, Genl. Chapin and the Indians of the several Nations assembled; which ceremony was returned by Colo. Butler and Genl. Chapin, in their seperate Characters, agreeable to the custom of Indians.

The *Farmers Brother* then delivered the speach of *Shawnese*, *Delawars* and *Twitheuays* and spoke as follows.

Brothers, Colo. Butler and Genl. Chapin

we wish you to attend the Shawnese and other Nations of Indians, thanked the six Nations for their attention, and were glad to see them at the great Council Fire, which had been kindled some time at the Rapids of the Miamia — and then proceeded;

Brothers you are acquainted with the friendship which once subſisted between you and our Fathers, and the reason that the present fire is kindled is to renew that Friendship. —

Brothers

We mentioned this to you last Fall, at a Council at the Glaize, and we now repeat it, to put you in mind of that Friendship which once subsisted between you and our wise forefathers.

A Belt of *White Wampum* made in a circular form, repreſenting their place of meeting, as in the center — and croſsed by four stripes of black Wampum, repreſenting all their confederates East, West, North & South. —

The seven Nations of Canada then asked how long the confederacy had subsisted between the Shawnese &c. and the six Nations and their Confederates; the answer was *three lives*.

The Shawanese &c then proceeded.

Brothers

The antient confederacy which subsisted between us and the five Nations was, that if any of the five Nations were in distress we would take them to us, we now see that you are in distress, that you are surrounded by Water and have not dry land to stand upon that a large white beast stands with open mouth on the other side ready to destroy you; We have dry Land for you to stand on, and we now take you by the hand, and invite you to come and bring your Beds, and set down with us, - A Belt of seven rows of black and white Wampum.

The Warriors now joined with the Chiefs and repeat the antient agreement and recommend a Union of all the different Nations, and ask them to follow what is requested of them by the Chiefs.

Sixteen strings of Wampum.

The six Nations then advised the Hostile Indians to send for the Commissioners of the United States who had arrived at the mouth of Detroit River, and take them by the hand, and lead them to the Council Fire which was then Kindled.

Puck on che luh, head Warrier of the Delawars then spoke.

Brothers.

I call you my Uncles and all the other Indians my Grand Children, them I have already United and bound together with this String.

A large bunch of black Wampum

The Sachems of the Delawars then spoke.

Brothers.

You have heard the Speach of the Chief Warriers, we join with them, are glad to hear they have bound all their Grandchildren together, and that they have spoke with great respect to their Uncles, and recommended to all to be of one mind.

Four belts of Wampum. —

The six Nations returned thanks for the advice they had received from the Delawars.

The Wyandots then spoke.

Brothers.

You came to us one hundred and fifty Years ago, when we lived above Detroit with a Speach from the six Nations, aſsembled at their Council Fire at Onandage Hill, and recommended to us, to be Friends, ~~and~~ and advised us not to listen to any bad report, or any thing that would disturb our minds.

Brothers

Listen to a few words more we have to say to you, we hear the Virginians are near us.

we shall not go to meet them, but if they should come among us, we do not know what will be the consequence. —

The Chippewas and twenty six other Nations, their Confederates then spoke. —

Brothers

We are sorry that the buſineſs for which the Council Fire was Kindled at the Rapids of the Miamia has not been compleated as we could wish, we were deſired by the different Nations which we repreſent, to attend the Council and uſe our endeavours to bring about a general Peace and unite all the Nations. —

The Wyandots again spoke, a very large Belt of Wampum, with three pictures upon it one in the middle, and one at each end, repreſenting the Americans at one end, the six Nations in the middle, and themselves at the other end, and expreſsed their ſorrow that the Americans were gone before they had an opportunity to speak to them. —

The Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pittewatamas Deputies from twenty ſeven nations Inhabiting along the lakes, and above Michalamackanac, then spoke.

Brothers. We are sorry that we have attended all

Summer at the Council Fire, and have not done any buſineſs, as we expected.

Brothers.

We are now United with you the six Nations, and ask you to return to your seats, and and let the United States know our determination and return with an anſwer to us by the middle of Winter, and not stop, as some Nations may confuſe you and make your minds bad.

The six Nations in anſwer to the Chippewas &c.

Brothers.

We thank you, and as soon as we get to our seats, we will kindle our Council Fire, and call Canadasago, our Agent appointed by the United States, to meet with us, and thro' him will have our determination communicated to Congreſs.

The Chiefs of the six Nations to Col$^l$. Butler and General Chapin.

Brothers. We have now made known to you our proceedings at the late propoſed Treaty at the Rapids of the Miamia, and have informed you of the propoſed line between the Indians and the United States, which if accepted, we shall aſsist the white People to make a peace.

# Proceedings of a Council held at Buffaloe Creek. Octobr. 10th. 1793.

Present John Butler Esqr. Superintendant Indian affairs.

Israel Chapin Esqr. Superintendant Indian affairs, Nothern Department United States, with the Chiefs of the six Nations.

The Farmers Brother in addition to what paſsed in Council the 8th. of Octobr. inst. addreſsed them as follows.

Brothers. I am sorry we were the other day obliged to cloſe the Council, as we expected the Mohawks would have been present, and could have aſsisted in giving a further explanation of the buſineſs we had called you together upon, than was at that time in our power, they are now arrived, and Captain Brant, will further inform you what we have to say.

Capt. Brant then spoke as follows-

Brothers,

You the King our Father, and you our Brother the United States, attend to what we have to say- We will now explain to you the material point upon which we have requested your attendance at this Council, and which has not been fully explained. — We wish to act openly that the World may judge of our proceedings.

Brothers,

It is unnecessary to repeat what passed at the great Council at the Miamia Rapids, as we know that you are already acquainted therewith. We shall therefore point out the cause of our parting from the meeting in the manner we did.

Brothers,

When the first deputation from the Confederate Indians met the Commissioners of the United States at Niagara, every thing seemed to promise a friendly termination of the Treaty, but before their return to the Council Fire at the Rapids of the Miamia, Messengers from the Creek Nations arrived there and brought authentic information of the white people having encroached upon that part of the Confederacy; This Intelligence at once gave a change to the face of our proceedings, and probably was the sole cause of the abrupt termination of the negotiations for Peace. —

Thus you see that claims upon our Lands always have been, and still continue to be the cause of the War.

Brothers.

About five Years ago we agreed upon a

Line of demarkation with the United States, which you know to be the Muskingum, and notwithstanding the various accidents that have since occurred, we will still adhere to that boundary.

Brothers,

We think the United States will agree to this Line, which will shew the sincerity and Justice they always profess for the Indians— should they agree to this, we sincerely hope that peace will still take place, and we think that the weight of our Branch of the Confederacy will be able to accomplish peace upon the reasonable line we have just mentioned, and we shall be exceeding sorry to find that this proposal, should not be generally accepted by the confederacy— If it is rejected we must be involved in difficulties in our own Country—

Brothers,

We will now proceed to explain the line upon which we hope Peace will be made, We know that the lands along the Ohio are claimed by the Indians, but we propose to give up such part of these Lands as are actually settled, and improved, which settlements are to be circumscribed by a line drawn round them, and no further claims are to be admitted beyond such line, — The remainder of the boundary to be explained by Genl. Chapin, for which purpose it is the general wish of the six Nations, that General Chapin will himself proceed with this Speach to Congreſs —

A Belt of black & white Wampum —

Proceedings of the
General Council of the
Six Nations, and
their Confederates
October 1793 —

3d Congress.] **No. 49.** [1st Session.

## THE SIX NATIONS AND OTHERS.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, MAY 21, 1794.

*Gentlemen of the Senate*
*and of the House of Representatives:*

I lay before you, in confidence, sundry papers, by which you will perceive the state of affairs between us and the Six Nations, and the probable cause to which it is owing. And, also, certain information, whereby it would appear that some encroachment was about to be made on our territory, by an officer and party of British troops. Proceeding upon a supposition of the authenticity of this information, although of a private nature, I have caused the representation to be made to the British minister, a copy of which accompanies this message.*

It cannot be necessary to comment upon the very serious nature of such an encroachment, nor to urge, that this new state of things suggests the propriety of placing the United States in a posture of effectual preparation, for an event which, notwithstanding the endeavors making to avert it, may, by circumstances beyond our control, be forced upon us.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

United States, 21*st May*, 1794.

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At a meeting between the Indians of the Six Nations, and their confederates, at the Onondaga village, on Buffalo creek, and John Butler, Esquire, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, at Niagara, in the Province of Upper Canada, and Israel Chapin, Esquire, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in the United States' Northern Department, on Tuesday, the 8th day of October, 1793:

After the council had met, the Onondaga chief, Clear Sky, spoke as follows:

Brothers: We thank the Great Spirit for our happy meeting, that he has preserved us through all difficulties, dangers, and sickness, and given us an opportunity of meeting together at this place. He then went through the regular ceremony of condolence, and, severally, addressed Colonel Butler, General Chapin, and Indians of the several nations assembled; which ceremony was returned by Colonel Butler and General Chapin, in their separate characters, agreeable to the custom of Indians.

The Farmer's Brother then delivered the speech of the Shawanese, Delawares, and Twithuays, and spoke as follows:

Brothers: Colonel Butler, and General Chapin, we wish you to attend the Shawanese, and other nations of Indians; thanked the Six Nations for their attention, and were glad to see them at the great council fire, which had been kindled some time at the rapids of the Miami; and then proceeded:

Brothers: You are acquainted with the friendship which once subsisted between you and our fathers; and the reason that the present fire is kindled, is to renew that friendship.

Brothers: We mentioned this to you last fall, at a council at the Glaize, and we now repeat it, to put you in mind of that friendship which once subsisted between you and our wise forefathers.

[A belt of white wampum, made in a circular form, representing their place of meeting, as in the centre, and crossed by four stripes of black wampum, representing all their confederates, East, West, North, and South.]

The seven nations of Canada then asked how long the confederacy had subsisted between the Shawanese, &c. and the Six Nations, and their confederates; the answer was, *three lives.*

The Shawanese, &c. then proceeded:

Brothers: The ancient confederacy which subsisted between us and the Five Nations, was, that, if any of the Five Nations were in distress, we would take them to us; we now see that you are in distress; that you are surrounded by water, and have not dry land to stand upon; that a large white beast stands with open mouth on the other side, ready to destroy you. We have dry land for you to stand on; and we now take you by the hand, and invite you to come, and bring your beds, and sit down with us.—[A belt of seven rows of black and white wampum.]

The warriors now joined with the chiefs, and repeat the ancient agreement, and recommend a union of all the different nations, and ask them to follow what is requested of them by the chiefs.—[Sixteen strings of wampum.]

The Six Nations then advised the hostile Indians to send for the commissioners of the United States, who had arrived at the mouth of Detroit river, and take them by the hand, and lead them to the council fire which was then kindled.

Puck-on-che-luh, head warrior of the Delawares, then spoke:

Brothers: I call you my uncles, and all the other Indians my grand-children; them I have already united and bound together, and I now bind you all together with this string.—[A large bunch of black wampum.]

The sachems of the Delawares then spoke:

Brothers: You have heard the speech of the chief warriors; we join with them, are glad to hear they have bound all their grand-children together, and that they have spoke with great respect to their uncles, and recommended to all to be of one mind.—[Four belts of wampum.]

The Six Nations returned thanks for the advice they had received from the Delawares.

The Wyandots then spoke:

Brothers: You came to us one hundred and fifty years ago, when we lived above Detroit, with a speech from the Six Nations, assembled at their council fire at Onondaga hill, and recommended to us to be friends, and advised us not to listen to any bad report, or any thing that would disturb our minds.

Brothers: Listen to a few words more we have to say to you; we hear the Virginians are near us; we shall not go to meet them; but if they should come among us, we do not know what will be the consequence.

The Chippewas, and twenty-six other nations, their confederates, then spoke:

Brothers: We are sorry that the business, for which the council fire was kindled at the rapids of the Miami, has not been completed as we could wish. We were desired, by the different nations which we represent, to attend the council, and use our endeavors to bring about a general peace, and unite all the nations.

The Wyandots again spoke, with a very large belt of wampum, with three pictures upon it, one in the middle, and one at each end, representing the Americans at one end, the Six Nations in the middle, and themselves at the other end, and expressed their sorrow that the Americans were gone before they had an opportunity to speak to them.

The Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pattawatamies, deputies from twenty-seven nations, inhabiting along the Lakes, and above Michilimackinack, then spoke:

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* The copy here alluded to may be found with the Message of the 23d May, 1794, Vol. I.

**Brothers:** We are sorry that we have attended all summer at the council fire, and have not done any business, as we expected.

**Brothers:** We are now united with you, the Six Nations, and ask you to return to your seats, and let the United States know our determination, and return with an answer to us by the middle of winter, and not stop, as some nations may confuse you, and make your minds bad.

The Six Nations, in answer to the Chippewas, &c.

**Brothers:** We thank you, and, as soon as we get to our seats, we will kindle our council fire, and call Canadasago, our agent, appointed by the United States to meet with us, and, through him, will have our determination communicated to Congress.

The chiefs of the Six Nations to Colonel Butler and General Chapin:

**Brothers:** We have now made known to you our proceedings, at the late proposed treaty at the rapids of the Miami, and have informed you of the proposed line between the Indians and the United States, which, if accepted, we shall assist the white people to make a peace.

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### *Proceedings of a Council held at Buffalo Creek, October 10th, 1793.*

Present: John Butler, Esquire, Superintendent of Indian affairs; Israel Chapin, Esquire, Superintendent of Indian affairs, Northern Department United States, with the chiefs of the Six Nations.

The **Farmer's Brother**, in addition to what passed in council the 8th October, instant, addressed them as follows:

**Brothers:** I am sorry we were the other day obliged to close the council, as we expected the Mohawks would have been present, and could have assisted in giving a fuller explanation of the business we had called you together upon, than was, at that time, in our power; they are now arrived, and Captain Brandt will further inform you what we have to say.

Captain Brandt then spoke as follows:

**Brothers:** You, the King, our father, and you, our brother, the United States, attend to what we have to say. We will now explain to you the material point, upon which we have requested your attendance at this council, and which has not been fully explained. We wish to act openly, that the world may judge of our proceedings.

**Brothers:** It is unnecessary to repeat what passed at the great council, at the Miami rapids, as we know that you are already acquainted therewith. We shall therefore point out the cause of our parting from the meeting, in the manner we did.

**Brothers:** When the first deputation from the confederate Indians met the commissioners of the United States, at Niagara, every thing seemed to promise a friendly termination of the treaty; but, before their return to the council fire, at the rapids of the Miami, messengers from the Creek nations arrived there, and brought authentic information of the white people having encroached upon that part of the confederacy.

This intelligence at once gave a change to the face of our proceedings, and, probably, was the sole cause of the abrupt termination of the negotiations for peace. Thus, you see, that claims upon our lands always have been, and still continue to be, the cause of the war.

**Brothers:** About five years ago, we agreed upon a line of demarcation with the United States, which you know to be the Muskingum; and, notwithstanding the various accidents that have since occurred, we will still adhere to that boundary.

**Brothers:** We think the United States will agree to this line, which will shew the sincerity and justice they always profess for the Indians; should they agree to this, we sincerely hope that peace will still take place, and we think, that the weight of our branch of the confederacy will be able to accomplish peace upon the reasonable line we have just mentioned, and we shall be exceeding sorry to find that this proposal should not be generally accepted by the confederacy. If it is rejected, we must be involved in difficulties in our own country.

**Brothers:** We will now proceed to explain the line upon which we hope peace will be made. We know that the lands along the Ohio are claimed by the Indians, but we propose to give up such part of those lands as are actually settled and improved; which settlements are to be circumscribed by a line drawn round them, and no further claims are to be admitted beyond such line. The remainder of the boundary to be explained by General Chapin, for which purpose it is the general wish of the Six Nations that General Chapin will, himself, proceed with this speech to Congress. [A belt of black and white wampum.]

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### *Message from the Secretary of War to the Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors, of the Six Nations.*

**Brothers:**

A copy of your proceedings at Buffalo creek, on the 8th day of October last, has been received by General Chapin. These proceedings contain the sentiments of several chiefs of the various tribes who were assembled at the great council fire, which was kindled at the rapids of the Miami the last summer.

And, in addition to this information, you add, in your meeting of the 10th of the same month, your desires of a boundary, which you say will be further explained by General Chapin.

All these communications have been submitted to your Father, General Washington, the President of the United States, who desires the Six Nations to receive his sincere and hearty thanks for their assurances and acts of friendship to the United States.

While your Father, the President, has observed with great pleasure the pains you have taken to effect a peace betweed the United States and the hostile Indians, he is, at the same time, very sorry that any circumstances should have prevented the accomplishment of a measure affecting the happiness of both parties. Peace is best for the whites as well as for the red people, and it is always the cause of sorrow among good men, when misunderstandings arise which create wars.

The United States consider that they have taken all the requisite means to obtain a peace, which their duty or their humanity required. They appointed respectable and wise characters as commissioners, who were accompanied by a deputation of friends, the known advocates for peace. Those commissioners, under discouraging circumstances, persevered, for a long time, to obtain an interview with the great council of the Indians. This being ineffectual, they made, in good faith, such liberal offers in writing, to ensure the future comfort and prosperity of the Indians, as were never before given to the Indians of North America.

These circumstances being known, forever acquit the character of the United States from all imputations of desiring a continuance of the war.

The same principles of moderation and humanity which before dictated the offers to the Indians, and a sincere friendship for the Six Nations, have induced your Father, the President, to consider attentively your proposition for a new boundary. Although the lines you mention are considered as liable to considerable objections, yet, it is hoped, when all difficulties shall be discussed at a treaty or conference, by moderate men, with upright views, that some agreement may be made which would lead to a general peace.

On this ground, the President consents that a conference should be held at Venango, on the 15th, or middle of May next.

It is expected that the chiefs of the Six Nations and Chippewas will attend, and the chiefs of all such of the Western tribes as the said Six Nations and Chippewas may invite. And, if the hostile tribes should think proper to attend, they will be well received and treated, as people ought to be who are holding friendly treaties.

But, it cannot be unknown to you, that, by the late abortive efforts to negotiate, the American army was restrained from offensive operations against those tribes, who appear deaf to the voice of reason and peace. Such a conduct will not be observed by the United States again. This must be clearly understood; let it be remembered, therefore, that there is no deception on our parts. Our army must be left entirely at liberty to act as circumstances may require. The scene of operations, however, will be far distant from Venango, the proposed place of meeting.

It is to be observed, that in case any of the Western Indians attend at Venango, it would be proper they should proceed by water, at least as far east as Presqu' Isle, and thence to French creek by land. It would be dangerous for them to proceed from the westward by land, for the same reason they gave last year, namely, that the said paths are bloody paths.

Brothers: If you agree to the time and place of meeting, it will be proper that you should immediately signify the same to General Chapin, that due preparations may be made at the said place.

Given at the city of Philadelphia, by order of the President of the United States, the 24th day of December, 1793.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

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### *To the Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors, of the Six Nations.*

Brothers:

Your Father, General Washington, has directed, as an evidence of his affection, and a reward for your services the last summer, that you and your families should be well supplied with good warm clothing.

Your friend, General Chapin, has this clothing in possession, for the purpose of being delivered to you.

Receive, therefore, these presents, with the same affection and sincere friendship that they are delivered to you by the United States.

Given at the city of Philadelphia, by order of the President of the United States, the twenty-fourth day of December, 1793.

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War.*

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### *Letter from Israel Chapin to the Secretary of War.*

Canandaigua, *February 25th,* 1794.

Sir:

Enclosed are the proceedings of a council, holden at Buffalo creek, the 7th of this instant. There were present at the council, the principal sachems, chiefs, &c. of the Six Nations, together with one Shawanee Indian that attended the council. There were a number of the British, from Upper Canada, also, who attended the council, agreeable to the Indians' request, viz. Major Littlehales, and others, of the Indian department. I proceeded on business, agreeable to your direction. The speech from the President was interpreted to them, and, although a little different from what they expected, (yet was gratified in the same.) I also informed them respecting the supply of clothing, &c. forwarded them by the President's directions, which they received with much gratitude, and as a new token of his fatherly disposition towards them; but I believe had not the same effect with those who, they at present, call their brothers, the other side of the water. They did not give me a direct answer to the President's speech, as they wanted some time, for several reasons; some of their chiefs were absent, and some of them in the Shawanese country, in order to find out the dispositions of them towards the United States, &c. Captain Brandt was present at the council; and, from every information I can obtain, the Six Nations, together with the Chippewas, will, undoubtedly, agree to hold a treaty next summer, agreeable to the President's request. As soon as I receive their answer, will forward it without loss of time, which will probably be in one month from the date.

I am, sir, with respect and esteem, your most obedient servant,

ISRAEL CHAPIN.

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### *Proceedings of a council holden at Buffalo Creek, February 7th, 1794.*

Present: The principal sachems, chiefs, and warriors, of the Mohawk, Cayuga, Oneida, Delaware, and Tuscarora nations of Indians.

*From the United States*—General Chapin, the superintendent, Mr. Colt, and Mr. Parrish, the interpreter.

*From Upper Canada*—Major Littlehales, Captain Bunbury, and the officers of the Indian department.

After going through the usual ceremonies of congratulation, Red Jacket, a Seneca chief, spoke as follows:

Brothers: (addressed to General Chapin.) We are happy that the Great Spirit has protected you to and from the President of the United States, with our proceedings relative to a boundary line, and with his, the President's, answer thereto.

Brothers: (addressed to the British.) We are glad to see you, the King's people, here, as we sent for you to listen to the answer of the President of the United States. Now, brothers of the United States, proceed.

General Chapin returned the compliment to the Indians, adding, that he was glad that they had sent for the King's people, to hear the speech about to be delivered, observing, also, that the sickness in Philadelphia, and Congress not being met together, had occasioned his delay.

General Chapin then read the President's speech. After the speech had been interpreted by Mr. Parrish,

General Chapin said:

Brothers: Having been absent from my family a greater part of the time, for the last year, I hope to have an answer to the President's speech, as soon as you can conveniently give one.

Brothers: When I was in Philadelphia, I requested your father, the President of the United States, to give each of your people, who attended the treaty last summer, a suit of clothes, as a reward for their services; I likewise desired him to furnish your poor and distressed people with some ammunition, and a few articles of clothing; and it is with pleasure I can inform you, that those requests were readily granted. I have procured the articles for you, and expect they will shortly be brought to my house.

Red Jacket replied:

Brothers: (of the United States.) We have heard the speech which has been delivered to us, with great attention, and shall now remove the council fire to our castle, to take it into private consideration.

Red Jacket then took the speech and belt, and gave it to Major Littlehales, desiring him to peruse it attentively.

Major Littlehales then addressed himself to the Indians, as follows, returning the strings of black and white wampum, which had been given him to attend the council.

Brothers: Agreeably to your invitation, communicated to me in the absence of the Governor from Niagara, and his information soliciting my attendance with some of the King's, your father's, officers, together with the officers of your own department, we immediately proceeded here, and thank the Great Spirit for bringing us safe to your council fire.

*February 9th*, 1794.

**Present, as before, viz:**

*The principal Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors, of the Six Nations; Red Jacket, speaker; Mr. Parrish, interpreter.*

**Brothers:**

We have taken your speech into consideration, and our eldest brother, Captain Brandt, is to relate the result of our meeting in private council yesterday.

Captain Brandt then spoke as follows, with nine strings of white and black wampum:

Brothers: I now address myself to you, General Chapin, of the United States, and to you, Major Littlehales, in behalf of the King, and thank the Great Spirit for bringing us again together in council, as what we are agoing to relate we wish the world to know.

Brothers: You have both heard the message we delivered to our brothers of the United States last fall, relative to a boundary line; and we expected a positive answer from you, brothers of the United States, whether you would accept of it or not.

Brothers: When we delivered the message to you last fall, for the United States, we had first taken it into serious consideration; we spoke the language of our hearts, and the Great Spirit knew our minds; all the Six Nations were of the same opinion, and we are well assured, that, had the United States accepted our proposed boundary line, peace would have certainly taken place.

Brothers: The speech you have brought us, has given us great uneasiness; we are greatly at loss how to act; we expected a direct answer to our proposals of a boundary line; now we are much distressed that you have brought us but half an answer; the kindling a council fire at a distant place, is what we are not prepared to give a reply to.

Brothers: Provided the United States had accepted our proposed boundary line, we should have sent immediately to our Western brethren, who know our sentiments, and we should have attended your council and confirmed it.

Brothers: Make your minds easy; but in consequence of the importance of your speech, we must have time to deliberate very seriously upon it; we cannot give you an immediate answer; we must have a general council of all the chiefs; only a few are now present, and we should all be together. The reason of so much counselling at different times, has proceeded from so small a number of our sachems and chiefs being assembled, and this has been the principal cause of the present trouble.

Brothers: You, General Chapin, live near us; we have two months and a half to consider of your speech, and by that time we will give you a final answer. We pray the Great Spirit that these difficulties may terminate to the happiness of both parties.

Brothers: You requested an answer as soon as was convenient, but in such very weighty business, it is impossible to give one immediately. With regard to provision, there is plenty in your country, and, if we should agree to meet you, you need not be particular about what we shall consume, for we shall not expect any thing but provision.

Brothers: We now conclude, and we pray the Great Spirit to protect you safe home, and we desire you will bear it continually on your minds, that you will soon receive an answer. [The nine strings of wampum delivered to General Chapin.]

### *The address of General Chapin to the Six Nations.*

Brothers: I thank the Great Spirit for preserving us, and am happy that we are again met together on this important business. The answer that you have made to the President's speech, has been taken down in writing.

Brothers: The business which has been laid before you, is of great importance, and it gives me great pleasure that you consider it so, and that you are going to call together all your sachems and chiefs to consider upon it seriously.

Brothers: You may rest assured, that your father, General Washington, wishes for peace, and the reason he wishes for the proposed treaty is, that all the Indian nations may come and talk together in a most serious manner. It is his desire, that those that are at war, as well as the other Indian nations, may come and discuss the matter fairly, to find where the difficulty lies, that peace may be made. He is sensible that the Six Nations have been very active in endeavoring to bring about a peace, and he hopes that their good works may be attended with success.

Brothers: I shall now return to my seat, and wait patiently for your final answer, and I earnestly hope, that all the Indian nations may be agreed, and that matters may be settled in such a manner, as will give satisfaction to the United States and the Indian nations.

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### *Extract of a letter from Detroit, dated April 17*, 1794.

"We have lately had a visit from Governor Simcoe; he came from Niagara, through the woods; he has gone to the foot of the Rapids, and three companies of Colonel England's regiment have followed him, to assist in building a fort there."

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Canandaigua, 29*th April*, 1794.

**Sir:**

I had the honor of informing you in my last, that I had received a runner from Buffalo Creek, requesting my attendance at a council summoned to meet there.

The enclosed are the proceedings of that council.

I have every reason to suppose, that the Six Nations had fully made up their minds, previous to the meeting of the council, to hold a treaty, agreeable to the wishes of the United States, in order to bring about a general peace. But the inflammatory speech of Lord Dorchester, which was interpreted to them by Colonel Butler, together with the presents heaped on them by the British, on this occasion, induced them to give up that friendly intention.

Colonel Butler and Captain Bunbury attended the council, in behalf of the British Government. They took pains, on all occasions, to represent a war between their government and ours, as inevitable; and, although in my presence, they did not intimate that their assistance would be wanted by the King, yet, I am persuaded, that, on other occasions, every effort is made to secure it.

The presents that I brought from Philadelphia, for, and delivered to the Indians, proved very satisfactory to them; and am persuaded, that, at the present time, a continuation of the generosity of the United States will be highly serviceable.

This part of the country being the frontier of the State of New York, feels very much alarmed at the present appearance of war.

Destitute of arms and ammunition, the scattered inhabitants of this remote wilderness would fall an easy prey to their savage neighbors, should they think proper to attack them.

When I was at Buffalo Creek, Governor Simcoe had gone to Detroit. He started for that place immediately after receiving Lord Dorchester's speech to the Indians.

The expenses of the Indians increase very fast. Their demands increase with the importance they suppose their friendship is to us.

However, sir, you may rest assured, that I endeavor to make use of all the economy that I can.

I have the honor to be, with respect, sir, your obedient servant,

ISRAEL CHAPIN.

P. S. My son will inform you many particulars that I thought proper to omit mentioning in this letter.

### *Reply of the Six Nations, assembled at Buffalo Creek, on the 21st of April, 1794, to a speech from General Knox, Secretary of War to the United States, delivered by General Chapin, on the 10th February, as interpreted by Jasper Parrish, one of the interpreters for the United States.*

Clear Sky (an Onondaga chief) spoke as follows:

GENERAL CHAPIN: We are happy to see that you are arrived safe at our council fire, and that you have been preserved, by the Great Spirit, in good health.

COLONEL BUTLER: We are also very happy to see you at our council fire, as representing the King.

Captain Brandt then spoke as follows:

BROTHERS: You, of the United States, listen to what we are going to say to you; you, likewise, the King.

BROTHERS: We are very happy to see you, Colonel Butler and General Chapin, sitting side by side, with the intent of hearing what we have to say. We wish to do no business but what is done open and above-board.

BROTHER: You, of the United States, make your mind easy, on account of the long time your President's speech has been under our consideration; when we received it, we told you it was a business of importance, and required some time to be considered of.

BROTHER: The answer you have brought us is not according to what we expected, which was the reason of our long delay; the business would have been done with expedition, had the United States agreed to our proposals. We would then have collected our associates, and repaired to Venango, the place you proposed for meeting us.

BROTHER: It is not now in our power to accept your invitation; provided we were to go, you would conduct the business as you might think proper; this has been the case at all the treaties held, from time to time, by your commissioners.

BROTHER: At the first treaty, after the conclusion of the war between you and Great Britain, at fort Stanwix, your commissioners conducted the business as it to them seemed best; they pointed out a line of division, and then confirmed it; after this, they held out that our country was ceded to them by the King; this confused the chiefs who attended there, and prevented them from making any reply to the contrary; still holding out, if we did not consent to it, their warriors were at their back, and that we would get no further protection from Great Britain. This has ever been held out to us, by the commissioners from Congress; at all the treaties held with us since the peace, at fort McIntosh, at Rocky river, and every other meeting held, the idea was still the same.

BROTHER: This has been the case from time to time. Peace has not taken place, because you have held up these ideas, owing to which much mischief has been done to the Southward.

BROTHER: We, the Six Nations, have been exerting ourselves to keep peace since the conclusion of the war; we think it would be best for both parties; we advised the confederate nations to request a meeting, about half way between us and the United States, in order that such steps might be taken as would bring about a peace; this request was made, and Congress appointed commissioners to meet us at Muskingum, which we agreed to, a boundary line was then proposed by us, and refused by Governor St. Clair, one of your commissioners. The Wyandots, a few Delawares, and some others, met the commissioners, though not authorized, and confirmed the lines of what was not their property, but a common to all nations.

BROTHER: This idea we all held out at our council, at Lower Sandusky, held for the purpose of forming our confederacy, and to adopt measures that would be for the general welfare of our Indian nations, or people of our color; owing to those steps taken by us, the United States held out, that when we went to the Westward to transact our private business, that we went with an intention of taking an active part in the troubles subsisting between them and our Western brethren; this never has been the case. We have ever wished for the friendship of the United States.

BROTHER: We think you must be fully convinced, from our perseverance last summer, as your commissioners saw, that we were anxious for a peace between us. The exertions that we, the Six Nations, have made towards the accomplishing this desirable end, is the cause of the Western nations being somewhat dubious as to our sincerity. After we knew their doubts, we still persevered; and, last fall, we pointed out methods to be taken, and sent them, by you, to Congress; this we certainly expected would have proved satisfactory to the United States; in that case we should have more than ever exerted ourselves, in order that the offers we made should be confirmed by our confederacy, and by them strictly to be adhered to.

BROTHER: Our proposals have not met with the success from Congress that we expected; this still leaves us in a similar situation to what we were when we first entered on the business.

BROTHER: You must recollect the number of chiefs who have, at divers times, waited on Congress; they have pointed out the means to be taken, and held out the same language, uniformly, at one time as at another; that was, if you would withdraw your claim to the boundary line, and lands within the line, as offered by us; had this been done, peace would have taken place; and, unless this still be done, we see no other method of accomplishing it.

BROTHER: We have borne every thing patiently for this long time past; we have done every thing we could consistently do with the welfare of our nations in general—notwithstanding the many advantages that have been taken of us, by individuals making purchases from us, the Six Nations, whose fraudulent conduct towards us Congress never has taken notice of, nor in any wise seen us rectified, nor made our minds easy. This is the case to the present day; our patience is now entirely worn out; you see the difficulties we labor under, so that we cannot, at present, rise from our seats and attend your council at Venango, agreeable to your invitation. The boundary line we pointed out, we think is a just one, although the United States claim lands west of that line; the trifle that has been paid by the United States can be no object in comparison to what a peace would be.

BROTHER: We are of the same opinion with the people of the United States; you consider yourselves as independent people; we, as the original inhabitants of this country, and sovereigns of the soil, look upon ourselves as equally independent, and free as any other nation or nations. This country was given to us by the Great Spirit above; we wish to enjoy it, and have our passage along the lake, within the line we have pointed out.

BROTHER: The great exertions we have made, for this number of years, to accomplish a peace, and have not been able to obtain it; our patience, as we have already observed, is exhausted, and we are discouraged from persevering any longer. We, therefore, throw ourselves under the protection of the Great Spirit above, who, we hope, will order all things for the best. We have told you our patience is worn out; but not so far, but that we wish for peace, and, whenever we hear that pleasing sound, we shall pay attention to it.

[The belt and speech, sent by General Knox, were then returned to General Chapin.]

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### *Speech of General Chapin to the Six Nations.*

BROTHERS:

I am happy in this opportunity of meeting you in so general a council, but am sorry to find that your exertions for bringing about a peace to the Westward, have been checked by the rumor of a British war. Lord Dorchester's speech, which has been explained to you, has been the cause of your uneasiness; and pains have been taken to increase that uneasiness, by filling your heads with an idea that a war between Great Britain and America is inevitable. For my own part, I do not believe that a war will take place. I am sure that our President and our Congress are averse to it; and that, if peace can, with honor, be maintained by the United States, that war is not their wish.

BROTHERS: I still hope and believe, that the black clouds that are gathering around us, will shortly be dispersed, the sun will again shine bright, and you will be able to keep your seats with comfort to yourselves.

BROTHERS: Even if the storm should thicken, why need your minds be troubled? Why need you be called from your seats, in order to forward the pretensions of Great Britain?

Brothers: You have not yet heard the voice of the President; he has not yet told you that we are going to take up the tomahawk. Until you hear this voice, I hope you will keep your seats, and not suffer your minds to be troubled by any fear of war. When the President does speak, I am sure that his voice will be pleasing to you. I have no more to say to you at present; I shall now return home to my seat.

General Chapin was then requested, by the chiefs, to forward their proceedings to the Secretary of War, either personally or by his son.

[Note.—For the correspondence with the British minister, see Foreign Relations, Vol. I. President's message of May 23, 1794.]

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3d Congress.] **No. 50.** [1st Session.

## THE CREEKS AND SOUTHWESTERN TRIBES.

COMMUNICATED TO CONGRESS, JUNE 2, 1794.

*Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:*

I send you certain communications, recently received from Georgia, which materially change the prospect of affairs in that quarter, and seem to render a war with the Creek nation more probable than it has been at any antecedent period. While the attention of Congress will be directed to the consideration of measures suited to the exigency, it cannot escape their observation, that this intelligence brings a fresh proof of the insufficiency of the existing provisions of the laws, towards the effectual cultivation and preservation of peace with our Indian neighbors.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

United States, *June 2*, 1794.

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*Copy of a letter from Major Richard Brooke Roberts to the Secretary of War.*

Fort Fidius, *May* 10, 1794.

Sir:

From the information of Mr. Barnard, the deputy of Mr. Seagrove, I have the following intelligence, which I conceived my duty, as commanding officer of this garrison, absolutely required my making you early acquainted with; and, from a letter directed to Major Gaither (which I opened) from a Mr. Jordan, whom Mr. Seagrove left in the Creek nation to give intelligence, I find that a village of the Tallassee town, called the Half-way-house, were determined for war, and meant to make a stroke somewhere on the frontier; that the head-men of the Cussetahs had sent to stop and prevent them from committing mischief, but that the event was doubtful.

I have the misfortune to acquaint you, that, two days ago, as the Dog king of the Cussetahs and his brother were hunting on Little river, twenty miles above its confluence with the Oconee, a party of ten whites, who crossed the river, penetrated as far as they were; on perceiving the Indians, two white men beckoned to them; the Indians seeing them make some motions with their guns, which indicated hostility, ran off; the whites fired on them; the Dog king unfortunately received the shot in his belly; they made their escape into a swamp, and his brother returned the fire without effect. The Dog king is not killed, and I am in hopes he will recover.

I have to observe, sir, on this occasion, some matters to you, which I hope may be attributed to the true motives, viz: the sole desire of doing my duty to the United States with fidelity and zeal.

The whole strength of this garrison amounts to no more than sixty-nine effective. The Indians and Georgians seem now mutually roused, and there is not a doubt in my mind, but that a war will break out in all its horrors, in about two months. Should an attack take place on this garrison, with this small force under my command, I leave you to judge what defence can be made. I shall be guarded on all occasions; I shall make use of every exertion in my power, to keep the people from molesting the Indians, and I shall make the best defence possible; both duty and inclination prompting me to maintain this post to the last extremity. I repeat to you, sir, a war with the Indians seems inevitable, and this handful of men, under my command, being entitled to their discharges, every day the force will be considerably reduced; but, small as it is, every thing shall be done that can be done.

I know that one great effort often commands success, and that vigilance often counteracts a superior force. I am determined to make use of all mine, and, at all events, prevent a surprise.

P. S. I have this moment received a letter from Lieutenant Sedgwick, commandant of fort Matthews, which I send enclosed to you. You will see from its contents, that a war with the Creeks is not mere conjecture. Should one take place, the situation of this country will be horrid, beyond description, as, from the information of Mr. Seagrove, lately from the nation, they can bring ten thousand gun-men into the field.

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*Copy of a letter from Lieutenant Theodore Sedgwick to Captain Richard B. Roberts.*

Fort Mathews, *7th May*, 1794.

Sir:

I have sent Frederick Myers and Lewis Branan, to Fort Fidius, whose terms are out. On the night of the 2d, the Indians stole some horses, about four or five miles from this, and were pursued by some of the inhabitants as far as the militia station, at the high shoals of the Apalachy, where they were joined by Lieutenant Hay, and some of his dragoons, which made eighteen in number. They then followed the Indians about fifteen miles, beyond the High Shoals, where the Indians lay in ambush, and defeated the militia, and killed Lieutenant Hay, and one of his men, and wounded another. Them that made their escape brought off six horses, besides one that was stole, that broke loose from the Indians in the time of action.

I am told that General Clarke is to cross here to day, with a number of militia; it is supposed with an intention to take some Indians that are at Montpelier.

N. B. The men that were in the action, say it was the Creek Indians that stole the horses.

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*Copy of a letter from James Jordan to Major Henry Gaither, dated*

Cussetahs, *5th May*, 1794.

Sir:

About ten days ago, there was a small party from the Usechees, set to steal horses, but on what part of the frontier they will strike, is unknown. The head-men of the town sent after them to bring them back, but the runners could not come up with them nor discover what route they had taken.

agree to this, we sincerely hope that Peace will still take place, and we think that the weight of our branch of the Confederacy will be able to accomplish Peace upon the reasonable line we have just mentioned, and we should be exceedingly sorry to find that this proposal should not be generally accepted by the Confederacy, if it is rejected, We must be involved in trouble in our own Country.*

Brothers,

We will now proceed to explain the line upon which we hope peace will be made, we know that the Lands along the Ohio are claimed by the Indians, but we propose to give up such part of these Lands, as are actually settled and improved, which settlements are to be circumscribed by a line drawn round them, and no further claims to be admitted beyond such line.

N.B. The remainder of this Boundary to be explained by General Chapin, for which purpose it is the general wish of the Six Nations that General Chapin will himself proceed with this Speech to Congress.

A Belt Black & White Wampum.

## PROPOSED BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND AMERICAN INDIANS.

The Line proposed by the Six Nations & Lake Indians, Ottawas, Chippewas, Poutewatamies, &c. as the Boundary between the United States and American Indians and given in public Council held at Buffaloe Creek to be by him transmitted to Congress.

To begin where the Ohio falls into the Mississippi, to follow the course of the Ohio to the Muskingum, to ascend that River up its most easternmost Fork to a Lake at its Head, the carrying Place between the River & the Cayahoga, & from thence to follow a direct course as marked upon Hutchin's map, till it strikes the old Pennsylvania Line, proceeding easterly on that till it is intersected by a line running Southerly, to Chenesee River, following that Line to the Forks of the Chenesee River, and down the Chenesee River till it falls into Lake Ontario.

To shew the willingness of the Indian Nations to accede to a just & honorable peace they agree to except from this Boundary all places which are actually occupied, with a competent space for the accomodation of the present Settlers.

They expect that no Reserves as hitherto demanded be made by the United States within this Boundary such as Presqu'Isle, Sandusky, the Miamis Towns, &c., &c., &c.

Captain Brant declined all further meetings unless this Boundary was agreed to, for the purpose of Negociation.

Mr. Sheehan of the Indian Department informed Colonel Simcoe that the *Corn Planter* and *New Arrow* were the persons who pointed out this Boundary.

This Line was marked upon Hutchin's Map,[1] the explanation of it was read to Capt. Brant who said it was just.

J.G.S.

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* Capt. Brant, in conversation with Lt. Govr. Simcoe, explained this passage by saying: "It was meant that they must be forced to leave their country." J. G. S.

[1] Thomas Hutchins, 1730-89, ensign in rangers, 1746; captain and paymaster, 60th Royal American Regiment, 1758-64; arrested in London, England, for treasonable correspondence, 1777; appointed Geographer General of the United States, 1785. He published a number of maps and topographical works.

(Certificate)

138 Rations.

I approve of the issue of one hundred & thirty eight Rations,[1] to distressed Loyalists, at the Post of Niagara, 10 Oct'r, '93.

J. Graves Simcoe

For Major Smith
Commandant Niagara

(MSS. of D. W. Smith, Toronto Public Library, Series A, Vol. 10, pp. 441, 455.)

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## PROCEEDINGS OF A COUNCIL HELD AT BUFFALOE CREEK, 10th OCTOBER, 1793.

Present

Lt. Col. Butler, Dy Agent for Indian Affairs.

Israel Chapin, Esqr. Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the United States, with the

Chiefs of the Six Nations.

After the usual compliments had passed Captain Brant addressed them as follows.

Brothers,

You and the King our Father, and you our Brothers of the United States, attend to what we have to say, we will now explain to you the material point upon which we have called you together and requested your attendance at this Council. and which has not been fully explained to you before. We wish to act openly that the world may judge of our proceedings.

Brothers,

It is unnecessary to repeat what passed at the Great Council at the Miamis Rapids, as you are already acquainted therewith, we shall therefore point out the cause of our parting from that meeting in the manner we did.

Brothers,

When the first Deputation from the Confederate Indians met the Commissioners of the United States, every thing seemed to promise a friendly termination of the Treaty, but before their return to the Council Fire, messengers from the Creek Indians had arrived there and brought authentic information of the White People having encroached upon that part of the Confederacy. This intelligence at once gave a change to the face of our proceedings, and probably was the sole cause of the abrupt termination of the negociation for peace. Thus you see that claims upon our lands have been, and still continue to be the cause of the war.

Brothers,

About five years ago we agreed upon a line of Demarkation, with the United States, which you know to be the Muskingum, and notwithstanding the various accidents that have occurred since, we will still adhere to that Boundary.

Brothers,

We think the United States will agree to that Line, which will shew that they act with that sincerity & justice, they always profess for the Indians. Should they agree to this, we sincerely hope that Peace will still take place, and we think that the weight of our branch of the Confederacy will be able to accomplish Peace upon the reasonable line we have just mentioned, and we should be exceedingly sorry to find that this proposal should not be generally accepted by the Confederacy, if it is rejected, We must be involved in trouble in our own Country.*

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[1] A receipt for the 138 Rations, signed by John Willson, follows this memo. in the MS. collection.

Brothers,

We will now proceed to explain the line upon which we hope peace will be made, we know that the Lands along the Ohio are claimed by the Indians, but we propose to give up such part of these Lands, as are actually settled and improved, which settlements are to be circumscribed by a line drawn round them, and no further claims to be admitted beyond such line.

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h-carrier Chief of the Cayuga Nation to
pin Esqr. Superintendant of Indian affairs for
thern Department. at Buffaloe Creek Octr. 12th 1793

We thank the great Spirit that he has let us meet together this day, and tho' we have been troubled with much ſickneſs in this Island, we are still here.

ther

You informed us the other day that you and two other Persons were appointed by the Governor as Commiſsioners to treat with us for the ſale or lease of our Lands, and that a meeting was proposed to be held on the lands to be sold or leased this Fall.

other. You desired us to think of the matter and let you know when we would meet the Commiſsioners, and whither we would sell or lease our Lands.

other. The season is now far advanced, and Winter is near to us, which together with the great sickneſs, which prevails among us, makes it difficult for us to meet you this Fall.

ther,

We will meet you in the Spring, and we will either sell or lease our Land, and let you know on what terms.

Fish Carriers
to Genl. Chap

Copy

Sir Albany 11th Octr 1793 — 69

Having heard that the Indians of the Six Nations have returned from their Treaty with the Commissioners of the United States and supposing that you must before this have appointed the times for our meeting with them, we have made the Necessary preparations for that purpose, and will (as we calculate) be at old Fort Schuyler on the 21 Inst. The advanced State of the Season has in our Opinion made this step indispensable —

Should you not have made the appointments with the Indians which we agreed to be done by you, we expect you will arrange matters in such a manner that on our arrival there may be no delay in our business, Much of our Economy will depend on such An Arrangement — We shall deem it proper to remain at old Fort Schuyler and not to proceed to Oneyda till the time that will be fixed for our meeting at that place — And will expect your notice accordingly — We have provided for the Beef, Flour &c, which we shall want on the Occasion —

We are &c

Signed { John Cantine
S: DeWitt

Genl. Chapin

Copy of a Letter
from John Cannon
& Chas Pettit
to Genl Chaplin
14 Octr 1778

Canandarque Octr. 18th 1793

I returned from Buffaloe Creek on the 16th Inst. after an absence of twenty four days in which time I attended a Council with the Chiefs of the six nations, who had sometime since desired me to meet them there, the had also requested Colo. Butler to attend, and hear what they had to say, that (as they term it) nothing should be done in the dark — The Colo. was present when they repeated their transactions at the late proposed treaty at the Rapids of the Miamia; I found every thing agreeable to my expectations.

The six nations together with the Chippewas and twenty seven other Nations who Inhabit along the Lakes have proposed a new line between the United States and the Indians. and if their proposal is accepted I flatter myself a General Peace is near at hand;

Inclosed I send you the Speech of Fish-carrier the Chief of the Cayuga Nation, by which you will observe that it is inconvenient for the Indians to meet the miſsioners this Fall, and I must give it as my opinion that it is best to defer the meeting till the next Spring, as the Indians are at present verry sickly, and are unwilling their Chiefs should be absent.

I shall leave this place in a few days for Phila. probably I shall go by the way of Albany, when I will call on you. and give you all the information in my power respecting the buſineſs. I am Sir your Humt. Servant

Israel Chapin

Simeon Dewitt Esqr

73

Simeon De Witt Esqr
Surveyor General, State of New York
Albany

Docr Williams.

General Chapin
Letter to S. DeWitt
Received 3d
Fort Schuyler
No 2

Canandargua Octr. 25. 1793—

Gentn.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 14th Inst. and in anſwer thereto say, that I must refer you to my letter of the 18th Inst. wherein I informed you of my late return from Buffaloe Creek. wherein I gave it as my oppinion that a meeting could not take place with the Cayagas and Onandagas ~~and Oneidas~~ till the next Spring. for the reasons I therein ſuggested to you. I am ſorry that you have made ſuch preparations as you mention. as it is entirely impracticable for the Indians to meet us this Fall. and for further information on this ſubject I must take the liberty to refer you to Colo. Birdsall

I am Gentn. with Respect your
most Obedt. Humbl. Servt.

Copy.
John Carline to S De Witt Esq.
Oct. 21. 1793 —

Oneida 31st Sept 1793 75

Sir

Having an opportunity of transmitting You a Letter I avail myself of it to inform You that Genl Cantine and I arrived here Yesterday - We have but Just announced our arrival to the Indians and I think it probable we shall not be able fairly to enter on our business till Monday next - After we have done here we will proceed to Onondaga We regret Your absence and will daily expect Your presence to cooperate with us —

I am Your Most Obed
Humble Servt
S. Dewitt

Genl Chapin

To Genl Chapin
31. Octr 1793

Sir

In obedience to the directions of an Act of the Legislature entitled "An Act relative to the lands appropriated by the State to the Use of the Oneida Onondag and Cayuga Indians passed the 11th day of March 179 We make the following Report of our proceedings relative to the duties enjoined on us by the said Act.

It was our design to have entered on the busineſs for which we were appointed as early as the Season woul admit, but hearing that Many of the principal Chie of the Nations with which we were to treat were either go to, or preparing to attend, a treaty to be held by Commiſsioners from the United State, we deemed it neceſsary to delay till we should hear of their Return. this made it as late as November before we could meet with the Oneidas.

Before we met we were apprised of the State of that Nation and of their determinations respecting the disposal of their Lands. We were told (as we afterwards found to be true) that the Chiefs and Warriors were divided and distracted with mutual Jealousies, that the former had lost all authority and the latter, headed by Capt. Peter, the greatest Savage among them, entirely swayed their Councils – They well Knew the terms which we were authorised to offer them – And at the same time, as we had reasons to believe, had been instigated by some White People to reject them as too trifling to merit Notice, compared with the Rents Received by our Citizens

Under those Circumstances we supposed that the Only prospect of success in our mission would depend on the agency of persons who had influence with them, for which purpose we employed both Mr Dean and Mr Kirkland as Interpreters, whose connection and Acquaintance with the Indians are well Known, and whose fidelity in cooperating with us left no doubt that every thing that could consistently be done was done to Obtain the Object of the State—

Novr 4 After the Usual complementary Introduction—We made to the Oneida Nation Assemble in Council at their Castle the following Speech

" Brothers We are happy in having an Opportunity
" of Seeing our brothers of the Oneida Nation Assembled
" with us round the Council fire, for the purpose
" of deliberating on what will be for our mutual good.
" and in finding that peace and health continue their
" abode in this Castle — May the Great Spirit preserve
" You in the enjoyment of these Blessings, and enable,
" us to keep the Chain of friendship Strong and bright
" between us as long as we endure

" Brothers— The Great Council of our State have
" last winter heard the voice which You sent to them,
" and as their Ears are allways open to the Complaints
" and Petitions of their Yonger, as well as their Elder brothers,
" they have not been deaf to your requests.

" Brothers You remember all former transacti
between our Government and your Nation

ust that on looking back to them you will find they
ll meant to promote your prosperity and to preserve a goo
standing between us - We are now sent to you on an arran
a Similar purpose

Brothers - You have asked our Legislature to make a law
tive to the Leasing of your Lands, they have Complied with
Request, and made such a law as their wisdom dictated th
best; this law directs us to meet you in Council in your
n Castle - by which we take upon us all the trouble and
ence in order to save you from the fatigues of travelling to a
nt place as has been the Case in former treaties.

rothers - This law likewise directs us to enquire of you which
the Lands You say in Your Petition you have a desire to lea
we are authorised to offer to you in behalf of the State an an
rent for ever for the Same, not doubting that you will
se to have monies to receive from the State rather than
n individuals, for the State always pays its debts punctually,
individuals often refuse till they are compelled by our laws,
ich You are not so well acquainted with as our White People
, and which are moreover attended with expences that would
der the recovery of your demands troublesome and difficult

Brothers - Open your ears to us and listen attentively; the
reat Council of our State never asked you to sell or lease you
ands before you Shewed that you had a desire to part with
hem - whenever they saw your desires they were always ready
to indulge them, in a manner that would preserve peace and
friendship between us; And so have they done on the present
Occasion -

Brothers - We are now come in consequence of your Petition last winter to the Legislature, and we request that You open your minds to us, and describe the lands which You have a desire to lease, and we will be ready to sign the Writings that shall Obligate the State to pay you the Rent for it forever—"

Nov.$^{r}$ 5 the Oneidas answered as follows—

Captain Jacob Reed Speaker—

"Brothers - You have been here for several days we desire to be excused for delaying an answer to your Speech till this time. We are now ready to do it.

"Brothers— Our Nation has been led into an Error which was done through the means of the Superintendant, General Chapin, last fall when he went to New York the Onondagues and Cayugas had desired him to Petition the Legislature for the previlege of leasing their lands, as their hunting failed and had become insufficient for their support— General Chapin when at New York thought the same would be advantageous to the Oneidas and made the same request in their behalf. On his return he informed us what he had done— We then placing confidence in him and our other friends, also petitioned— We are sorry he is not here to give light on the Subject.

"Brothers - We were misled in our Petition we therefore, sink it in the Earth and thus annihilate

Capt$^{n}$. Peter Speaker—

"Brother - I hope you will make allowances for my inabilities on this Occasion I am but a Young

Man, our old Chiefs are gone - we must now [illegible] the b
= siness of the Nation — The Introduction of your Spee
" was very agreeable to us - You congratulate us on
" the happiness we enjoy in our Castle, and invoke
" the great Spirit to continue his blessings to us - this
" is very good - It rejoiced our hearts to hear it
" Brothers You tell us that you remember all the
" Transactions between your Government and our
" Nation, that You never asked us to sell or lease our lan
" till we desired to part with them - We also remember
" What has past between us. At the close of the last
" War some of Your people Spoke to us for purchasing
" our lands - Your People are very wise, we are not
" half so wise, You know how to get hold of us - Those
" persons first engaged one of us and then Another for you
" know how to soften our minds, and thus have we been indu
" ed to Sell our lands - Your Government discovered tha
" we were in treaty for disposing of our lands, and then inte
" fered; you told us that you would take the lands yourselves
" and pay us, but it seems you did not disapprove of the
" Conduct, for you desired to have twenty miles more tha
" they had agreed for; These are the circumstances of the
" sales to you at the German Flatts. We still feel the
" benefit of What we then got. Some of our People have
" new Cattle walking in their fields which were bought
" with that Money — Some time after that another
" Man, who appeared to be [illegible]

Council, proposed to take our whole Country by Lease,
and to give us such an Income for it, that we should
have nothing to do but to sit in our doors and smoke
our pipes in peace — At the time of that Man, one of our
Brothers from Canada advised us to lease our lands, as
they had done — our Father Mr Kirkland also advised
"us to the same purpose — First we closed our bargain
"and then when you found that we had done so you interfered. You
"came up and told us that we were about to loose our
"Country, and that you would save it for us by taking
"it into your own hands, and in consequance of your
"Treaty, we now receive 600 Dollars a Year, which is
"scarse a Dollar for each of us and when we increse
"in process of time it will of course become less —
"Brother Chief of the Chain drawers we are glad to
"see you here as you was preasent at that Treaty
"and know what passed there — we are also glad
"to see another man here introduced to us as the
"frind of Genl Schuyler, We trust he will shew him
"self to be such, by being of the same mind with his
"frind. You Chief of the Chain drawers, know what
"was said that no application should be again made to
"us for hundreds of Years — perhaps we have misap
"prehended your meaning — perhaps instead of Years
"you meant Nights —
"Brothers — We Speak our minds freely to you &
"with mildness as brothers ought to do and hope you will

Brothers We have a Copy of the transactions of tha
Treaty and suppose you have the same, and as our
"agreements have now been broken by your application,
"We will now make an entire new agreement with res-
"pect to our reserved Lands — We do not chuse to disp
" of any more of our lands — It is common for broth
" not to agree when they are about making bargains — W
" cannot think now of selling any more lands we th
" fore hope that you will not press us to it —
" Brothers — You have come here to treat on the subje
" of lands — we will propose some thing for you to do
" on that Subject — let the lands which we have lease
" to Peter Smith be made as productive to us as land
" are among you — Then as to the Remainder we wish
" you to fulfill your agreement, and remove every
" white person from it — When this is done, Brothers,
" we will strengthen and brighten the Chain of friendsh
" between us —

" We were told by at least one of the Chiefs that the
sentiments delivered by Capt. Peter were only those
of himself and his party, upon which we concluded
that the only method to obtain our views would be to
hold a private conference with the Chiefs; this we
proposed and it was readily agreed to; but so great
were the Jealousies and Suspicions of the Warriors
that when we met we found they had insisted on
being present and of course we had again a Meeting
of the Nation — Thus frustrated in our intentions — We
Addressed them without a speech previously digested the
[illegible] as follows —

Brothers We are the Commissioners appointed by
e State in consequence of a petition which you sent
the Legislature last winter, for the purpus of treat-
ng with you respecting the leasing of your lands,
your speech to us of Yesterday contained a Number
f particulars on which we wished to converse with you
in a free and candid manner, and therefore we requested
this conference in preference to the making of a formal
Answer – You have represented our people as more cun-
ning and wise than Yours, especially in the business
of bargaining for land, by which means you have
often been deceived and cheated – This may have been
the case when you have dealt with individuals, but you
have no reason to expect any thing of that nature
in treating with us – we are not trading for our
selves; our business is in behalf of the State, and
it is uncertain whether we shall ever own a foot
of the land which we may lease of you at this time, or
receive any benefit from it at all – We wish you there
fore to consider us as bound to act on principles of
honor and Justice, friendly to you as well as to the
State which we represent – It is the Object of the
State to Consult your Interest as much as their
own, and to do what will be for our Mutual good –
It is beneath the dignity of the State and what they
never have done to use intrigue on any other indirect
means to deceive you and cheat you out of your lands

We informed you the other day in our speech ~~of the speech~~ of the business on which we were come – you in
your speech of Yesterday have stated several particular

nd difficulties. We are now met to talk freely on the Subject; let us see if these Obstacles and difficulties cannot be removed — We are happy to see so full a Meeting of your Nation. We hope there will be no reserve - in Opening our minds to each other, and that we will convince you that we wish not to do any thing that will work an injury to you —

You have been told by us that we Came here in consequence of a Petition which you sent to our Legislature last winter — We suppose this to be the voice of your Nation, and that you according to your Customs deliberated on it in your councils, and did not send it till you understood its meaning and were satisfied with its contents, as such we could do no less than consider it as the act of your Nation — Whenever our Chiefs do public Acts we consider them as binding on us and we must suppose that Your Customs in this instance are similar to ours.

In this writing (the petition) we find a number of names very familiar to us. We have Often seen them to the most solemn public writings which have passed between us, and we had no doubt that they were set to it by the consent and on behalf of your Nation, and that before these names were put to it, you read it, as some of you can read English, had it interpreted and fully explained and that you were by no means deceived as to its meaning; This petition among other things contains a request that the Legislature should make a law for the leasing of your Lands – You say indeed that you were led into an error by those whom you supposed to be your friends, who told you that it would be for your interest to lease your lands, but since you have been deceived you bury and Annihilate your petition – This is a conduct altogether new and singular – we are not accustomed to it – whenever any of us sign a petition or any other writing we consider it as a ſerious Act we cannot afterwards say we undo or annihilate it – A Petition from your Nation was not considered as a trifling thing – our Legislature could not look on it as such, they therefore attended to your request and granted it – they have sent us here to gratify your desires, and for this purpose we have incurred a great deal of cost and trouble, and shall we not be ashamed to return and inform them that after all this our brothers the Oneidas disavow their petition and will not treat with us on the Busineſs on which we are sent? After seeing such respectable names as those on the Petition, what could the Legislature do leſs than they have done? you sent to them for relief, and they have sent us to relieve you, and you now tell us you did not want us and that you have no desire of disposing of your Lands in any way – It is now ~~a~~ so long time since this Law was paſsed – since you have heard of it and even read it – If You repented of your petition why in all this time (since you knew that we were to come up) have you not sent word that the State ht have saved All this cost and trouble —

Brothers — We wish to talk freely with you on all the transactions which have taken place between you and the state, in order that you may be convinced of their Regard to Your Interest —

It is now twenty five Years since a Line was drawn between You and us under our Old Government, when no one of our people was allowed to purchase lands from you, without premiſsion first Obtained from the King or his Governors — When we Changed our Government last war, it become neceſsary for us to make new laws and regulations, but the laws respecting the purchasing of lands from the Indians were like the Old ones, for by our constitution no one is allowed to purchase lands from the Indians without the consent of Government. This was intend for Your benefit in order to prevent individuals of our people, whome you say are more cunning than you in matters of this Kind, from cheating you and getting your lands for trifling considerations, or without afterwards paying you for them; but when the state make purchases from you they are binding, and you may be certain of getting the stipulated payments — It is therefore better that you should not be allowed to treat with private people, but only with the State — The State has never trespa ed on Your property beyond the line which was dra twenty five Years ago —

Soon after the war we found that some of our people were about to break through the regulations of the State concerning Your Affairs – The state therefore interfered and held a treaty with you at Fort Herkimer, and we are happy to hear that you are still benefitted by the effects of it – that you can yet see the Cattle or the Offspring of them which you purchased with the monies then received walk in your fields – The State never applied for that land untill you shewed a disposition to part with it, nor have they ever been the first in applying to you for your lands –

The next application made to you for land in which the state interfered was made by Mr Livingston, whom You have also mentioned – This was likewise contrary to the laws of the State for which reason a treaty was again proposed and held with you at Fort Stanwix, and we bought your lands and the monies which it was agreed you should receive for them are regularly and punctually paid to you every year and so it will continue for ever –

The State, fearing that this disposition of yours to part with your property, would lead you to dispose of all you had, took up the matter in your behalf and solely for your good and have so conducted the business, that You have a large tract reserved to you. By the covenants you entered into at Fort Stanwix you shewed yourselves sensible that you were in danger of loosing all your lands if you had the liberty of sellin them to whom you pleased — We appeal to your own jud ments if the State should paſs a Law, allowing you to sell your lands to whom you please and that any one might purchase them, whether you would not ge rid of them all and spend all you would receive for them in a little time —

The State wishes to treat you as Brothers, and studies you Good equally with that of its own Citizens — Their design in thus guarding your property was to prevent one and another from getting Slices time after time fro your lands untill you should have none left to hunt upon nor even to set your feet on — and as you now complain that your reservation is become useleſs to you as hunting ground, we are sent to do for you what will be most for your benefit, for which purpose we are no met in council with you.

Our coming here on this busineſs is no breach of the agre ments intered into at Fort Stanwix if it can be called a breach, it is you who have made it, for you were the first who made application for the disposal of your reservation — The State only sent us here to treat with you for the land which you had requested to lease — It is not their desire that you should part with all your lands they wish you to retain as much as will be sufficient for your own use ——

In your petition you point out three Gentlemen whom you desire to be entrusted with the managemen of your lands — But as they are liable to die or remove, our Legislature thought it would be best for you, and have authorised us to propose it to you for you approbation, that the care of the lands which you shall finally reserve be committed to three Officers who are sworn to do their business with fidelity and who never die or remove, without having others immediately appointed in their place — these Officers are the Clerk of the County the treasurer of the County and the Attorney General —

We have now Brothers opened our minds to you freely — We have told you what we came for — that we came at your request and that we wish to do all for your good; We desire you to think on what we have said, and to tell us what answer we are to return to our legislature respecting the subject of your petition, and what reasons we are to give why you decline to do business with us —

Oneidas Answer by Jacob Reed —

Brothers Attend

~~We have again~~ "We have again brought our pipes
"together — listen to what we say and possess your
"minds in peace Altho our answer may not be such

as

" you would wish it to be—you have told us that you ha
" come here in consequence of our petition, from which
" You supposed that we were ready and willing to part
" with our lands

" Brothers—We have but a few words to say but they
" shall be to the purpose—It is true that we have here
" tofore broken through our engagements and have
" done what we ought not to have done—

" Brothers—You insist particularly on the petition, we
" told you it was true that we had sent it, but as we since
" found that we had been led into an error we wish to
" have it consideded as void—We were led into this mea
" sure by one whom we supposed to be our frind, but
" as this was mentioned yesterday we need not repeat it

" Brothers—You mentioned the agreement at Fort Stanwix
" That agreement was never to be Broken—We supposed
" that the lands which we were then left in possession of, we
" should hold forever—We are very sensible that our met
" hods of Doing business are different from yours, for you
" are bound, as you say, by your engagements and cannot re
" verse them; but we often retract when we find that our
" Contracts are likely to prove injurious to us—you in
" form us that when our petition reached you. you observ
" ed a number of respectable names to it and that you
" supposed they would not have been set to any thing
" which did not speak the sentiments of our Nation—

At the time when we sent you our petition we were treaty with peter Smith, and we sent the petition in order that you might turn your Attention to the subject of Leasing our lands, by the time that Smith got to your Legislature with his writings and so give us your advice on the Matter

"Brothers — in our petition we mentioned three persons "Whom we wished appointed to take the charge of leasing "our lands, because we thought that they were men who "would attend to our Interest and do us Justice, but as the law you mentioned is different from any Ideas we had, we thought our petition was not attended to but that it was dead and forgotten — We did not expect Commissioners in consequence of it — We expected only to have received an Answer in Writing pointing out what provision you had made for us if any and directing us how we should act

"Brothers — You know it is a common case that people undertake business and do not succeed in it — that often bargains are almost compleated and then dropt — Let this be the case now, since we cannot agree to part with our lands let "us part in peace — We wish you to possess your minds in "peace — We informed you yesterday what our determination was and we intend to abide by the same — We think "our reservation already small enough; we wish not to contract it any more.

To this we Answered —

"Brothers It is not our intention that you should part

with

any of your lands against your own free will — But we desire to know what you think is best to be done wi such of your lands as you do not want for cultivation and how ~~and how~~ they can be made most profitable to you if we hear your sentiments on this subject we ca then represent them to our legislature

Captn John Answers

Brothers We always expected that our Reservation should remain as it now is — It is ours and we have a right to do with it as we please. It is not like clothing and many other things which are liable to be damaged by lying sti Let it remain as it is we do not wish to part with it —

Captn Peter Speaks —

Brothers — You have been told that it is our determination not to sell or lease our lands — in this we are all agreed, You must rejoice with us, brothers, that we are of one mind; heretofore we have been divided and could not agree on any thing but we are now all united and we count it a happy circumstance that we are so, and can meet our Brothers the Commissioners in peace —

We then told them that as the conference we had held was intended for a free discussion of the object of our treaty, it would be necessary that we should deliver them a written speech, containing the specific proposals we had to make to them — as well for the sake of their information, as to enable us to make a Report on our Return to show that we had done all that was enjoined on us

be

by the legislature — Accordingly we addressed them with the following Speech —

"Brothers — After your Speech to us the Day before Yesterday we observed that you had touched on so many subjects, and also that our business with you might require such a variety of explanations, that it would be adviseable to hold an informal conference, for the purpose of bringing our minds the speedier together — You readily agreed to this proposition and we accordingly met

"Brothers — in the conference yesterday we Observed to you that a Number of treaties had heretofore taken place, not only between you and the State, but also between you & individuals, who had in view their own interest; that under those circumstances it was not to be wondered at, if indirect means had been used by such Individuals, to accomplish their ends, but that we were sent here in consequence of your petition to the legislature that we had no personal views; that what we said was the voice of "the State, and that what you would say to us would "be considered as addressed to the State —

"Brothers — We have repeated to you the transactions "that have taken place between our Government and "your Nation since the Year 1758, in order to convince "you that we have consulted your Interest in all that has "been done touching the Affairs of your Nation. We have Mentioned the destitute condition you would probably

be in had it not been for the paternel interference
of the State – That the State has now again at your requ
" sent us to council with you on what will be for your
" interest – We told you that your Observation respect
" ing the Annihelation of your petition, was a language
" to which we were not accustomed; that the names sub
" =joined to it were those we had seen as signatures to you
" most solemn transactions – That we had no reason t
" doubt that a petition Sanctioned in this manner utte
" the voice of your Nation, and that therefore we had been
" sent here at your call by our great council, whose reg
" extend equally to All their brethern, wether they are
" our own people or of your Nation; and we have demand
" of you what Answer we are to return from you to ou
" Legislature – In Reply you have told us that our cus
" toms and yours are different, that when we execute our
" business with the formalities required by our Laws it is
" binding and irrevocable; but that when you do busine
" however solemn it may be and Afterwards find tha
" you have been led into it against your Interest your
" customs permit you to annihilate it; This Brother
" is new to us we never have heard before that any p
" people whatever could consistently with Justice say
" we undo what we have done, and more especially when
" their Brothers who are ready at their call to appear
" and help and advise them, come forward at a great ex
" pence and trouble and say what are your wishes w

will do whatever we can to quiet your minds and
make you happy — We also told you that we would
be ashamed to go back and in delivering an account
of our business with you, to have nothing to say but
"that our brothers of the Oneida Nation, considered as no
thing, a writing to which their principal Chiefs had
put their hands, which they had presented to our
great Council and which had occasioned the law
appointing us to the business on which we now appear
in your Castle — would it be for your interest that
the State should withdraw its attention from the
concerns of your Nation, and leave you to dispose of
"your lands to whom and in what manner you please
and say we care not for our brothers let them get rid
of their property as soon as they please — If you here
after send petition to our Legislature how can we know
"that you will not again say you consider them as nothing?
"If we see the Names of your Chiefs to any writing, say,
"how shall we know if you will not afterwards tell us
"you consider it as nothing? — you have called to us, we
"have come a great distance to ask you what you desire
and you tell us Nothing —

"Brothers — We are afraid that some evil minded people
have given you advice hurtful to your real interest, we
"have known it to be the case on former occasions, and
therefore have reason to suspect that it is the case
now — Those from whom you may have received their

n be actuated by nothing but their own private consid
ations — that cannot be the case with us — we wish not
" only to tell you but also to do what will be for your
" real good, if you would but open your Ears to us and put
" cofidence in what we would propose as the means of
" making you rich & happy — We know better than you
" do, because we are more accustomed to it, how to make
" lands the most productive, and therefore would we wish
" to give you our advice, but you refuse to receive it —
" We are rich and happy because we always listen to the
" Councils and obey the directions of our chiefmen — If
" we did not do so but if every one should act as he plea
" es and shut his ears to the voice of our fathers assembled
" in the great Council of the State, we would be as blin
" to our own good as you are to yours — We therefore ex
" hort you for the sake of your own welfare Let there
" be no divisions among you — reverence the gray hairs of
" your fathers and let the councils of your Sachems sink
" deep into your hearts — you as well as we have Chiefs
" to study the happiness of your Nation, and if you are not
" of one mind in fallowing their Advice they can do you
" no good they will be as nothing —

" Brothers — We now proceed to make you the proposals
" which we are ordered to do by our Legislature — If you
" will quit claim to the State your Right to so much
" of your reserved Lands as you may think proper to
" [illegible] of the State will pay you for the same th

sum of five Dollars every year for ever; for every Square mile of the lands you shall quit claim as aforesaid, and also give you a sum equel to one Years payment on the execution of such quit Claim

"If these proposals are agreed to we will then further propose to you to vest the lands which you shall choose to retain, in the attorney General of the State & the Clerk and treasurer of the County and their successors as trustees to prevent any encroachments on your retained Lands, and to bring suits for trespasses thereon and to prosecute the same to effect for your benefit—

"The Lands which you shall quit claim to the State shall be surveyed at the Expence of the State in the presence of such Indians as shall choose to attend and of such persons as you shall choose to appoint to attend to inspect such survey

" Brothers—We now submit this great subject to your deliberate consideration—It is your good and the Interest of your Nation which it is your duty to study—We do not come here to ask you to do any thing for our benefit—Shut your Eyes to our advantages, if you please, but keep them open & fixed on your own happiness—

"To this Speech the Indians answered that they still adhered to their former resolutions. Captn Peter alledging that if the Rent which we offered

for their lands was a quarter or half a quarter o
even a quarter of a quarter of what our Citizens
get for theirs our proposals might perhaps mer
their attention, but they were too trifling to think o

They again expressed their desire that every whi
person might be removed from their reservation
excepting the Schoolmaster and Black Smith, who we
placed there by the agent of the United States—
Thus ended our Treaty with the Oneidas——

After we had finished our business with the Oneidas w
Immediately proceeded to Onondago, whether we had sent
word that we were to be there to treat with them in
half of the State respecting their Lands—
After our arrival and the usual introductory Speech
We addressed them with the following Speech—
"Brothers— We thank the great Spirit for preserving u
"on our way to the ancient Council fire of the six Nations
"and that we now find our Brothers the Onondagaes
"enjoying health and prosperity — May we all be preser
"ved by that same good Spirit during our stay together
"and enabled to brighten the chain of friendship be
"tween us and Seperate in peace—
"Brothers of the Onondago Nation
" The great Council of our State have heard that you

our Nation, and that you were willing to lease them
nts to be paid to you and your children every year
rever hereafter — Brothers — our great council suppose
at you would rather lease your lands to the State
han to individuals because you must know the State
ways pays its Debts the moment they become Due &
t individuals often neglect to pay till they are compelled by our laws which are attended with expence
d trouble — Brothers — we are therefore sent by your
reat council to enquire of you which Lands you are
nclined to lease, and which to keep for yourselve to live
ron. After we know your minds on this Subject we will
ell you what we will allow you as an annual rent
om the State, for the lands so to be leased, and what we
esides now pay down to you —

Brothers — While we rejoice to see your people living
in harmoney together and reverencing your chiefs &
your Old men who have grown wise through the long
expirience of their lives. It grieved us to find our Brothers the
Oneidas so divided into parties that they could not bring
their minds together when they were called to council
the affairs of their Nation and to Deliberate on what
ould be most for their own happiness — We hope to
ee a continuance of Unanimity among you & that
ach of you in this treaty will lay aside every other
ught but what is Direct [illegible] Welfare of [illegible] people

thers – the Great council of the State has a particular
regard to your Nation, and whatever they shall
" Judge to be for your Good, they will always be ready to do,
They will always hearken when you apply to them for
" advice or relief – This Brothers is what we Desire you to
" believe and we trust you will not Doubt what we say –

Answer of the Onondagaes. Kahikloton Speaks

" Brothers – you have arrived here among us, sent by
" the great council of your State, and have this day
" made a speech to us; we have taken it into consideration
" and since we perfectly understand it it is not necessary
" for us to repeat it –

" Brothers – You laid your minds before us we
" now lay our minds open to you – we wish to remind
" you of our agreement at Fort Stanwix. We have it
" here in order to shew it to you; we are satisfied with
" it and never expressed any uneasiness about it –
" we never sent to the Governor to create difficulties and
" find fault with it, as our Children the Oneidas and Cayugas
" have done – You have told us that you have come
" here at our call we will tell you how this has happened
" – It was not our voice that you have heard but
" that of some of our Nation who live to the westward.
" Our Chief at Buffaloe Creek wishes to dispose of the
" whole of our Lands but we are deaf to him –

Brot

"Brothers - you told us at the Treaty at Stanwix that no encroachments should be made on our reservation. Let it be so, in order that our young men, our Wives and Children may remain on it and possess their minds in peace - We agreed that our contracts should remain inviolate to the latest posterity - We are happy to meet with you at this time to renew these covenants between us. Here is the Copy of it, we wish you to take it and peruse it that your minds may be refreshed on the subject this is all we have to say at this time.-

We then returned the following Speech -

"Brothers of the Onondago Nation attend Yester Day we heard your voice, we thank the great Spirit that he has preserved us in health, and safely through the night past, has permitted us once more to bring our pipes together in peace -

"Brothers - we fully understand your speech of Yesterday, attend therefore to our Reply - You tell us that the voice which our Chiefs have heard, and which has occasioned our visit to you, was not your voice but that of some of your Nation to the westward, that one of your Chiefs in that quarter was disposed to sell the whole of your reservation, but that you were deaf to him that you were

satisfied

fied with the bargain you had made with th
Governer of the State of New york - that you choos
" it should remain unaltered, that your Children -
" your grand Children and latest posterity might
" have a place to sit upon in the Land of their ancestors
" Brothers your words please us well; they will
" please the great men who sent us and will also
" be agreeable to all your brothers the people of the
" State of New York - They will all rejoice to hear th
" their ancient Brothers the Onondagaes, the Keepers of
" the great council fire of the six Nations, are determin
" never to quit the Country which was given them by
" the great Spirit, but to enter the Earth in company
" with their brothers the white people of the State
" Brothers attend - We did not come to buy your lan
" our Chiefs will never send to you on any such busi
" ness - No Brothers they wish you ever to live amo
" you - they chose rather to strengthen and confirm
" you in your seats; the white people know how
" to make a little land productive of more than you
" do; they have long been accustomed to matters of
" that Nature - your Reservation now produces you
" but little - our great men, if you chuse, will tak
" charge of such part of your Land as you do not
" want for cultivation, and will pay you an annual

Annual rent for the same as long as the Lea shall continue; Thus Brothers our Chiefs are desirous to make your reservation productive to you after not even a striped squirrel shall remain thereon, and thus you see that our chiefs are willing to confirm and strengthen you in your present seats forever, by giving you a greater income annually for your Land than it ever would produce y hunting — Whenever therefore Brothers you shall oint out to us such parts of your Reservation as you ay wish to lease, to our great men we will, as observed yesterday, tell you how much we are direct to Obligate the state to pay you annually forever & how much we are authorised to pay you in hand when our Business is closed

"Brothers — this is all we have to say at present —
"You will consider our words and give us your
"answer when you shall have agreed"—

After deliberating on our last speech the Onondagaes informed us that they had agreed to lease part of their Reservation; Several proposals were made with respect to the bounds of the land to be leased, till at length we agreed on those described in the deed which they executed to us — We proposed to them also to vest their land in the Attorney General of the State and the Clerk & Treasurer of the County —

for the purposes pointed out by the law, to which they answer that they would rather hold it under the protectio of the State, as they had hitherto done — That they considered us, in consequence of former covenants, already sufficiently bound to gaurd their property, and could not see the necessity or propriety of doing any thing more about it —

They also told us, at the conclusion of our business, that their only inducement to part with their property was, their apprehension that those of their Na on who resided at Buffaloe Creek would sell the whole of their reservation and leave no part for the to remain upon, and that a just dividend would be ma to those Indians, if they would choose to attend when annual payments were made —

They also executed and delivered a deed to us, granting half a mile square to the State, in trust for Ephraim Webster, a white man whom they consider as one of their Nation, and employ as interpreter, with a request that the State should likewise grant him half a mile in addition to it, and adjoining his westerly boun He now resides upon the land, and has made valuable improvements upon it, He is considered as a person of good character among them, and has always conducted himself in a manner friendly to the State

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We would have proceeded likewise to the Cayugas, but were prevented by a Meſsage from General Chapin who transmitted us a speech from one of their chiefs, purporting that those of them who were at Buffaloe Creek had particularly requested that our busineſs with them might be postponed, aſsigning as a reason that some there, who wished to attend the Treaty, would be prevented by sickneſs, which then prevailed among them, but would be ready to treat in the Spring — We lamented the want of General Chapins aſsistance who was also detained at home by sickneſs in his family at the time —

We have only to observe on the whole of our transactions, that we have conducted them in such a manner as we judged best calculated to accomplish the views of the state, that no expense has been incurred which we did not suppose absolutely neceſsary in the busineſs in which we were engaged, in order to obtain a probability of succeſs — and we trust that from the Accounts which will be delivered to the Auditor it will appear that all poſsible Economy has been observed —

We have the Honor to be

Sir

Your Excellency's obedient

and most humble servants

John Cantine

Simeon DeWitt

To His Excellency Governor Clinton

To the Meeting for Sufferings

Agreeable to the Prospect we laid before the Meeting in the fourth Month last, of attending a Treaty with the Indians proposed to be held at Sandusky; and if way should open to visit them at other places, & also some of the Frontier Inhabitants. — There being three Commissioners appointed by the United States to hold said Treaty, it was thought most adviseable that we should go in company with them: Accordingly three of us set out with two of them by land, and three with the other Commissioner from New York by water — On our way each company met with some Chiefs & principal Men of the five Nation Indians, and had satisfactory opportunities with them. We were all favoured to meet together at Niagara, and in the neighbourhood of that place found a number of families professing with Friends, who had removed from different parts of our Yearly Meeting, among whom we distributed a few Books (of wch they were very destitute) and had several Meetings with them & other inhabitants of those parts: And while there were visited by several principal Indians who were on their way to the Council, some of us also made a visit to two Indian Villages a few miles from the Landing. — After continuing a few days there, and finding the Treaty was not likely to commence so soon as was expected; with the approbation of the Governor of Upper Canada, and the Commissioners of the United States (who remained at Navy Hall) we embarked at Fort Erie, with several Interpreters and about sixty Indians on board a British Vessel bound for Detroit 300 miles westward, believing that to be the place where the object of our Journey could be most fully answered. During our passage we held a Meeting on board the Vessel, which several of the Indians attended, and expressed their satisfaction therewith. — We spent above six weeks at Detroit, in which time many Indians of different nations passed thro' the Town, on their way to the great Council at the Rapids of Miami River, with whom we had frequent opportunities of conversation, and informed them of the concern of the Body of Friends; & the nature of our profession & peaceable Principles, to which several Nations were not strangers, particularly the Wyandots, Shawanese & Delawares; some also who had heard of us at the Council, came from thence about 60 or 70 miles to visit us. They mostly listened to us with attention, & appeared glad to see us, approving of our intention to be at the Treaty, and one of their Chiefs said,

12-2-1793 he

he thought the Great Spirit was pleased with our coming.

While we remained at Detroit we were also visited by a number of peaceable Moravian Indians, who are now settled at the River La tranche, about 70 miles from thence, upon a tract of Land granted them by the English Government. On conversing with them we found that by being driven from place to place during the War, they were become very poor, and in immediate want of provisions being about 120 in number. we therefore commiserating their Circumstances thought proper to afford them some relief, which we did to the amount of One hundred Dollars, and wrote a Letter to them, which they answered in very grateful terms. ——

We had a number of public Meetings in Detroit & near it among a People who were much uninformed of our principles: they were held to good satisfaction, and we believe tended to the information of the People, and hope Truth did not suffer. The inhabitants both Civil & Military were respectful & hospitable to us. ——

At length the Commissioners arriving at the mouth of the River and expecting to be soon invited to the Treaty, we went & encamped with them and were present at several interviews between them & about 30 Indian Chiefs who were a Deputation from the great Council, at the conclusion whereof it appeared doubtful whether we should have an opportunity with the Indians collectively or not; and having before exchanged a Letter with Alexr. McKee, a British Agent & superintendant of Indian affairs who was at the Council, we thought best to send to his care the Address of Friends here to the Indians, together with a Letter written by us, which we requested him to lay before them in full Council; and from his Style of writing to us we hoped he would readily comply therewith. During our stay here which was above three weeks we had some Meetings among the poor frontier Inhabitants. —— The Indians final reply from the grand Council being at length received by the Commissioners, the business closed without a general Treaty; and our hopes of having a further opportunity with the Indians, or seeing a Peace accomplished at that time, being entirely frustrated, we all embarked again for Fort Erie on our way home; from whence some of us returned by Land, and others by Montreal & from thence to New York chiefly by Water. —— The Friends who came home by Land spent about a week more among the Professors with us about Niagara, and had several meetings with them; visited most of the families, and obtained a more perfect account of their numbers & circumstances, there being in the whole between 30 & 40 families, divers of whom are Members, & we think their situation claims the sympathy & care of our Yearly Meeting. —

Notwithstanding the desirable object of Peace was not obtained, we have not a doubt of the rectitude of our submitting to go on the arduous & exercising Journey, we believe it tended to renew the antient friendship with the Indian Natives, and altho' we were not admitted to see them in full Council, yet have reason to believe they were all made acquainted with our motives & friendly sentiments towards them thro' divers of their Chiefs. —

We were preserved together in much Unity of prospect & harmony of Concern during the Journey, and were favoured to return with a portion of Peace; having been generally preserved in good Health, tho' most of us were for some time unwell with a Fever, and our Friend Joseph Moore is since deceased. ——

Our Minds were much affected in hearing of many [illegible] and distressing consequences attending War with the Indians; it appears to us that there remains as great a necessity as any heretofore to keep the sorrowful Subject in view, and [illegible] direct, every opportunity to promote the weighty Concern of our Yearly Meeting ——

Philadelphia 12mo 2d 1793.

John Parrish
Jacob Lindley
William Savery
John Elliott
Wm. Hartshorne

Report of Friends
who visited the Indians &c.
1793

Copies

must ultimately attend the continuance of War unleſs by some means or other Great Britain shall take a decided part in the Protection of the Indians.—

When in my Speech I mention the liberal construction the Government had placed on Sir Frederick Haldimands promise, I refer to the extention of the Grant of Six Miles on each side of the Grand River, as far as it ran and the arranging with the Miſseſsagues the limits of our Purchase.——

Untile I saw this promise of Sir Frederick Haldimand in Brants poſseſsion from the proceedings of the Land Board of the District, and the Plans I had received at Quebec I had of course supposed that the Boundary of the Six Nations had not extended so far to the Northward——

I think it may be agreeable to Your Lordship

At Quebec I had of course supposed that the Boundary of the Six Nations had not extended so far to the Northward —

I think it may be agreeable to Your Lordship to see the observations of Mr Hamilton on the Lands on the Grand River — He is a very respectable Person in this Province, and they were communicated to me on my being desirous of obtaining every possible Light on this important Subject — I therefore inclose them for Your Lordships perusal —

E: H: S:

I have the honor to be

&c &c

Signed / J Graves Simcoe

The Right Honorable
Lord Dorchester

[1793]

# Memorial respecting the Indian Lands on the Grand River —

At the peace of 83 Government on the Idea that they had given up all the lands to the East of the line then fixed on, as the Boundary between them & the States of America, thought it incumbent on them, to provide for the different Tribes of the Six Nations, who had by taking an active part in the war, rendered their Situation on that side of the line uncertain & insecure. —

The Indians at that time consulted on the Situation they would prefer, pointed out the Grand River as the chosen spot, and Government with that Munificence & Generosity which ever distinguishes the British Nation, not only acceded to their request, but assisted their Settlement by aiding them in building a Church & School house, & by affording them provisions to enable them to await the return of their Harvests, in the Crops the fertile spot they now possessed, promised them, & the produce of their Exertion in the ample field they then had behind them for the purpose of Hunting. —

The Policy of the plan in removing them from the place where with equal Advantages, they might have remained useful Barriers between us & the States of America, is not now to be canvassed — Part of them did settle on the Grand River, enjoying for the mean time, all the rights & privileges the whites were entitled to. — Some Demur has arisen, from the inexplicit terms of the promise made to them — The faith of the British Nation however requires, that this shall be extended as far as the Words of the Promise will permit.—

Suppose then the Mohawks and their Allies possessed of the Grand River from its Mouth to its Source, the question is, on what terms they had best hold this possession—

Sound Policy certainly says, that the having within—in the heart of our Government, a sett of Inhabitants, not clearly—amenable to our laws,—guided in every respect by different customs,—Influenced perhaps on future Occasions by adverse Motives of Interest—must be highly inconvenient, & a circumstance to be avoided by every means in our power.—

They are however possessed of a Right to the Land, & a general Deed, confirming to them this property, will only perpetuate the Evil on us & our posterity.—

It is a favorite Idea at present, to attempt the Civilization of the Aborigines of this Continent,—with what degree of probable Success the writer will not pretend to determine.—

In the present Instance let the Trial on the fairest grounds be made.—Let the Indians be treated in every respect as other Settlers, in this new Country. Let the Lands appropriated for them on the Grand River, as in other Military grants, be surveyed at the Expence of Government—Let every individual who has a Claim, have a fair possession of the Quantity he is intitled to.—Let this be given to them as to others, in Fee simple — But as Indians are apt to be imposed upon by designing Individuals, let the right of purchase, as by Royal Proclamation now established, remain vested in Government. —

It is well known that the Indian Lands on the Grand River, when surrounded by industrious Settlers, will by no means answer as the residence of Indians who depend on Hunting for their Subsistance — To such, a compensation more valuable in its way, may be given in Lands further to the West or North — Whilst on the portions thus obtained by Government, by fair Exchange or other compensation, active Farmers will prove a Spur & Example to such Indians as may prefere the State of civilization to that of Hunting; — And Government will have it in its power, to reward by the Lands thus obtain'd the many deserving applicants, who may wish to benefit by such eligible Situations; — And by this mixture they may in time sink the Name as well as the Nature of Indian in that of good Citizens. —

OF TORONTO

Memoire &c

on the Lands at

the grand River

by Mr Hamilton

## CIRCULAR LETTER TO LIEUTENANTS OF COUNTIES.

Circular.

NAVY HALL, Dec. 5, 1793.

Sir,

The indisposition of the printer has prevented the publication of the several Acts passed in the Second Session of the Legislature of this Province, but I am happy to inform you that his recovery will enable him forthwith to commit the whole of them to the press. In the meantime, I transmit to you some printed Copies of the Bill for the better regulation of the Militia of Upper Canada, and I hope by the return of the Winter Express, all the Acts will be in circulation in every District.

I need not observe, Sir, how very consonant to His Excellency's wishes, the organization of the Militia will be, as he so strongly recommended this measure to the attention of the Legislature. In obedience to His Commands, I avail myself of the earliest opportunity of forwarding to you the enclosed Act.

I have the honor to be &c.
E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Sent to the several
Lieutenants of Counties
in Upper Canada.

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## J. G. SIMCOE TO LORD DORCHESTER.

YORK, Decmr. 6th, 1793.

My Lord,

I do myself the honor of enclosing to Your Lordship Speeches and Papers that have passed between me and Joseph Brant since my arrival in this Country relative to the Grants of Lands promised to the Six Nations upon the Grand River, by the late Sir Frederick Haldimand. I felt it my duty to give to the Six Nations thro' Brant, the earliest assurance that the change of Government would make no alteration in the King's benevolence towards them, and that the granting to them thus Title Deeds would be among the first Objects of my attention when I should arrive in Upper Canada. Before I left Quebec, I received from Captain Brant the enclosed Answer to my letter. In consequence at a Council held for the purpose of publicly ratifying the Grant of the Lands conceded such a Deed was offered to the Six Nations, as the Laws of England admitted of, and as fully embraced the benevolent Instructions of Sir Frederick Haldimand and Your Lordship. This Deed was peremptorily refused by Captain Brant, as it did not contain within it a power for the Indians to lease their lands, a power which it appeared to me would be highly injurious to their Interests, and as I was advised illegal in respect to the Customs and Laws of Great Britain. Previous to their Council, in conversation with Brant, he had intimated his expectations of having the Lands granted to the Indians as fully as to the Loyalists, and on my observing that if they had the power of leasing them, the Object of the King's benevolence would be ineffectual, for the Indians would lease them to the Land Jobbers. He said Your Lordship had told him as much, but that the Indians were not always to be fools because they had once been such.

The Letter enclosed (No. 2) was also written to me by Brant soon after this conversation, and I was informed that there was a great tumult at the Grand River, and that the Chief Women had met in Council, and given it in charge to their Warriors to defend their Lands. The correspondence between Genl. Clarke and Colonel Gordon in 1791, will have informed Your Lordship that a murder, which was committed at the Grand River, had given occasion to an Altercation between the Magistrates of the District and the Indian Chiefs, in the course of which Colonel Gordon thought it proper to stop their annual presents until the offenders should be delivered up to Justice. Upon Colonel Gordon's report of this matter to General Clarke, it was His Excellency's order the presents should be delivered to the Indians, upon their Chiefs becoming responsible that the suspected Persons should be amenable to Justice, whenever the Situation of the Country should be such that they could be brought to trial. Upon this Council being held for the purpose of delivering to the Chiefs of the Grand River their Title Deeds for the Lands which had been promised to them, Captain Brant made a long Speech, and delivered a Belt, which, upon being interpreted to me by Colonel Butler, to my great surprise, I understood was to cover the grave of the Person who had been murdered, according to the Ancient Indian Custom, but which has for some years been obsolete in all transactions between His Majesty's Subjects and the Mohawks, who in a Treaty, held by Sir William Johnson, as I am informed, had many years ago, agreed to deliver up all their People who should commit any murders, to the Justice of the British Laws. I refused this Belt and left the Council House. The Indians, I apprehend, were in great astonishment, and the Affair began to wear a serious aspect. Upon the Nature of it being fully explained by Colonel Butler, who at the same time added that the murder was really committed in a "Drunken frolic that there were no evidence present, and that his advice to the Indians concerned not to accuse themselves, as being inconsistent with the Administration of Justice by our Laws, however wilfully misinterpreted by Brant, was given from a conviction of the worthlessness of the Person who had fallen the victim of a drunken quarrel."

It has since been thought that the supposed murderers were Brant's near relations, and above all, seeing in the whole of Brant's Conduct an Indisposition to Government, probably covering some sinister purpose, It was thought most prudent that I should accept the Belt, which was accordingly done next day.

The detail is necessary, My Lord, to the explanation of some parts of the Speech. In conversation with Captain Brant, he had stated the impracticability of the Indians supporting themselves by their hunting, of the Indians themselves they could not provide for their old men and children by their farms, and that he conceived the leasing of them to be the only mode by which they could maintain themselves and their families. Brant, thro' the medium of some of his friends, made an overture to me to sell part of these Lands. In the Council I had promised to refer the Question to His Majesty, providing the whole of the Six Nations united in the request. It appeared to me that this matter should not undergo a discussion while the great matter of Peace transacted by the Indian Confederacy was in agitation, but I took care from time to time, to impress upon the Six Nations, and particularly in conversation to O'Beal, that these Lands were granted to the Six Nations and their Allies generally and by no means to Captain Brant, as seemed to be their prevalent opinion. In a recent conversation which I held with him, I promised to refer the matter to Your Lordship. I stated to him that if it should be thought proper to permit the Indians to sell any part of their Lands, it is obvious to me that it should be a small part of them at present, that the Township on the Banks of the Lake, and one that communicated between the Thames and Burlington

Bay (The La Tranche and the Head of the Lake), would be the most useful to us, and the most profitable to them. That the sale ought to be made in London, and the produce vested in the British Funds, the annual Interest of which should be paid to the uses of their old People and Children. I must observe that Brant's remarks in the Letter No. 2, on Sir John Johnson's wishing to obtain part of the lands which I have just described, are very improper, as it is fully understood here, that Brant was very willing to give these Lands to Sir John Johnson for his private use, and refused them only when he understood they were asked for the benefit of the Crown and the People at large. From Brant's conversation I apprehend the Senecas are seriously turning their thoughts in case of accident to repair to the Grand River.

Brant has said that the offers of Congress to him, were a Township for himself, as much lands as he chose for the Indians, and a guinea a day for himself for life.[1] Captain John of the Mohawks and his Village settled in the Bay of Quinte, received their Title Deed with great expressions of thankfulness, and not without observations on the improper Conduct of Brant.

My opinion of Brant is, that he is true to the Indian Interest, and honorable in his Attachment, where that is not concerned, to the British Nation, that he sees the Calamities which in all probability must ultimately attend the Continuance of the War, unless by some means or other Great Britain shall take a direct part on the protection of the Indians.

When in my Speech I mention the liberal construction of the Government of Sir Frederick Haldimand's promise I refer to the extension of the Grant of Six Miles on each side of the Grand River, as far as it ran, and arranging with the Missasaguas the limits of our purchase. Until I saw this promise of Sir Frederick Haldimand in Brant's possession, from the proceedings of the Land Board of the District, and the Plans I had received at Quebec, I had of course supposed that the Boundary of the Six Nations had not extended so far to the Northwards.

I think it may be agreeable to Your Lordship to see the observations of Mr. Hamilton on the Lands on the Grand River. He is a very respectable Person in this Province, and they were communicated to me on my being desirous of obtaining every possible light on this important Subject. I therefore enclose them for Your Lordship's perusal.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. Graves Simcoe.

Rt. Honble. Lord Dorchester.

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[1] Washington had stated in writing his wish that his government could convince Brant of its equitable intentions. Brant positively affirmed that he had been offered a thousand guineas and double the sum he was receiving annually from the British government if he would support the claims of the United States. As these practically were the terms of the treaty lately made with McGillivray, his statement does not seem to be at all improbable.

Philadelphia Decr. 11. 1793.

Sir,

The communication made to me at Buf-faloe Creek, on the 8th of October laſt, by the Chiefs of the Six Nations, in presence of Col. Butler and other British ſubjects, appearing imperfect, as ſtated in the written account of the proceedings ~~then~~ which I have presented to you, I will, agreeably to your request, give ſuch explanations as may seem requiſite in forming a judgement of the proposi-tion therein contained.

In conversation with the Chiefs of the Six Nations, they informed me, that they and the Chippe-was with their confederates, being diſſatisfied with the conduct of the hostile Indians, by which the late attempt to effect a peace was frustrated, agreed to manifest their wishes to the United States, that another treaty might be held next ~~year~~ spring. They ob-ſerved, ~~that the Shawanese Delawares~~ neither the Wyandots, ~~nor~~ the Delawares ~~and~~ Shawanese nor Missasagues had really any right to the land in dispute; and therefore that the fixing of a boundary line ought not to reſt with those nations. And being desirous of bring-ing about a peace with the United States they agreed to propose a boundary line, which should comprehend all the ſettlements made by the people of the United States over the Ohio, together with the whole ~~of the~~ land eastward of Mus-kingum as high up as the Portage from the head of this river to Cayahoge, and southward of a line running from that portage ~~that th~~ to the Pennſylvania line, northward and eastward of Venango: as marked in the map which they gave me & which I have delivered to you. The detached ſpots marked on the map along the Ohio, ~~not~~ appearing ſmall, and not to comprehend all our ſettlements, I asked the Chiefs ~~how much land they meant should be~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~yielded~~ ~~[illegible]~~ for an explanation. They then ſaid, that it was meant to comprehend all our ſettlements, ~~and~~ with good pieces of land about them, ſo as to make good farms for the ſettlers. ~~[illegible]~~ With respect to the grant to Genl. Clarke, they appeared to mean that the whole of that should be confirmed, for him & his warriors.

The principal Chiefs of the ſix Nations were present at the Council at Buffaloe Creek, particularly the Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket & Capt. Billy, ~~Chiefs~~ of the Senekas; the Fiſh Carrier, head chief of the Cayugas; Great Sky, head chief of the Onondagas; and Captain Brant of the Mohawks; and great numbers of inferior chiefs. All manifested an ardent desire to procure a peace between the United States & the hostile Indians; and that another treaty ~~should~~ might be held for this purpose. — The Cornplanter was not present.

He ſent me a ſtring of wampum by a Runner, to inform me that he ~~[illegible]~~ could not without great inconvenience attend this council.

The Chiefs of the ſix Nations aſked for my opinion whether the United States would consent to hold another treaty; but I declined giving it. I mentioned however, ~~to~~ to two or three of the principal Chiefs, that a difficulty ~~s~~ might ariſe about the place of treaty, if there ſhould be a diſpoſition to hold one: but these Chiefs ~~said~~ no difficulty would ariſe on that ſcore: the treaty might be held at any ~~place within the~~ ~~on the~~ frontier post of the United States, to which proviſions could eaſily be tranſported: ~~and~~ & as for inſtance, at ~~[illegible]~~ Venango.

The great anxiety manifeſted by the Chiefs of the ſix Nations to accompliſh a peace, convinces me that they would be very much grieved and diſappointed ſhould the United States refuſe to make one more attempt to effect it. ~~by holding a treaty next ſpring.~~ With the conduct of the United States ~~[illegible]~~ in the late attempt to make peace, they appeared to be perfectly ſatiſfied. It may deſerve conſideration what would be their ſentiments if the overtures they have now made towards effecting a peace, ~~should be~~ on terms which ~~may poſſibly appear~~ to them & to the Chippewas and their confederates, may perhaps ſeem reaſonable, ſhould be utterly diſregarded. Undoubtedly it is of vast importance that their affections should not be alienated from us. To retain them, on the contrary, appears now to be of peculiar moment, seeing the Chippewas & their Confederates (who form a powerful body) are closely linked with the Six Nations, and are alike urgent to accomplish a peace in the way ~~proposed~~ and on the terms above stated.

Aware that if ~~such a~~ another treaty were held, the tribes who are obstinately hostile might refuse to attend it and therefore totally disregard its issue, I asked the ~~Six Nations~~ principal Chiefs of the Six Nations what in that case was to be done? They answered, that ~~the greater nations~~ (~~themselves~~ Six Nations, the Chippewas & their Confederates) would compel them to submit.

It may merit consideration how far a rejection of the overtures for another treaty may give ~~the British~~ a handle to those who influenced the measures of the hostile Indians in the late negociations, to strengthen old ~~prejudices~~, and excite fresh ~~[illegible]~~ prejudices against the U States.

Should a negociation be but begun, with the Indians, at a post of the U States, it is not if probable that an extension of the ~~[illegible]~~ boundaries proposed by the Six Nations & the Chippewa &c. might be obtained, with their free consent.

The Chiefs will expect an answer on my return.

I have the honor to be &c.

Israel Chapin

General Knox
Secretary of War

War department

December 24. 1793

Sir

You have herewith delivered to you a message to the Six Nations of Indians, in which it is agreed to meet them and the Chippewas at Venango the middle of next May.

This Agreement has been made in consequence of your representations as well as of their message by you—

If Captain Brant and the other Chiefs of the Six Nations should influence the hostile tribes to meet at Venango it might have a good effect. But it must be clearly understood by all parties that the operations of the Army are not to be restricted in the least degree. There must be no deception. The United States cannot suffer the same expences without effect as they suffered the last year. But the distance of Venango from the place of operations will probably prevent any uneasiness or apprehensions from our Troops.

The Goods which you will have delivered to you at Albany must be faithfully applied as intended by your own estimate and the evidences thereof must be produced according to the mode pointed out in the Rules directed for your Accounts—

As soon as the time and place of meeting shall be agreed to by the Six Nations you must inform me thereof that due preparations may be made accordingly—

I am

Sir

Your humble Servant

H Knox

Secy of War

Genl. Israel Chapin

Genl. Knox's Letter
Decr. 24th 1793

An acct of Indian Expences on their Voyage
To Sandusky of the Onondaga Tribe

| | |
|---|---|
| | £ |
| At Landlord Bucks in Military Tract | 0..4..0 |
| At Capt. Harris's at the Cayuga Ferry | 0..3..6 |
| At Bennits Taveron between the Lakes | 0..4..9 |
| At Berry's at Genesee River | 0..6..0 |
| At the Ferry | 0..11..0 |
| At Niagara Falls | 0..4..0 |
| | £1:13.3 |
| To Five Months Service of myself & the Support of myself on the Journey | |

for which Service General Chapin can certify that I did. & I did the said Service by the desire of the Indians and do Submit it to the Generosity of the Super Intendent of Indian Affairs for to Reward me for the said Service & Expences done by me from the 3rd day of June till the 3rd day of Novr that I returned home to the Onondaga 1793

Ephraim Webster

Philadelphia Dec. 24. 1793. Upon considering the Services, the good disposition & influence of Ephraim Webster above named, and the attachment of the Onondagas to him, we think the sum of Forty Dollars but a reasonable compensation for his time and expences above stated.

Timothy Pickering
Israel Chapin

Ephraim Webster

Ephraim Webster's
A Com$^{t}$

Copy of a letter from the Secretary of War, to Genl. Chapin

War department, Decr. 24. 1793.

Sir,

You have herewith delivered to you a meſsage to the six nations of Indians, in which it is agreed to meet them and the Chippewas at Venango the middle of next May.

This agreement has been made in consequence of your representations, as well as of their meſsage by you.

If Captain Brandt and the other Chiefs of the six nations should influence the hostile nations to meet at Venango, it must have a good effect. But it must be clearly understood by all parties, that the operations of the Army are not to be restricted in the least degree. There must be no deception. The United States cannot suffer the same expences without effect as they suffered the last year. But the distance of Venango from the place of operations will probably prevent any uneasineſs or apprehensions from our troops.

The goods which you will have delivered to you at Albany must be faithfully applied as intended by your own estimate, and the evidences thereof must be produced according to the mode pointed out in the rules directed for your accounts.

As soon as the time and place of meeting shall be agreed to by the six Nations you must inform me thereof, that due preparations may be made accordingly.

I am Sir, &c.

## Copy of a meſsage from the Secretary of War, to the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations.

Brothers,

A Copy of your proceedings at Buffaloe Creek on the eighth day of October last hath been received by General Chapin.

These proceedings contain the sentiments of several chiefs of the various tribes who were aſsembled at the great council Fire which was kindled at the rapids of the Miami the last Summer.

And in addition to this information you add in your meeting of the tenth of the same month, your desires of a boundary which you say will be further explained by General Chapin.

All these communications have been submitted to your Father General Washington, the President of the United States, who desires the Six Nations to receive his sincere and hearty thanks for their aſsurances and acts of friendship to the United States.

While your Father the President, has observed with great pleasure, the pains you have taken to effect a peace between the United States and the hostile Indians; he is at the same time very sorry that any circumstances should have prevented the accomplishment of a measure affecting the happineſs of both parties. Peace is best for the Whites as well as for the red People, and it is always the cause of sorrow among good men when misunderstandings arise which create Wars.

The United States consider that they have taken all the requisite means to obtain a Peace, which their duty or their humanity

(1)
required.

required. They appointed respectable and wise characters as Commissioners who were accompanied by a deputation of friends the known advocates for Peace. These Commissioners under discouraging circumstances persevered for a long time to obtain an interview with the great council of the Indians. This being ineffectual they made in good faith such liberal offers in writing to ensure the future comfort and prosperity of the Indians as were never before given to the Indians of North America.

These circumstances being known, for ever acquit the character of the United States from all imputations of desiring a continuance of the War.

The same principles of moderation and humanity which before dictated the offers to the Indians and a sincere friendship for the six nations have induced your Father the President to consider attentively your proposition for a new boundary. Altho the lines you mention are considerd as liable to considerable objections, yet it is hoped when all difficulties shall be discussed at a treaty or conference by moderate men, with upright views, that some agreement may be made which would lead to a general peace.

On this ground the President consents that a conference should be held at Venango on the fifteenth or middle of May next.

It is expected that the chiefs of the six nations and Chippewas will attend, and the chiefs of all such of the western tribes, as the said six Nations and Chippewas may invite. And if the hostile tribes should think proper to attend, they will be well received and treated as people ought to be who are holding friendly treaties.

But it cannot be unknown to you, that by the late abortive efforts to negociate, the American Army was restrained from offensive operations against those tribes, who appear deaf to the voice of reason and peace. Such a conduct will not be observed by the United States again. This must be clearly understood: let it be remembered therefore there is no deception on our parts. Our Army must be left entirely at liberty to act as circumstances may require. The scene of operations however will be far distant from Venango, the proposed place of meeting.

It is to be observed that in case any of the western Indians attend at Venango it would be proper that they should proceed by water at least as far east as Presque Isle, and thence to French creek by land. It would be dangerous for them to proceed from the westward by land for the same reason they gave the last year, namely, that the said paths are bloody paths.

Brothers,

If you agree to the time and place of meeting it will be proper that you should immediately signify the same to General Chapin that due preparations may be made at said places.

Given at the City of Philadelphia, by order of the President of the United States, the 24th day of Decemr 1793.

(signed) H: Knox
Secy: of War.

[redacted]

Copy of a meſsage from the Secretary of War, to the Sachems Chiefs and Warriors of the six Nations.

Brothers,

Your Father General Washington has directed as an evidence of his affection and a reward for your services the last Summer, that you and your families should be well supplied with good warm clothing.

Your friend General Chapin has this clothing in poſseſsion for the purpose of being delivered to you. Receive therefore these presents with the same affection and sincere friendship that they are delivered to you by the United States.

Given at the City of Philadelphia, by order of the President of the United States, the 2$^{d}$ day of Dec$^{r}$ 1793.

(signed) H. Knox
Sec$^{y}$ of War.

N: 11.

Meſsage from the Secretary of War (by general Chapin) to the Six Nations, dated Dec$^r$. 24 1793. agreeing to meet them and the Chippewas at Venango.

Blooming Vale 30th December 1793

Dear Sir

I was this day informed by Majr Paine from the Cayuga Lake that he learned from undoubted authority that the Cayuga Indians are to set out for the City of Albany this day week.— From what I can learn they are anxiously disposed to sell their Reservation as well that part of the nation residing at Buffalo Creek as those on the Ground altho they are not to be of the party that are going down — I have advised with Majr Paine to endeavour to detain and prevent the Indians from going at least for a time— our reasons are, that from your representation the Legislature probably may think proper to send for the whole nation in order to make the purchase in the course of the winter at Albany as was suggested by you when at this place — And as those Indians residing at Cayuga certainly will go down in the course of the winter & as the State will be obliged to defray the whole of this expence; and farther, as their coming down will sound the alarm for evil disposed persons to prevent the rest of the Nation from being brought down, I would ask whether it would not be good policy for the Legislature to take them on surprise & send for the whole Nation at once & that as soon as might be; I will obligate myself with the assistance of Majr Paine & Danfth to bring them forward provided we can have notice any time between this time and the 20th of next month as about that time I expect otherwise to set out from here for Albany —

I am yours sincerely

Moses DeWitt

Mr. Simeon DeWitt

Simeon DeWitt Esquire

Albany.

Moses DeWitt
30 Decr 1793

no 4

the Chiefs of Cak na wa ge head of
the seven Nations —

To our Brother Commander and governor Ki haron ta go ra George Clinton of State of New york Brother this is What we agreed upon that We should have a Councils and Conversation to gather. of Peace and unity, Now Brother we Beg that you will pay atention that you Can take the mater in to good Consideration Betwin you and us. - We have sent the Bearers which will give you to understand our real minds and meaning ——— ———

Which is
Thomas Arагiente
Thomas tha ra gira negen
Lawren tia to ha rangeren
William Gray
At tsi na ten —

---

all the Chiefs Compliments to you and Beg you will not let the Barers want for Vituls or Drink as much as may be for there good —

ther
the gein X ni ta aen
ongsa tsi X tsia ien ni
Sga na X ra te
te ha X ten
marks

ther
onasa X te oen
onsa X ien to ni
tha re X ha
Sga hen X to sa o ne
So ni X ha se
Sa ie X ri sa ge ne
ga ron X ia tsi go ya
thaia X iak de
tha hen X ten tha
na ron X ra ra gen

New Stockbridge Jany 16th 179

Revd Sir,

I lately saw the Revd Mr Kirkland who informed me that he was about ~~to~~ soon to set out for Boston — He presented me a petition to the Society from the Trustees of Hamilton Academy, myself being one desired me to sign it — But as I differed from this worthy Gentleman in Sentiment in some respects with regard to the Education of Indian Youth at this Academy I could not sign the petition, at least without a better & more full understanding the whole plan of proceeding respecting the business — Mr Kirkland then wished me to state my objections in writing — I agreed to write & give my opinion respecting the Education of Indian Youth, & the methods which I think most likely to give the Savages a favorable Idea of the Blessings of a civilized Life — Will therefore now observe that it has been found by experience to give Indians more learning than they can obtain from common Schools has been almost intirely lost — Many of those who have had much laid out upon them in English Schools Academies &c when returning to their respective Tribes have been more savage than any of their Nations — I have therefore been of opinion that the best method to teach Indian Youth would be to send religious young men into their

Towns & set up Schools — that these Masters by supporting a good government, frequent ~~Lect~~ Lectures upon Morality, & setting a good Example himself before both Children & their parents would have the most likely Tendency to give them a favorable Idea of Religion & Virtue — An Indian assistant who understood the English Language might be of particular Service — But all this will not bring them to the practice of Industry & the arts of a civilized Life — I would therefore propose to encourage the Indians in raising flax & wool which may be done by premiums — I would then set up Spining Schools for their females, by which they would soon realise the benefit of their labour. All the Tribes of the Six nations could easily be persuaded to believe the necessity of turning their attention to some other way of geting their living than by hunting, because their Game will soon be extinct — It has been lamented that all the means that have hitherto been tried, has not proved successful to bring the Indian Tribes off from a savage to a civilized Life — But I would observe that this method never has been adopted — Now as to the Acadamy that is so happily established in this Neighbourhood I can't think that it will ever be of much advantage towards civilising the Tribes of the Six

Nations — But as a Seat of Learning for English Youth I sincerely wish it might have the patronage of every well-wisher to Learning and useful knowledge. And I think it may be of particular advantage to these young & flourishing Settlements — But so far as it is connected with the Education of Indians, I have thought that one or Two of the most promising Youths out of the different Villages of the Onondagos, Cayugas Senecas & Tuscaroras where they have no established Schools might be taught here to read write & understand the english Language to fit them for Schoolmasters, interpreters or assistants to English School-Masters — I would further propose that all the money given by the benevolent people for the promotion of learning & civilization among the natives in this part of the Country should be kept in a fund by itself & laid out by the Trustees in schooling, boarding & when found necessary, in clothing those Indian Youth to fit them for the above mentioned purpose, but after this object is answered then the monies to be improved in some way to civilize them in their Villages — It is easy to calculate that the expence of five or six Youths at the Academy would support a Master in an Indian Town which would be of vastly more advantage towards the promotion of useful knowledge among the Indians, than the Education of five Youths at the Academy — There is one thing further I would observe in the petition to the Society it is proposed to send for a number of

Youths

Copy - Mr Sergeants Letter to Dr T. _ 1791

Youths from the Senecas with a political view - It will no doubt be an object in the present situation of affairs to cultivate the friendship of the Six Nations, the Senecas in particular but the most likely way to effect this, & who ought to be at the expence of it, I leave to better Judges — Where there are established Schools in Indian Towns, I would not take any Children, at least untill they have obtained all the knowledge they can get in said Schools - And if there appears a likely genius, who bids fair for more extensive usefulness to his Tribe in teaching a School &c let him be supported at the Academy to fit him for the above mentioned purpose — I have now given my opinion on the Subject of the best methods to promote the Arts & Sciences of a civilized Life among the Natives of this Country, & feel happy in this that the Measures adopted by Government for the Civilization of the Six Nations, exactly agree with my Ideas of the Subject —

You will please to communicate this to the Revd: & honble Society, remain

Revd: Sir

Your most obliged

humble Servant

Revd: Doctr Thatcher

John Sergeant

A Copy of a Letter sent to Doctr Thacher to be communicated to the Trustees of Hamilton Academy

Albany 24th January 794

You will be pleased to proceed with the Messages now deliver'd to you to the Oneida, Onondago and Cayuga Nations, and when you deliver the same you will explain (with the Assistance of an Interpreter) their purport, and by every prudent Mean in your Power you will endeavour to effect a Compliance on the Part of the Indians.

As you will naturally stop first at the Oneida Village It is probable from the Information I have received that you will meet with the Cayuga Nation or a deputation of them on their way here — In this Case you will deliver the Message directed to their Nation, and if any of their Principal Men are absent whose presence will be necessary to give validity to their Transactions & preserve harmony among them, you will press the necessity of their immediately notifying to such absentees this Message by a Runner

You will observe it is requested that not more than ten of the Chiefs & Warriors from each Nation attend the proposed Conference. This limitation has been dictated not only by Oeconomical Considerations but also arises from a view to dispatch and to prevent the Session of the Legislature from being prolonged. — If the Oneida Deputation should be ready to proceed at an earlier period than those of the other Nations you will appoint some trusty Person to conduct them — And in like manner with either of the other Nations — I do not however mean by this that you should make any Delay among the Oneidas longer than may be necessary to explain to them this Communication as a speedy Delivery of the Message to each Nation is important

Major Moses DeWitt and Asa Danforth live in the Neighbourhood of the Onondagos and have considerable influence among them & the Cayugas — You may rely upon their readiness to afford you every — Assistance in their Power.

I now advance you 150 Dollars to defray the Expences of this Mission — You will keep accurate Accounts of your Disbursements and I am persuaded that you will observe that prudential line of Conduct — necessary to promote the Views of the State

I am &c. Geo Clinton

Mons.r Dezeng

Copy Instructions to Major
Dezeng charged with Meſsages
to the Indians :—
No 1

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ers,

Open your ears and listen attentively to what I have to say to you.

Our great Council, the Legislature of this State, are now met at this place to deliberate upon our public affairs. They have been informed that you wish for their interposition in making arrangements relative to the lands reserved for your use and in order that this may be effected in the most satisfactory and advantageous manner to you, they have desired me to dispatch a special messenger to your Nation to request you to sen a deputation of not more than ten of your principal Chiefs and Warriors to this place with the least possible delay to confer on this subject and with power to agree to such measures as shall be found to be for our mutual inter

Brothers,

I have only to add that this measure is dictated by a Regard for your Interest and Welfare, and is intended to prevent intrusion and the least Cause of Complaint respecting your reserved Lands in future and that I therefore expect you will immediately comply with it. (And if any of your principal Men are at Buffaloe Creek or elsewhere who ought to be informed of the proposed Conference I rely on your dispatching a Runner or Runners to them to apprize them of this Message) — Our Friend Major Dezeng is charged with this Message and will be a staff to assist your Chiefs and Warriors on their Journey with him here.

I am Brothers with great Regard
your Friend
Geo. Clinton

Albany 23d January 794

the Chiefs and Warriors of the Oneida.—
ondaga & Cayuga Nation respectively.

B. The Passage included in Circumflexes
not included in the Oneida Message to the Oneida.—

Meſsage to the Oneida Cayuga
& Onondago Indians by Major
Dezeng No. 2

At a Meeting of the Governor with
the Chiefs & Warriors of the Cayuga Nation
at Denniston's Tavern in the City of
Albany the 29 January 1794 —

Brothers / I am happy to see you here. I thank the great Spirit for protecting you on Your Journey and permittin us once more to meet together at this Place whe our forefathers used to Aſsemble to brighten th Chain of Friendship and talk of Peace; But ~~my~~ Brothers my joy is greatly abated whe in looking round among you I miſs my Frien and your Chief The Steel Trap — I hear he i no more, I condole with you for the loſs of this good Man, And altho I am unprepare to present you the usual Marks of Condolence on Such Occasions be aſsured my Grief is not the leſs sincere —

Brothers when I saw y last it was at New York this friend of ours who is now dead was your Mouth — Broth you then through him expreſsed apprehens respecting the Situation of your Affairs, y seemed to fear least our Agreement with you was not so Strong but that it might be broken I aſsured you then that the State was your

best friend - That we had your Interest at hea
wished to promote your Happineſs, I advised y
to return home & to remain undisturbed that the Agreement made between you and us would not be broken by the State & I Cautioned you not to listen to the little birds - who would try to deceive you by false Stories

You accordingly went home & I trust that you found things as I said that no Person has disturbed or done you any Injury, at that time Brothers you wanted that Something Should be done to make you more Secure in your Poſseſsion - I Answered you that the agreement was so Strong & binding that it was Impoſsible to break the smallest Article that no one Man however great his Power could alter any Part of it - I told you also that this could only be done by your Chiefs who expreſsed the Voice of Your Nation - & our Great Council who expreſses the Voice of the white people Brothers our Great Council are now mett here and if any thing lies heavy on Your minds this is the proper time to Mention it - and they will be ready to Attend to Your Voice - Brothers I now ask you to open Your Minds

y we wish to promote Your Interest to to m
you happy I shall therefore say no More
to you at present –

Reply,

Brothers,

Open y
Ears you told us that You was Glad to See
here at the place where our forefathers us
to meet to Brighten the Chain of friendsh
you also told us that You was Sorry that
one of our Chiefs is dead and gone that h
not with us - we Join in our thanks to
the Great Spirit for bringing us after a
Journey together Brothers our Chiefs th
are here present and our principal wome
Lament the Death of our Chief - and
are at a loss for want of his help &c to Condu
in transacting our Business with the white
people you also observed Brothers when we
were at New York that we Should make our
minds Intirely Easy, and go home and le
at our Ease & not to mind the Stories of the lit
birds that was flying about - you also observ
Brothers when we Saw you at New York
that you mentioned - that it Seemed as if we
wanted Something more done to make the
agreement Stronger - you also observed that

the agreement that was made w
that nothing could make it firmer - our
that are here present both men & Women
return you thanks that the agreement is
so strong that it Cannot be broken -
Brothers our Chiefs once more Express
their Joy and they feel very happy to
think that the agreement between us is
so Strong that It cannot be broken -
Brothers you have also Informed us that
your Chiefs were now mett at this place
and that if any thing lies heavy on our
minds that we should tell it. we will
want two days to prepare ourselves & to
open our minds freely - Brother will
you Continue to open Your Ears I have
a few words to offer - Our Wood is a little
Short the Weather is cold we want good
Fires to Keep us warm when we are
consulting together - we also want some
more Provissions & Refreshments after so
long a Journey - at home our Women
bring us Wood here it is also great a distance..

His Govr's Answer - Brothers, I have listend atten-
-tively to what you have said; ~~and~~
with you I am happy to Observe that
our agreement is firm & Cannot be

you must be sensible that every thing we have promised we have faithfully performed even to the smallest Article But yet altho this our agreement is So Strong and firm that it Cannot be Violated perhap some arrangements may be made to render it more profitable to you if therefore any thing can be done to make your pot boil better or make you more Easy and Comfortable you must mention it when we meet again - The proposals for any arrangements which you may wish to have made must Come from yo this business not only Concerns yourse but also your posterity - In the mean time we will furnish you with a Sufficient Supply of Provision's and fu so that you may be Comfortable witho Calling on our Sister's for their Assistan

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At a Meeting with the Cayuga
Indians at Denniston's Tavern –
on Saturday 1st. of February.

Tawagentcoecta a Cayuga Chief delivered
the following Speech –

Brothers

We desire to thank the Great Spirit that he has once more preserved us that we have brought our pipes together. Brothers the last time we met at this place you desired us that if we had any thing to say we should do it. Brothers the time fix'd was two days that we should open the Council fire the time is now expired now Brothers you see the Chiefs and our Warriours and women are here come down to mett your Chiefs at this place now Brothers here are the Chiefs and the ~~Women~~ likewise and Young Warriours are here Assembled to do the business for the Nation. You likewise observed the other Night when we met if any Arrangements Could be made as to our Lands that would make our Pots boil faster and make our Dish any Larger that we should mention it You also observed Brothers that you had fulfilled every Agreement on Your part and the Land remaining in our hands were ours Now Brothers we have Considered the matter we find we have more Land than we Can Improve and we want a little more for our Support than we have Now Brothers we wish y to pay particular Attention we find that ther is a piece of Land in our Reservation on the West Side of the Lake which we would wish to le out to bring us in Something for ourselves and ou Children after us- Brothers Continue to ope your Ears we Consider the Land as our own and that we have a Right to dispose of it as we thi proper- Now Brothers there is a Small piece about a Mile Square Called Canoge which we would wish to let Mr Paine have he has often helped us and been our friend in time of Distr and Difficulty with the white people we would wish to leave it to him as we do the Rest of th Land to the white people this piece lies rou the Spring the whole Length of the Spring about one Mile and a Mile along the Lan makeing in the whole about 1 Mile Square Brothers we wish you to Continue to pay Particular attention, you observed the other Nig that we should open our Minds freely whic we now do Brothers we have one more Obse-vation to Make we have a Neighbour the has lived among us 5 Years a Blacksmith has mended the Guns for the Young Warriors the hoes for the Women & never Charged any thing for it excepit what he got of the Land & which Give us great uneasiness if he should be taken away and his family be Turned out of Door Brothers our Young Warriors in particular esire that he might hav a Small Piece

l his family might remain where they a have a Subport if he should be taken aw Brothers we want a Small Seat About 1 Mile Square or this man if our Brothers think it too much they must Consider of it we want him to have a Small Dish - his name is Gierhardt

Brothers

When we saw you at New York we Spoke to you about the ferry in possession of John Harris you told us if there was any Uneasiness we had better mention it here and in the Mean time we Should tell John Harris to come down we have told him but he would not Com- nor pay any Attention to it but he listens to the Chiefs at Buffaloe Creeks now Brothers we must leave the matter with you if you remove him we would be glad Brothers we look on this Land as our own we live on it and have taken Care of it the Chiefs of Buffaloe Creek does not pay any Attention to it nor taken any Care of it this man Harris does not look to us but listens to the people of Buffaloe Creek as to the man that lives on the other Side of the Lake whose Name

nnot you must do with him as you p
you please to leave him there. we are Satis
we further Observe Brothers that this is t
Voice of our Chiefs and warriors and wom
we have open'd our minds freely and have n
=hing further to Say

To which Speech the Governor made the
following Reply.

Brothers
I met you t
Nights ago at the Council fire which I ke
at this place, &c Informed you that our ag
=ment with you was firm and binding that t
dish reserved for you was your own. I told y
that the agreement was so firm and Strong t
no one man however great his power could c
or alter it- that the Voice of your Nation a
the Great Council of our white People could
do it, I mentioned that if any Measure c
be taken to promote your happiness or m
your pot boil better you should mention th
I have listened attentively to what you h
said and have understood it well and will l
it before our Great Council for their Consi
=tion Brothers this is a Matter of Gr
Importance to You and your Women - a

agreement that is made must be care and Circumspection and be well It is Needleſs for me to Mention the ma Conversations that have paſsed between us a to your Lands - you have frequently given a dish here and a dish there - and soon after you had done it you came down to me to Complain. this put you to the trouble of a long Journey, and the State to a Great Expence - I do not Mention this to prevent you from takeing care of your friends but to make you careful in your transactions in future - I have only one word more to say - at the last agreement we made at this place the Indians of your Nation at Buffaloe Creek were dissatisfied - so much so that I was obliged to kindle another Council Fire at Fort Stanwix to make their minds easy, and altho I thought the people who lived on the land had the best right to it Still I paid the Indians at Buffaloe Creek for the land again for the Sake of Keeping peace and promoting harmony among you Brothers I mention these things with a View if poſsible to avoid the like from happening again - Brothers I have only to add that I shall Communicate to our Council what has paſsed between us and shall

[illegible] the Council fire again at this Place
Soon as I receive their Answer

Brother. Ginashung-gochto, Feby. 1st 1794

We receiv'd the News from the Farmers Brother & Red Jacket, desiring us to attend the Council at Buffloe creek; But we are very sorry that it is out of our power to attend the Council according to Your request

The Sickness that we got at the Sandusky is very bad amongus, so that we are not Well, and and not able to Step forward this time, You'll please to mak Your Mind easy as we are not ablo to atten We shall send one Man to You for the News — Genl. Chapins will please after th Council is over, to write to me all the News and send it by this Runner as Mr. Jennings is at Ginashadago & can read the whole & I can be informed as well as if I was there I would be much Obliged to Genl. Chapins if he could Remit fourteen Dollars to our Friend Guyashudo; a Ballance in Your Hands made him a present by the Quakers in Philadelphia — He is alive & that is all

I want to hear from my son in Philadelphia whether he is alive or not — If the Genl. knows any thing about him please to let me Know

I am Your most Hble Servt
John + Obail

Genl. Chapins

Israel Chapin Esq.r

Superin.t Ind.n Depa.t

Runner } Buffloe-Creek

Capt. Abeels letter
respecting money
p.d to him &c. of the
Quakers at Phil.a

Extract

Council Chamber, Castle of St. Lewis
Quebec 6th. February 1794

Deputation from the Nations composing the Seven Villages of Lower Canada (vizt. The Oswegatchie, Iroquois of St. Regis, Algonquins and Nepissings, Iroquois of the Lake, Iroquois of Sault St. Lewis, Abenakis of St. François and Hurons of Lorette) and also from the twenty eight Nations of Upper Canada.

"The Ottawas, Potawatamies, Sauteurs de Courtes Oreilles and Hurons remind their Father that he had promised to treat all his Children alike, and complain that his Agents have not acted accordingly; for they are neglected and ill used by Colonel McKee, who gives all his protection to the Chawanons, the Miamis and the Loups; they therefore request he may be removed and Mr. Baby appointed their Superintendant".

"A Belt delivered".

Lord Dorchester's reply to the above in the Council held at the Castle of St. Lewis the 10th. February

Children, "The complaints made against Colonel McKee by the Hurons, Poutewatamies, Outawas and Sauteurs de Courtes Oreilles, is very unexpected; I have always heard him well spoken of and always understood him to be a great Friend to the Indians and a faithful Servant to the King; I shall however have the matter duly enquired into."

Ex TAC

## Extract

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to the Indians and a faithful Servant to the King;
I shall however have the matter duly enquired
into."

Ex TAC

Proceedings of a Council holden at Buffaloe Creek 7th Feby 1794 —

Present

The Chiefs of the Mohawks Cayugas, Onondaga's, Senecas, Tuskaroras, Onoiadas, Delewares &c } Genl. Chapin, — Mr. Parish Interpreter & Mr Colt of the United States

Major Littlehales
Captain Bumbary
& the Officers of the
Indian Departts. }

After going through the usual ceremonys of congratulation, the Cow killer a Seneca Chief spoke as follows

Brothers

(addressed to Genl Chapin) We are happy the Great Spirit, has protected you in your to, & from the President of the U. States, with our proceedings relative to a boundary line, & his the president answer thereto —

Brothers

(Addressed to the British) We are exceedingly glad to see you the King our Fathers People here, as we sent for you to listen to the answer of the President of the U. S. —

~~Brothers~~ Now Brothers of the U. S. proceed — — —

Genl. Chapin, returned the compliment to the Indian Chiefs, adding, that he was glad they had sent for the British, to hear the Speech about to be delivered; Observing also that the sickness in Philadelphia, and Congress not being met together. occasioned his delay. ~~on returning~~ --- —

Gend. Chapin then reid the ~~following~~ presidents Speech

Cee—

After the Speech had been ~~was read~~ & Interpreted by Mr. Parish Gend. Chapin said --

Brothers

Having been absent from home the greater part of the time for the last year, I hope to have an answer ~~as soon as is convenient~~ to the Presidents speech as soon you conveniently can give one...

Brothers when I was in Philadelphia, I requested your father the ~~I represented your situation to~~ President of the United States ~~your father, & requested him~~ is to give each of ~~those~~ your people ~~chiefs~~ who attended the treaty last summer a suit of clothes as a reward for their services. I likewise desired him to furnish your poor & distressed people, with some clothing & amunition & it is with pleasure I can inform you that those requests were granted with the greatest readiness agreeably to his order I have procured those articles for you & they are probably now at my house

~~The Cow Killer then speake~~ spoke Red Jacket replyed

Brothers, of the U. States

We have heard the speech which has been delivered to us ~~you have brought with~~ ~~you~~ with great attention, & ~~we~~ shall now remove the council fire to our Castle to take it into private consideration — - -

~~The Cow Killer~~ Red Jacket then took the speech & belt delivered by Genl. Chapin & gave it to Brigade Major Littlehales desiring he would peruse it attentively (~~untill he was perfectly acquainted with the contents~~ — —

Major of Brigade Littlehales then addressed himself to the ~~Chiefs~~ Indians as follows, returning the strings of black & white wampum that were sent him to attend the Council — — —

Brothers

Agreeably to your invitation, communicated to me in the absence of the Governor from Niagara (and for his information) sollicting my attendance, with some of the King your Fathers Officers together with the Officers of your own Department we immediately proceeded here, and thank the Great Spirit for bringing us safe to your Council fire — —

February 9th 1794 —

present as before (viz) the principal Sachems Chiefs & warriors of the S. N. ~~Mohawks~~, Cayugas, Onondagas Senecas, ~~Tuscaroras, Oneidas~~ & Delawares & —

~~Cow-Killer~~ R. Jacket speaker .. Mr. Parish interpreter

Brothers

We have taken your speech into consideration & our Eldest Brother Capt. Brandt is to relate the result of our meeting in private council yesterday ~~in consequence thereof~~ — —

Capt. Brandt then spoke as follows with 9 strings of white & black wampum ——

Brothers

I now address myself to you Genl. Chapin of the U. States & to you major Littlehales in behalf of the King our father & thank the Great Spirit for bringing us again together in Council, as what we are agoing to relate we wish the world to know ——

Brothers

You have both heard the message we delivered to our brothers of the U. States last fall, relative to a Boundary line & w expected a positive answer from you brothers of the U. States whether you would accept it or not. ——

Brothers

When we delivered the message to you last fall for the U. States we had first taken it into serious consideration we spoke the language of our hearts & the Great Spirit knew our minds all the six Nations were of the same opinion & many of our western brethren, & we were well assured that had the U. States accepted our proposed boundary line, peace would have certainly taken place

Brothers

The speech you have brought us has given us great uneasiness, we are ~~entirely~~ greatly at a loss how to act we fully expected a direct answer to our proposals of a boundary line, now we are much distressed that you have brought but half an answer ~~to our proceedings~~ the kindling a Council fire at a distant place is what we are not prepared to give you a reply to

Brothers

provided the U. States had accepted our proposed boundary ~~line~~ we should have sent immediately to our western brethren who have our sentiments and we would have attended your Council fire & confirmed ~~the~~ it — ~~boundary~~ line — ——

Brothers

Make your minds easy: But in consequence of the importance of your speech (containing very weighty matter) we must have time to deliberate very seriously upon it.. we cannot give you an immediate answer, we must have a general Council of all the Chiefs, Only a few are now present & we should all be together, the reason of so much councelling at different times has proceeded from a small number of our sachems & Chiefs being assembled ~~& which~~ ~~is the~~ and ~~the principal~~ cause ~~that occasions~~ of the ~~again in~~ ~~present~~ ~~trouble~~ — and has been the principal cause of the present trouble

Brothers

You Genl. Chapin live near us.. We have two months & half to consider of your speech & by that time we will give you a final answer we pray the Great Spirit that these difficulties may terminate to the happiness of both parties

Brothers

You requested us to give an answer as soon as convenient but in such ~~an~~ very weighty business it is impossible to give one ~~directly~~ immediately — with regard to provisions there is plenty in ~~the~~ your Country & if we should agree to meet you, you need not be particular about what we shall consume: ~~& in case we should meet you~~ for we shall not expect ~~nothing~~ anything but provisions

Brother

We now conclude & we pray the Great Spirit to protect you safe home, & we desire you will bear it continually in your mind that you will soon receive an answer ——

The 9 strings of Wampum delivered to Genl. Chapin . — —

Answer of Genl. Chapin to the Six Nations

Brother

I thank the Great Spirit for preserving us & am happy that we are again met together on this important business. The answer that you have delivered to the Presidents speech has ~~Brother~~ been taken down in writing —

~~I sh You have delivered an answer which has been taken down in writing. I shall return to my seat & wait patiently for your answer~~ — ——

Brother

You have delivered an answer to what ~~what has been taken down in writing I shall~~ Brother business laid before you

The ~~matter~~ is of great importance & it gives me pleasure that you consider it so, & that you are agoing to call together all your "sachems Chiefs & wise men to consider it seriously" ——

Brother

You may rest assured that your Father Genl. Washington wishes for peace, & the reason ~~the wishes~~ for the proposed treaty, is that all the Indian Nations may come and ~~talk it over~~ talk together in a most serious manner. — It is ~~desired~~ his desire that those that are at war, and all ~~other~~ Indian Nations may come ~~to the place to~~ and discuss the matter & to find where the difficulty lies, that peace may be made, he is sensible that the ~~he hopes that the good works of the Six Nations~~ have very active in endeavouring, to bring about a peace, and he wishes that their good work may be attended with success

Brothers

I shall return home & wait for you answer, & I earnestly hope that all ~~matter will be~~ the Indian Nations will be agreed, & that things may be settled in such ~~a way to the~~ a manner as to give satisfaction ~~of~~ to the U. States & to the Indians Nations ___

Proceedings of a Council
holden at Buffaloe
Creek Feby. 7th 1794

# Proceedings of a Council of the Six Nation Indians &c held at Buffaloe Creek on the seventh day of February 1794.

## Present

The Chiefs of the Mohawks, Cayuga's, Onondago's, Seneca's, Oneida's, Tuscarora's, Delawares &c, &c,

Brigade Major Littlehales, Captain Bunbury, and the Officers of the Indian Department.

General Chapin, Mr Parish, Interpreter, & Mr Colt of the United States.

After going through the usual ceremony of congratulations, The Cow Killer, a Seneca Chief spoke as follows.

Brothers ....... (addressed to Genl. Chapin) We are happy the Great Spirit has protected you to and from the United States, with our Proceedings to the President, relative to a boundary line, and his (the President's) answer thereon.

Brothers ... (addressed to the British)

We are exceedingly glad to see you the King, our Fathers People here as we sent for you to request you to listen to the answer of the President of the United States: — Now Brothers of the United States proceed.

Mr. Chapin returned the Compliment to the Chiefs, adding that He was glad they had sent for the British, to hear the Speech about to be delivered, observing that the distemper in Philadelphia, and Congreſs not being aſsembled, occasioned his delay in returning — General Chapin then directed Mr. Colt to read the following Speech, which was interpreted by Mr. Parish, accompanied with a large Belt of White Wampum, and thirteen Stripes of black Wampum,

To The Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations.

Brothers! ...... A copy of your Proceedings at Buffaloe creek on the eighth day of October last hath been ... received by General Chapin: These

Proceedings contain the Sentiments of the several Chiefs of the various Tribes who were aſsembled at the great council fire which was kindled at the Rapids of the Miami the last Summer: and in addition to this information you add in your meeting of the tenth of the same month your desires of a boundary which you say will be further explained by General Chapin. all these communications have been submitted to your Father, General Washington, The President of the United States, who desires the six Nations to receive his sincere and hearty thanks for their aſsurances and acts of friendship to the United States. While your Father, the President, has observed with great pleasure the pains you have taken to effect a peace, between the United States and the hostile Indians, He is at the same time very sorry that any circumstances should have prevented the accomplishment of a measure affecting the happineſs of both Parties. Peace is best for the Whites, as well as the red People, and it is always the cause of sorrow among good Men when misunderstandings arise which create Wars. The United States consider that they have taken all the requisite means to obtain a Peace which their duty or humanity required; they appointed respectable and wise Characters as Commiſsioners, accompanied by a deputation of Friends the known Advocates for Peace. — Those Commiſsioners under discouraging circumstances persevered for a long time to obtain an interview with the great Council of the Indians — This being ineffectual they made in good faith such liberal offers in writing, to ensure the future comfort and prosperity of the Indians, as were never before given to the Indians of North America. These circumstances being known forever acquit the United States from all imputations of desiring a continuance of the War — The same principles of moderation and humanity which before dictated the offers to the Indians, and a sincere friendship for the six Nations have induced your Father, the President to consider attentively your proposition for a new boundary. although the lines you mention are considered as liable to considerable objections, yet it is hoped when all difficulties shall be discussed at a treaty or conference by moderate Men with upright views that some agreement may be made which would lead to a general peace — On this ground The President consents that a conference should be held at Venango, on the fifteenth, or middle of next May. — It is expected that the Chiefs of the six Nations and Chippewas will attend, and the Chiefs of all such of the Western Tribes as the said six Nations and Chippewas may invite. and if the hostile tribes should think proper to attend they will be well received, and treated as People ought to be, who are holding friendly Treaties

D°

But it cannot be unknown to you, that by the late abortive efforts to negotiate, the American Army was restrained from offensive operations against those tribes who appear deaf to the voice of reason & peace. such a conduct will not be observed by the United States again: This must be clearly understood. Let it be ~~~~ remembered therefore there is no deception on our parts: our Army must be left entirely at liberty to act as circumstances may require. The scene of operations however will be far distant from Venango, the proposed place of meeting. It is to be observed that in case any of the Western Indians attend at Venango, it would be proper that they should proceed by

Water, at least as far East as – – – –
Presqu: Isle, & thence to French – – –
creek by land. It would be dangerous
for them to proceed from the west-
ward by land, for the same reason
they gave last year; namely that
the said paths are bloody paths.

Brothers! – – – If you agree to the time and
place of meeting it will be proper that
you should immediateley signify the
same to General Chapin that due
preparation may be made at the
same place. –

Given at the city of – – –
Philadelphia, by order of the
President of the United States,
this twenty fourth day of Decem-
ber, one thousand seven hundred
and ninety three. –
(signed) H Knox
Secretary of War

After this Speech was read and interpreted by Mr. Parish, Mr. Chapin said,

Brothers...... Having been absent from home near one year, I hope to have an answer as soon as convenient to the President's Speech, and I have procured for each of you, who attended the Council at the Miamis Rapids last Summer, as you have been at a great deal of trouble, a suit of Cloaths, some ammunition, and some few articles for your diſtreſsed Women and Children, which I recommended to, and requested The President would grant as neceſsary for your services, and to which He readily consented, I hope these things are arrived at my house by this time.

The Cowkiller (a Seneca Chief) then spoke:

Brothers of the United States,

We have heard the Speech you have brought with you, but now remove the Council fire to our Castle, to take it into our private consideration; — This Chief then took the Speech (and Belt) delivered by General Chapin and gave it to Brigade Major Littlehales, desiring He would peruse it attentively, till He was perfectly acquainted with its contents:

Major of Brigade Littlehales then addressed himself to the Chiefs as follows, (returning the Strings of Black and White Wampum that were sent to him to attend the

Council,)

Brothers of the Six Nations and your Allies.

Agreeably to your invitation communicated to me, in the absence of the Governor from Niagara (and for his information) soliciting my attendance with some of the King your Father's Officers, together with the Officers of your own department we immediately proceeded here, and thank the Great Spirit for bringing us safe to your Council fire.

E. B. Littlehales—

Adjourned.—

Proceedings of the Council continued,
---at Buffaloe creek, the ninth day
of February 1794.

Present as before, on the 7 instant.

Cowkiller--Speaker;—(Mr. Parish Interpreter.)

Brothers....(to General Chapin) We have taken your Speech into consideration, and our eldest Brother, Captain--Brant is to relate the result of our meeting in private Council yesterday, in consequence thereof.

Captain Brant then spoke as follows, with nine Strings of White Wampum.

Brothers--- I now address myself to you (General Chapin) of the United States and to you (Brigade Major Littlehales) in behalf of the King our Father, and thank the Great Spirit for bringing us again together in Council, as what we are going to say, we wish the World to know.

Brothers,

You have both heard the Message we delivered to our Brothers of the United States last Fall, relative to a boundary line, and we expected a positive Answer from you, Brothers of the United States whether you would accept it or not.

Brothers,

When we delivered the Message last Fall to you, for the United States, we had first taken it into serious consideration, We spoke the language of our hearts, and the Great Spirit knew our minds — all the six Nations were of the same opinion; and many of our Western Brethren; — and We were well assured that had the United States accepted our proposed boundary line, Peace would certainly have taken place.

Brother... The Speech you have brought us, has given us great uneasiness, We are entirely at a loss how to act, we fully expected a direct Answer to our proposals of a boundary line, now we are much distressed that you have brought but half an answer to our proceedings, — The kindling a Council fire at a distant place, is what we are not prepared to give you a reply to,

Brothers,

Provided the United States had accepted our boundary line, We should have sent immediateley to our Western Brethren who know our sentiments, and we would have attended your Council fire and confirmed that boundary line, —

Brothers,

Make your minds easy, but in consequence of the importance of your Speech containing very weighty matters, we must deliberate seriously upon it, We cannot give you an immediate answer, We must have a general Council of all the Chiefs; only few are now present, and we should all be

together

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together, the reason of so much councilling at different times has proceeded from so small a number of our Sachems and Chiefs being assembled, which is the cause that we are still in trouble.

Brothers,

You General Chapin live near us. We have two months and an half to consider of your Speech, and by that time we will give you a final Answer, We pray the Great Spirit that these difficulties may terminate to the happiness of both Parties.

Brothers,

You requested us to give you an answer as soon as convenient, but in such a very weighty business it is impossible to give one directly — With regard to Provisions there is plenty in the Country, and if We should agree to meet you, You need not be particular about what We shall consume, and even in case we should meet you, we expect nothing but Provisions,

Brothers,

We now conclude and We pray the Great Spirit to protect you safe home, and we desire you will bear it constantly in your mind, that you will soon receive an answer;

The nine Strings of Wampum were then delivered to General Chapin, who immediateley replyed,

Brothers,

I thank the Great Spirit for preserving us, and am happy that we are again met together on this important business,

Brothers,

+a Speech

+Canandorque

You have delivered an+ Answer which has been taken down in writing. I shall return to my+ Seat, and wait patiently for your answer,

Brothers-----

The matter is of great importance and it gives me pleasure that you consider it so. and that you mean to call together all your Chiefs and wise men to consider it seriously.

Brothers,

You may depend upon it, that your Father, General Washington wishes for Peace, and the reason he wishes the proposed treaty is, that all the Indian Nations may talk it over together in a most serious manner — It is his desire that those who are at War and all other Indians may come to

the

proposed place, to discuſs where the difficulty lays, that Peace may be made, He hopes that the good Work of the Six Nations to bring about a Peace may be attended with succeſs,

Brothers

I shall return home and wait your Answer, and hope all Nations will be agreed, and that things may be settled in such a way, to the satisfaction of the United States, and the Indians.—

Major of Brigade Littlehales then addreſsed The Indians in the following Words,

Brothers of the Six Nations, and your Allies, Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors,

I shall faithfully relate the

Proceedings at this Council Fire, to The Lieutenant Governor, whose attention to your interests, in which He obeyed The King your Father's Commands, has been constant and manifest; as a substantia proof thereof, I cannot avoid calling to your recollection how chearfully and readily He complied with the Requests you desired me to make to him on your behalf, when at your general Council aſsembled here last Winter, corresponding also with the wishes of your Western Brethren, and all the Indian Confederacy.

Brothers,

In order to enable you to meet the United States, you ask'd of him such aſsistance as He knew you would stand in need of, particularly provisions,

Brothers,

In consequence He gave Orders that you might be amply supplied with provisions to aſsist you to prosecute so good a work, as the establishment of Peace;

His Sentiments towards you are the same as have been expreſsed by Lord Dorchester, who is the Great Chief of all the King your Father's People in British America, and I repeat to you what his Lordship said to the Deputies of your Nations a very few Summers ago, at Quebec; "I leave "the command of this Country in the "hands of Major General Clarke, who "will take the same care of you that "I have done for it is the Will of the "King our Master, His benevolence and "friendship for you are always the same, "and whoever is the instrument of the "King's Power in this Country will "always fulfill his intentions:"— You see therefore, Brothers, it is his Excellency Colonel Simcoe's duty, as well as his inclination to shew the most cordial friendship and regard for the Indian Americans.

Brothers; -- When the Lt Governor received your Belt of Wampum to lead him to the Council fire at Sandusky, He answered, "that, if the Government of the United "States acceded to your request, his "personal attendance would probably "not be wanting:"— without which it would have been fruitless and not consistent with the dignity of his Station; But He was not unmindful of your Interests.

Brothers,

You desired "that all Maps, Records, Treaties and Documents relating to the Indians might be brought to Sandusky; knowing, that you could confidently depend upon the King your Father;" - you therein shewed your wisdom founded on Experience, that you may confidently depend upon the King your Father for He never will deceive you, and so strongly is the love of truth impreſsed by his example and orders on all who are intrusted with his Power in this Country that the youngest of our chief Warriors would be degraded from that character, was He capable of deceit or falsehood.

Brothers, When at Quebec a few Summers ago, you told The Commander

in

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in Chief, Lord Dorchester, — "There "are people who say, The King your "Father, when He made peace with the "United States gave away your land to "them;" — What was his Lordships answer? He said, "I cannot think that "the Government of the United States "would hold that language, it must "come from ill informed Individuals;"

Brothers.... The truth of this answer of Lord Dorchester, has been fully confirmed by General Washington, The President of the United States, and particularly by Colonel Pickering, one of the late Commissioners, who duly authorized by him, formerly addressed the following words to the five Nations; "We claim no Lands but what belong "to the Nations who sold to us; We "claim not a foot of the Lands of any "of the Nations, with whom we have yet "held no Treaties:" — This clearly shews Brothers, that what had been told you, is proved to be just and true:— The Documents, Records and Treaties between the British Governors in former times, and your wise Fore fathers, of which in consequence of your request, authentic copies were transmitted to you, all establish the Freedom of your Nations,

Brothers, These authentic Papers prove, that no King of Great Britain ever claimed absolute Power or Sovereignty over any of your Lands or Territories, that were not fairly purchased or bestowed by your Ancestors at public

Treaties, they likewise prove that your natural independency has been preserved, and that the Rights resulting from such Independency have been reciprocally and constantly acknowledged at the Treaties between the French formerly Possessors of part of this Continent, and the Crown of Great Britain; and it will appear that when the war in America arose between the French and the British, which terminated in the King your Father's obtaining possession of Canada, that it commenced in consequence of the French Nation invading the stipulations, by which the Indian Americans were acknowledged to be independent.

Brothers,

You need scarcely be reminded that after the Peace of 1763, The King your Father uniformly followed the just conduct of his Predeceſsors, to prevent all future encroachments the Treaty of Fort Stanwix was by his direction made with the several Indian Nations by that wise & good Man, your late Superintendant General, Sir William Johnson, The boundary there agreed upon, as it was traced with his own hands, was forwarded to you, at the confederated Council at the Miamis Rapids last Summer. aaa

aaa. with all later Treaties between your Nations and the United States You and they must be best acquainted —

Brothers,

You plainly perceive that no interpretation of the boundary line settled between The King your Father

Buffaloe Creek 6th Febr 7-
1794-

Sir

At the request of Captain Brant, Mr Johnston & my Self have Signed the enclosed requisition for one Barrel of Flour & one of Pork also five Gall.s of Rum —

Gen.l Chapin is not yet arrived, a Chief from Kadaragarus came here last Night, who says that O Bale cannot come down owing to Sickness, Captain Brant goes to day to the Villages above to endeavour to expedite the Business of the Council — I have the honor to be with great respect

Sir
Your Most Obed.t
Serv.t W B Sheehan

Major Littlehales

Buffaloe Creek 6 Feby. 1794

Sir

We recommend as Necessary for the Good of his Majestys Service that One Barrel of Flour and One Barrel of Pork be issued from his Majestys Stores for the Indians of the Six Nations who will attend a Council at Buffaloe Creek — also five Gallons of Rum —

W. B. Sheehan
Wm Johnston

Major Littlehales
&c &c

Buffaloe Creek 7th Feby.
1794

Sir

I have to inform you that General Chapin arrived here yesterday eveng. with the Interpretor Parish and a Gentleman of the Name of Colt. Captain Brant has in consequence sent for the Chiefs who will probably be here to day. Captain Brant says the Council is to be held at Mr. Winneys and hopes you & Capt. Bunbury will be over to day

I have the Honor
to be - with great
respect
Sir
your most Obed
& most humble Servt
W. B. Sheehan

P.S. The Provision & Rum was received last Night — W.B.S.

Proceedings of a Council held at Buffalo
Creek 7th days of the Feby. 1794 –

Present

The Chiefs of the Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagoes, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, Delewares &ca } Genl. Chapin – Mr. Parish ~~& Mr~~ Interpreter & Mr. Cost of the U – S –

Lt. Col.
Major Littlehales
Captain Bunbury
and the Officers of the Indian Dept –

After going through the usual Ceremony of Congratulations, the Cow Killer, a Seneca Chief Spoke as follows –

Brothers (addressed to Genl Chapin)

We are happy the Great Spirit has protected you to and from the United States with our Proceedings to the Presidents relative to a Boundary line, and his (the Presidents) answer thereon –

Brothers (addressed to the British)

we are exceedingly Glad to see You the King our Fathers People here as we sent for you to request you to listen to the Answer of the President of the United States

Bror

~~Brothers~~ Now Brothers of the United Stat
proceed —

General Chapin returned the Compli
to the Chiefs, adding that he was Glad they h
Sent for the British to hear the Speech ab
to be delivered Observing that the delay
in Philadelphia and Congress not been
~~met together till the [illegible]~~ assembled
assembled occasioned his
Delay in returning — General Chapin
then directed Mr. Colt to read the following Speech, — ~~with~~

a ~~Belt of White Wampum & 13 Black Wam~~ strikes of
~~Stripes~~ which was interpreted by Mr. Parish
accompanied with a large belt of white
Wampum & 13 strikes of black Wampum —

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After the Speech was read and interpr
by Mr. Parish General Chapin Said

Brothers —

Having been Absent from home
near one Year, I hope to have ~~an~~ Leave
as Soon as Convenient to the Presidents spe
& I have ~~got~~ procured for each of you who attended
the Council at the Miamis Rapids last Summer
as you have been at a great
deal

of Trouble I ~~have got~~ a Suit of
Cloaths some Amunition ~~and a [illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ some few Articles ~~which~~
Destressed
for your Women & Children ~~all~~ Which
to request the President to grant
I recommended as Necessary for your Services
would
to Is respectfully Consecrated
& which I ~~hope~~ ~~it~~ are arrived at any hour I hope these things
by this time

a Seneca Chief
The Cow killer then Spoke

Brothers of the United States

We have heard the Speech you have brought with you. but now remove the Council fire to our Castle to take it into our private Consideration

This Chief
6 ~~The Cow killer~~ then took the Speech (and Belt) delivered by General Chapin and gave it to Brigade Major Littlehales desiring he would peruse it attentively untill he was perfectly Acquainted with its Contents

Major of Brigade Littlehales then addressed himself to the Chiefs as follows returning the Strings of Black & White Wampum that ~~was~~ were sent to him to attend this

Council ~~at Buffalo~~

Brothers of the six Nations & your Allies
agreeably to your invitation
Communicated to me in the Absence of the
Lt. Governor from Niagara (and for his infor-
=ation) Soliciting my attend~~iance~~ance with
some of the King your Fathers Officers,
together with the Officers of your own
Department, we immediately proceeded
here, and thank the Great Spirit for
bringing us safe to your Council fire

Adjourned

oar and handspike stuff. We are making use of the ship timber that was cut two years ago for the repairs. Every other matter in the Department goes on as usual.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ALEXANDER GRANT.

Lieut. D. W. Smith, Asst. D.Q.M. General.

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## FROM THOMAS DUGGAN TO JOSEPH CHEW.

INDIAN DEPARTMENT, DETROIT, 3rd February, 1794.

Sir:

I enclose you three Journals of Indian Affairs for June, September and December Quarters, all which as well as the other papers now transmitted I am obliged to sign on account of Colonel McKee being in the Indian Country where his presence is very requisite on account of the Critical Situation of the Indians. I enclose also a copy of General Wayne's Speech to the Chiefs of the Delawares, Shawanese, &c. which was brought in Three days ago, and tho' I have it not Officially from Col. McKee yet I thought its very proper to have it transmitted to You, all I have to say to you in addition to this speech is that Bob Wilson who went with Young & White eyes as Interpreter to Fort Grenville reports that, that Fort is garrisoned by four thousand Men, that it is two Miles in Circumference and that three hundred Men mount guard there daily; That Fort Recovery is Garrisoned by three hundred and that Wayne and his Warriors will drink of our Waters early in the spring, there is not One belonging to the Indian Department here at present but myself; they are all in the Miamis Country and Col. McKee would have been here before the departure of the Express were it not for the absolute necessity of his being in the Indian Country at this juncture.

You shall have every intelligence concerning the Indian Affairs in this Quarter and by the earliest Opportunities; I have nothing more to add than that I remain, &c.

THOMAS DUGGAN.

P.S. ............................

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## PROCEEDINGS OF A COUNCIL OF THE SIX NATION INDIANS, &c HELD AT BUFFALOE CREEK ON THE SEVENTH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1794.

*Present.*

The Chiefs of the Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagoes, Senecas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Delawares, &c., &c., &c. Brigade Major Littlehales, Captain Bunbury, and the officers of the Indian Department, General Chapin, Mr. Parish, Interpreter, and Mr. Colt of the United States.

After going through the usual ceremony of congratulations, the Cow Killer, a Seneca Chief Spoke as follows.

Brothers:

(Addressed to General Chapin) We are happy the great Spirit has protected you to and from the United States, with our proceedings to the President, relative to a Boundary line, and his (the President's) answer thereon.

Brothers: (Addressed to the British) We are exceedingly glad to see you the King, our Father's people here, as we sent for you to request you to listen to the answer of the President of the United States. Now Brother of the United States proceed.

Mr. Chapin returned the compliment to the Chiefs, adding that he was glad they had sent for the British to hear the Speech about to be delivered, observing that the distemper in Philadelphia and Congress not being assembled, occasioned his delay in returning. Genl. Chapin then directed Mr. Colt to read the following Speech which was interpreted by Mr. Parish, accompanied with a large Belt of White Wampum, and thirteen strings of Black Wampum.

To the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations.

Brothers:

A copy of your proceedings at Buffaloe Creek on the eighth day of October last hath been received by General Chapin. These proceedings contain the sentiments of several Chiefs of the various Tribes who were assembled at the great Council fire which was kindled at the Rapids of the Miami the last Summer, and in addition to this information you add in your meeting of the tenth of the same Month your desire of a Boundary which you say will be further explained by Genl. Chapin. All these Communications have been submitted to your Father General Washington, the President of the United States, who desires the Six Nations to receive his sincere and hearty thanks for their assurance and acts of friendship to the United States. While your Father, the President, has observed with great pleasure the pains you have taken to effect a peace between the United States and the hostile Indians he is at the same time very sorry that any circumstance should have prevented the accomplishment of a Measure affecting the happiness of both parties; peace is best for the white as well as the red people, and it is always the cause of sorrow among Good men when Misunderstandings arise which create wars. The United States consider that they have taken all the requisite means to obtain a Peace which their duty or humanity required, they appointed respectable and wise characters as Commissioners, accompanied by a Deputation of friends the Known Advocates for Peace. Those Commissioners under discouraging Circumstances persevered for a long time to obtain an Interview with the great Council of the Indians. This being ineffectual they made in good faith such liberal offers in writing to ensure the future Comfort and prosperity of the Indians, as were never before given to the Indians of North America. These Circumstances being known, for ever acquit the United States from all imputations of desiring a Continuance of the War. The same principles of moderation and humanity which before dictated the Offers to the Indians, and a Sincere friendship for the Six Nations, have induced your Father, the President, to consider attentively your propositions for a New Boundary, although the lines you mention are considered as liable to considerable objections, yet it is hoped, when all difficulties shall be discussed at a Treaty or Conference, by Moderate Men with upright views that some agreement may be made which would lead to a general peace; on this Ground the President consents that a conference should be held at Venango, on the fifteenth or middle of next May. It is expected that the Chiefs of the Six Nations and Chippawas will attend and the Chiefs of all such of the Western Tribes as the Said Six Nations and Chippawas may invite, and if the hostile Tribes should think proper to attend they will be well received, and treated as people ought to be, who are holding friendly Treaties, but it cannot be unknown to you, by the late abortive efforts to negotiate, the American Army was restrained from Offensive operations against those Tribes who appear deaf to the voice of reason and peace, such a Conduct will not be observed by the United States again; This must be clearly understood, let it be remembered therefore there is no deception on our parts; Our Army must be left entirely at liberty to act as circumstances may require, the scene of operations however will be far distant from Venango, the proposed place of meeting. It is to be observed that in case any of the Western Indians attend at Venango, it would be proper that they should proceed by water at least as far East as Presqu'Isle, and thence to French Creek by Land. It would be dangerous for them to proceed from the Westward by land, for the same reason they gave last year, namely that the said paths are bloody paths.

Brothers: If you agree to the time and place of meeting it will be proper that you should immediately signify the same to General Chapin, that due preparations may be made at the same place.

Given at the City of Philadelphia by order of the President of the United States, this twenty fourth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety three.

H. Knox,
Secretary of War.

After this Speech was read and interpreted by Mr. Parish, Mr. Chapin said

Brothers:

Having been absent from home near one year, I hope to have an answer as soon as convenient to the President's speech, and I have procured for each of you, who attended the Council at the Miamis Rapids, last summer, as you have been at a great deal of trouble, a Suit of Cloaths, some ammunition, and some few articles for your distressed Women & children, which I recommended to and requested the President would grant as necessary for your Services and to which he readily consented. I hope these things have arrived at my house by this time.

The Cow Killer (a Seneca Chief) then spoke.

Brothers of the United States:

We have heard the speech you have brought with you, but now remove the Council fire to our Castle, to take it into our private Consideration; This chief then took the speech and Belt delivered by General Chapin and gave it to Brigade Major Littlehales, desiring he would peruse it attentively, till he was perfectly acquainted with its contents.

Major of Brigade Littlehales then addressed himself to the Chiefs as follows, returning the strings of Black & White Wampum that were sent him to attend the Council.

Brothers of the Six Nations and your Allies:

Agreeably to your invitation communicated to me, in the absence of the Governor from Niagara, (and for his information) Soliciting my attendance with some of the King your Father's Officers, together with the Officers of your own Department, we immediately proceeded here, and thank the great Spirit for bringing us safe to your Council fire.

E. B. Littlehales.

Adjourned.

Proceedings of the Council continued at Buffaloe Creek the Ninth day of February 1794.

Present as before on the 7th Instant.

Cow Killer—Speaker—(Mr. Parish) Interpreter.

Brothers:

(To General Chapin) We have taken your Speech into Consideration and our eldest Brother Captain Brant is to relate the result of our meeting in private Council yesterday, in Consequence thereof.

Captain Brant then spoke as follows with nine strings of White Wampum.

Brothers:

I now address myself to you (Brigade Major Littlehales) in behalf of the King our Father, and thank the good Spirit for bringing us again together in Council, as what we are going to say, we wish the World to know.

Brothers: You have both heard the Message we delivered to our Brothers of the United States last Fall, relative to a Boundary Line, and we expected a positive answer from you, Brothers of the United States whether you would accept it or not.

Brothers: When we delivered the Message, last Fall to you, for the United States, we had first taken it into serious consideration, we spoke the language of our hearts, and the Great Spirit knew our minds, all the Six Nations were of the same opinion, and many of our Western Brethren, and we were well assured that had the United States accepted our proposed Boundary, Peace would certainly have taken place.

Brothers: The Speech you have brought us, has given us great uneasiness, we are entirely at a loss how to act, we fully expected a direct answer to our proposals of a boundary line, now we are much distressed that you have brought but half an answer to our proceedings. The kindling a Council fire, at a distant place, is what we are not prepared to give you a reply to.

Brothers: Provided the United States had accepted our Boundary Line, we should have sent immediately to Our Western Brethren who know our Sentiments, and we would have attended your Council fire and confirmed that Boundary Line.

Brothers: Make your minds easy, but in consequence of the importance of your Speech containing very weighty matters, we must deliberate seriously upon it, we cannot give you an immediate answer, we must have a General Council of all the Chiefs.

Only few are now present, and we should all be together, the reason of so much councilling at different times proceeded from so small a number of our Sachems and Chiefs being assembled, which is the cause that we are still in trouble.

Brothers: You General Chapin live near us, we have two months and a half to consider of your Speech, and by that time we will give you a final answer, we pray the Great Spirit that these difficulties may terminate to the happiness of both parties.

Brothers: You requested us to give an answer as soon as convenient, but in such a very weighty business it is impossible to give one directly—With regard to Provisions there is plenty in the Country, and if we should agree to meet you, you need not be particular about what we shall consume, and even in case we should meet you, we expect nothing but provisions.

Brothers: We now conclude and we pray the Great Spirit to protect you safe home, and we desire you will bear it constantly in your mind that you will soon receive an answer.

The nine Strings of Wampum were then delivered to General Chapin who immediately replyed.

Brothers:

I thank the Great Spirit for preserving us and am happy that we are again met together on this important business.

Brothers: You have delivered a Speech in answer which has been taken down in writing. I shall return to Canandorque my seat, and will wait patiently for your answer.

Brothers: The matter is of Great importance and it gives me pleasure that you consider it so, and that you mean to call together all your chiefs and wise men to consider it seriously.

Brothers: You may depend upon it that your Father General Washington wishes for Peace, and the reason he wishes the proposed Treaty is, that all the Indian Nations may talk it over together in a most serious manner, it is his desire that those who are at war and all other Indians may come to the proposed place, to discuss where the difficulty lays that peace may be made; he hopes that the good work of the Six Nations to bring about a peace may be attended with success.

Brothers: I shall return home and wait your answer and hope all nations will be agreed, and that things may be settled in such a way to the satisfaction of the United States and the Indians.

Major of Brigade Littlehales then addressed the Indians in the following words.

Brothers of the Six Nations and your Allies, Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors.

I shall faithfully repeat the proceedings of this Council fire to the Lieutenant Governor, whose attention to your interests, in which He obeyed the King your Father's commands, has been constant and manifest; as a substantial proof thereof, I cannot avoid calling to your recollection how chearfully and readily he complied with the requests you desired me to make to him on your behalf, when at your general Council assembled here last winter, corresponding also with the wishes of your Western Brethren and all the Indian Confederacy.

Brothers: In order to enable you to meet the United States, you asked of him such assistance as he knew you would stand in need of, particularly Provisions.

Brothers: In consequence he gave orders that you might be amply supplied with provisions to assist you to prosecute so good a work as the establishment of peace.

His sentiments towards you are the same as have been expressed by Lord Dorchester, who is the Great Chief of all the King your Father's people in British America, and I repeat to you what His Lordship said to the Deputies of your nations a very few summers ago at Quebec, "I leave the command of this Country to Major General Clarke, who will take the same care of you that I have done, for that is the will of the King your Master. His benevolence and friendship for you are always the same, and whoever is the instrument of the King's power in this Country will always fulfil his intentions."

You see therefore, Brothers, it is His Excellency Colonel Simcoe's duty as well as his inclination to shew the most cordial friendship and regard for the Indian Americans.

Brothers: When the Governor received your Belt of Wampum to lead him to the Council Fire at Sandusky—He answered, "that if the Government of the United States acceded to your request, his personal attendance would probably not be wanting without which it would have been fruitless" and not consistent with the dignity of his station, but he was not unmindful of your Interest.

Brothers: You desired that all Maps, Records, Treaties & Documents relating to the Indians might be brought to Sandusky knowing that you could confidently depend on the King your Father, you therein shewed your Wisdom founded on experience that you may confidently depend upon the King your Father, for He never will deceive you, and so strongly is the love of truth impressed by His Example and orders on all who are entrusted with his power in this Country that the Youngest of our Chief Warriors would be degraded from the character was he capable of deceit or falsehood.

Brothers: When at Quebec a few Summers ago you told the Commander in Chief Lord Dorchester "There are people who say the King your Father, when he made peace with the United States gave away your land to them." What was His Lordship's answer? He said, "I cannot think that the Government of the United States would hold that language, it must be from ill informed individuals."

Brothers: The truth of this answer of Lord Dorchester, has been fully confirmed by General Washington the President of the United States and particularly by Colonel Pickering, one of the late Commissioners who duly authorized by him formally addressed the following words to the five Nations. "We claim no Lands but what belong to the Nations who sold to us, we claim not a foot of the Lands of any of the Nations, with whom we have yet held no Treaties."

This clearly shews, Brothers, that what had been told you, is proved to be just and true:—The Documents, Records and Treaties between the British Governors in former times, and your wise Forefathers, of which in consequence of your request, authentic copies were transmitted to you all established the Freedom of your Nations.

Brothers: These authentic papers prove that no King of Great Britain ever claimed absolute power or sovereignty over any of your Lands or Territories that were not fairly purchased or bestowed by your Ancestors at public Treaties, they likewise prove that your national independency has been preserved and that the rights resulting from such Independency have been reciprocally and constantly acknowledged at the Treaties between the French formerly possessors of part of this Continent and the Crown of Great Britain; and it will appear when the war in North America arose between the French and the British which terminated in the King your Father's obtaining possession of Canada that it commenced in consequence of the French Nation invading the Stipulations by which the Indian Americans were acknowledged to be Independent.

Brothers: You need scarcely be reminded that after the peace of 1763 The King your Father uniformly followed the just conduct of his predecessors, to prevent all future encroachments, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix was by his direction made with the several Indian Nations by that wise and good man, your late Superintendant Genl. Sir William Johnson; the boundary there agreed upon, as it was traced with his own hands was forwarded to you, at the Confederated Council at the Miamis Rapids last Summer, with all later Treaties between your Nations and the United States *you* and *they* must be best acquainted.

Brothers: You plainly perceive that no interpretation of the boundary line settled between the King your Father and the United States, can have a shadow of pretext to consider your Independency as injured or that your territories were bargained away as the Price of Peace.

Brothers: The Lieutenant Governor directed your Superintendents and officers of your Department as you desired to attend your Council fire at Sandusky and to aid you in whatever matters you should require assistance.

Brothers: With a view to facilitate so desirable a work as that of peace between you and the United States He ordered the officers of the King's Ships to give every assistance to their Commissioners in their passage to and from Sandusky and he afforded them all the convenience in his power to exemplify the sincere and ardent desire he had to contribute to so great a purpose as the general tranquility.

Brothers: I am well assured that the Lieutenant Governor most heartily prays the Almighty Being the common Father of all Mankind to give Wisdom and Union to your Councils and He most fervently hopes that peace may be settled on such honorable, just and lasting foundations as may be for the common interests, and general benefit of all the people on this Continent.

Given at Buffaloe Creek on the
Ninth day of February 1794.

After the Speech was delivered and Interpreted the Council fire was covered up and the meeting was dissolved; The proceedings were then revised in the presence of General Chapin[1], Mr. Colt and Mr. Parish[2], Captain Brant and the officers of the Indian Department the principal part of which I had minuted myself in Council and dictated to Mr. Sheehan the remainder; this proving satisfactory to Mr. Chapin He requested a copy to be taken of all the proceedings which was accordingly done by Mr. Colt except my speech owing to there not being sufficient time to copy it. On my desiring the original and copy to be compared I found a trivial deviation in *words only*, in part of Mr. Chapin's *last* Speech.

E. B. Littlehales.

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## FROM REVEREND DR. JOHN STUART TO THE RIGHT REVEREND DR. WHITE, BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

(Extract)

Right Revd. Sir,

I have been inexpressibly anxious for the Safety of you & your Family, ever since the News of the fatal Disorder that prevailed in Philada. reached us . .

I arrived in this Town a fortnight ago, being ordered to attend our new Bishop, who is not yet come.—He is appointed Bishop of Upper & Lower Canada, with the same powers granted to Bp. Inglis, with a Salary of £2000 P. Ann:—'tis said he is a Scholar, Gentleman, Orator & Zealous Churchman. We expect great Things from him; especially, that he will rescue our Church from the Contempt into which it is fallen, by the Prudence & Wisdom of his Counsels & the Splendor of his Example.—He is authorized to appoint Commissaries under him, with a Stipend of £150 P. Ann. and has already bestowed that Office (for Upper Canada) upon me.—Altho this comes rather late in Life, yet, if I am spared for a few Years, it will enable me to make a decent Provision for my Family.—'Tis said that he will promote Literature by establishing an University here, which is much wanted. .

My Situation now equals my most sanguine Wishes—my whole Salary is £350 Sterlg. per Ann: My Children are all Healthy & promising—my Lands, improving in value,—my Situation pleasant & my Congregation numerous and still increasing.—I meet with the Countenance & Patronage of my Superiors, & am Chaplain to the Legislative Council of the Upper Province.

I am, &c.,
Jno. Stuart.

Montreal, 8th Feby. 1794.

(From a copy in possession of Dr. A. H. Young, Toronto.)

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[1] Israel Chapin, 1740-95, born at Hatfield, Mass.; served in the Continental army, 1775-8, and attained the rank of brigadier-general, settled at Canandaigua, N.Y., 1789; General Agent for Indian Affairs of the United States, 1791-5. His son, Captain Israel Chapin, succeeded him as Superintendent and Agent for Indian Affairs in the State of New York.

[2] Jasper Parrish, 1767-1836, born in Connecticut; a prisoner with the Six Nations, 1778-84; adopted by David Hill; interpreter for the United States, 1790-1803; sub-agent to the Six Nations, 1803-33; died at Canandaigua, N.Y., 12 July, 1836.

Buffalo Creek 10th Feb.y 1794.

The following are the proceedings of a council holden at this place, by some of the principal Sachems and Chiefs of the Cayuga and Onondaga Nations of Indians, in consequence of their receiving a Meſsage from the Governor of the State of New York.

Genl. Chapin happened to be here, and was desired to attend. The Fish Carrier a Cayuga Chief addreſsed him as follows with four strings of wampum.

"Brother,

When you came here to the Council last fall, you told us that the Governor of the State of New York wanted to purchase our Lands, and that he had appointed Commiſsioners, to treat with us for them. After considering on the matter we told you, that as it was late in the season, and many of our men had gone out a hunting, we wished to have the matter put of while Spring, and we sent a meſsage by you to the other Commiſsioners, to inform them of the same. As you was one of the Commiſsioners and our Superintendant, we made our minds easy, but we were greatly diſsappointed when we heard that some of our lands had been purchased without our consent, and our minds have been much distreſsed in consequence thereof.

The four strings of wampum were given to Genl Chapin..

Genl. Chapin's Answer

"Brothers,

You have mentioned to me the uneasineſs that lay on your minds, with respect to your Lands which were purchased by the Commiſsioners; I shall now proceed to give you some information respecting the matter.

I delivered the meſsage to the Commiſsioners which you gave me last fall, and informed them, that you wished to have busineſs delayed while spring. but notwithstanding they proceeded to purchase the land belonging to the Onondaga Nation.

"Brothers,

I was very sorry to hear that this was done. When I was agoing to Philadelphia, I went to see the Governor of the State of New York, and informed him what had taken place; he engaged to take the matter into consideration. He has now sent on a letter desiring that a number of your Chiefs (not exceeding Ten) would go down to Albany to converse with respecting your Lands.

The Governors Letter was then read and Interpreted to the Indians, By Mr Parish.—

## The Fish Carriers reply—

"Brother,

The message which the Governor sent has been taken into consideration, and has given us great satisfaction — it was what we wanted to hear — it makes our minds easy and I now hope we shall be again united. He desires us to set out immediately, but he must wait with patience while we send to the Grand River for two of our principal men.

"Brother,

We shall not be able to go ourselves we are old men and we have business of importance to transact (such as the business of the United States) which detains us here: but we shall send eight of our principal men to do the business for us.

"Brother,

We desire you, as you are one of the Commissioners and our Superintendant, that you would rise from your seat and go down to Albany with us.

Genl. Chapin again addressed them

"Brothers,

I am glad to hear that your minds are again composed, and that you are so well satisfied with the meſsage which the Governor has sent you. You are sensible no doubt that there has been a great deal of difficulty and dispute relative to your lands, I now hope that those difficulties will all be removed.

"Brothers,

You desired me to go down with you to Albany. But you must consider that the greater part of my time is taken in public busineſs, and makes it difficult for me to attend; but if I cannot go myself, I will send my son.

"Brothers.

I advise you to get away as soon as poſsible. Mr Wimp will wait while you are ready to go, he will accompany you to Albany, and furnish you with every thing neceſsary by the way.

The Fish Carrier again replied

"Brother,

We have heard the meſsage, and what you have said with attention. — We now return you our thanks for having explained the matter so well to us, and removed the burden from our minds....

Copy

Reply of His Excellency Lord Dorchester to the Indians of the Seven Villages of Lower Canada as Deputies from all the Nations who were at the General Council held at the Miamis in the year 1793, except the Chawanons, Miamis and Loups.

Children,

I have well considered your words and am now prepared to reply.

Children,

You have informed me that you are deputed by the Seven Villages of Lower Canada, and all the Nations of the Upper Country who sent Deputies to the General Council held at the Miamis, except the Chawanons, Miamis and Loups.

Children,

You remind me on their part of what passed at the Council fire held at Quebec just before my last departure for England, when I promised to represent their Situation and wishes to the King their Father, and expressed my hope that all the Grievances they complained of on the part of the United States would soon be done away by a just and lasting Peace".

Children,

I remember all very well; — I remember that they pointed out to me the Line of Separation which they wished for between them and the States, and with which they would be satisfied and make Peace.

Children,

I was in expectation of hearing from

the People of the United States what was required by them; I hoped that I should have been able to bring you together and make you Friends.

Children,

I have waited long, and listened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them.

Children,

I flattered myself with the hope that the Line proposed in the year Eighty three, to separate Us from the United States, which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the Peace was signed; would have been mended, or a new one drawn in an amicable manner: here also I have been disappointed.

Children,

Since my return I find no appearance of a Line remains; and from the manner in which the People of the States push on, and act, and talk on this side; and from what I learn of their Conduct towards the Sea, I shall not be surprized if we are at War with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a Line must then be drawn by the Warriors.

Children,

You ask for a Passport to go to New York: a Passport is useless in Peace; it appears therefore that you expect we shall be at War with the States before you return; You shall have a Passport, that whether Peace or War you may be well received by the King's Warriors.

Children,

You talk of Selling your Lands to the State of New York; I have told you that there is no Line between them and us; I shall acknowledge no Lands to be theirs which have been encroached on by them since the year 1783; they then broke the Peace, and as they kept it not on their part, it doth not bind on ours.

Children,

They then destroyed their Right of Preemption, therefore all their approaches towards us since that time; and all the Purchases made by them, I consider as an Infringement on the King's Rights; and when a Line is drawn between us, be it in Peace or War, they must lose all their Improvements and Houses on our side of it; those People must all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the King's Subjects: what belongs to the Indians will of course be confirmed and secured to them.

Children,

What further can I say to you? You are Witnesses that on our parts we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the Language and Conduct of the People of the United States with Patience; but I believe our Patience is almost exhausted.

Given under my hand at the Castle of
St. Lewis in the City of Quebec, this
Tenth day of February in the year of
Our Lord one thousand seven hundred
and ninety four.

(Signed) Dorchester

By His Excellency's Command,
(Signed) Herman Witsius Ryland

## FROM LORD DORCHESTER TO THE SEVEN NATIONS OF LOWER CANADA

Réponse de Son Excellence le Lord Dorchester, aux Sept Villages du Bas Canada venus en députation de la part de toutes les Nations du pays d'en haut excepté les Chaouanous, Miamis et Loups, rendue en Conseil au Chateau de St. Louis à Québec le 10e. Février, 1794.

Mes Enfans:

J'ai bien pesé vos paroles, et me voici préparé à y répondre.

Mes Enfans: Vous m'avez dit que vous êtes les Députés, les sept Villages du bas Canada, au nom de toutes les Nations des pays d'en haut, qui ont envoyé des Députés au Conseil général des Miamis à l'exception des Chaouanous, Miamis et Loups.

Mes Enfans: Vous me rappellez de leur part ce qui s'est passé au Conseil qui fut tenu à Québec peu de jours avant mon dernier départ pour l'Angleterre, quand je leur ai promis de représenter au Roi leur Père leur situation et leurs souhaits; en même tems je leur ai dit que j'espérois les voir bientôt débarrassé de tous les griefs dont ils se plaignoient de la part des Etats Unis, par une paix juste et durable.

Mes Enfans: Je me souviens bien de tout ceci, je me souviens qu'ils m'ont montré, sur une carte, la ligne de séparation qu'ils souhaitoient avoir entre eux et les Etats Unis, et sur laquelle ils consentiroient avec satisfaction à leur faire la paix.

Mes Enfans: Je m'attendois à être instruit de la part des Etats Unis, de ce qu'ils souhaitoient pour eux-même, et que je pusse vous reconcilier ensemble et vous faire bons amis.

Mes Enfans: J'ai attendu longtems, et écouté avec grande attention mais je n'ai pas entendu une seule parole de leur part.

Mes Enfans: J'espérois aussi que la ligne qui fut proposée l'année 1783, pour nous séparer des Etats Unis, et qu'ils ont rompu aussitôt que la paix fut signée, seroit raccommodée, ou qu'une nouvelle ligne seroit faite à l'amicable, mais ceci n'a pas eu lieu.

Mes Enfans: Depuis mon retour je trouve qu'il n'y a plus d'apparance de ligne du tout. De la maniére que les Sujets des Etats Unis, s'avancent, parlent, et agissent de ce coté-ci, aussi bien que de ce que j'apprends de leur conduite sur les bords de la mer, je ne serai pas surpris si nous ayons la guerre avec eux avant la fin de cette année, en quel cas une ligne sera tirée par les guerriers.

Mes Enfans: Vous me demandez un passeport pour aller à la nouvelle York; un passeport est inutile en tems de paix; il vous semble donc que nous serons en guerre avec les Etats Unis avant votre retour; vous aurez un passeport afin que si nous ayions la guerre ou non vous soyiez bien recu par les guerriers du Roi.

Mes Enfans: Vous me parlez de vendre vos terres à l'Etat de la Nouvelle York; je vous ai déja dit qu'il n'y à point de ligne entre eux et nous; je ne les reconnoitrerai pas comme propriétaires des terres dont ils se sont emparées depuis l'année 1783; et comme ils ne l'ont pas respectée de leur part; elle ne nous lie pas non plus.

Mes Enfans: Ils ont en même tems détruit leur droit de préemption; je regarde donc toutes leurs approches vers nous depuis ce tems, et tout achat de terres fait par eux, comme un attentat sur les droit du Roi, et quand une ligne sera tirée entre nous, ou en paix ou en guerre, il faudra qu'ils abandonnent tous leurs établissemens de ce coté-ci. Tous ces gens qui n'obtiennent pas la permission de

se faire sujets du roi seront renvoyées; Tout ce qui appartient aux sauvages leur sera en même tems confirmé et garanti.

Mes Enfans: Que puis-je vous dire de plus? Vous êtes témoins que de notre part nous nous sommes comportés envers les Etats Unis de la manière la plus pacifique; nous avons souffert leur langage et leur conduite injurieuse avec patience; mais à cette heure je crois notre patience poussée presque au bout.

Donnez sous ma main au Chateau de St. Louis dans la
Ville de Québec ce Dixième Février 1794.
(Signé) DORCHESTER.

Par commande de son Excellence,
(Signé) HERMAN W. RYLAND.

(*Copie de la Reponse de son Excellence Lord Dorchester aux Sauvages du pays d'en haut; donnée à Québec 10 Fevrier, 1794. Traduit en français par H.W.R.*)

## FROM LORD DORCHESTER TO THE SEVEN NATIONS OF LOWER CANADA.

Reply of His Excellency Lord Dorchester to the Indians of the seven villages of Lower Canada as deputies from all the nations who were at the Great Council held at the Miamis in the year 1793, except the Chawanas, Miamis and Loups.

Children:

I have well considered your words and am now prepared to reply.

Children: You have informed me that you are deputed by the Seven Villages of Lower Canada, and all the Nations of the Upper Country who sent Deputies to the General Council held at the Miamis, except the Chawanas, Miamis and Loups.

Children: You remind me on your part of what passed at the Council Fire held at Quebec just before my last departure for England, when I promised to represent their Situation & wishes to the King their Father, and expressed my hope that all the Grievances they complained of on the part of the United States would soon be done away by a just & lasting Peace.

Children: I remember all very well: I remember that they pointed out to me the Line of Separation which they wished for between them & the States, and with which they would be satisfied & make Peace.

Children: I was in expectation of hearing from the People of the United States what was required by them; I hoped that I should have been able to bring you together and make you Friends.

Children: I have waited long, & listened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them.

Children: I flattered myself with the hope that the Line proposed in the year Eighty three, to separate us from the United States, which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the Peace was signed, would have been mended, or a new one drawn in an amicable manner: here also I have been disappointed.

Children: Since my return, I find no appearance of a Line remains; and from the manner in which the People of the States push on, and act, and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct towards the Sea, I shall not be sur-se faire sujets du roi seront renvoyées; Tout ce qui appartient aux sauvages leur sera en même tems confirmé et garanti.

Mes Enfans: Que puis-je vous dire de plus? Vous êtes témoins que de notre part nous nous sommes comportés envers les Etats Unis de la manière la plus pacifique; nous avons souffert leur langage et leur conduite injurieuse avec patience; mais à cette heure je crois notre patience poussée presque au bout.

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Children: You ask for a Passport to go to New York; a Passport is useless in Peace; it appears therefore, that you expect we shall be at War with the States before you return; You shall have a Passport, that whether Peace or War you may be well received by the King's Warriors.

Children: You talk of Selling your Lands to the State of New York: I have told you, that there is no Line between them and us; I shall acknowledge no Lands to be theirs which have been encroached on by them since the year 1783; they then broke the Peace, and as they kept it not on their part; it doth not bind on ours.

Children; They then destroyed their Right of preemption, therefore all their approaches towards us since that time; and all the Purchases made by them, I consider as an Infringement on the King's Rights; and when a Line is drawn between us, be it in Peace or War, they must lose all their Improvements and Houses on our side of it; those People must all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the King's Subjects: What belongs to the Indians will of course be confirmed & secured to them.

Children: What further can I say to you? You are Witness that on our parts we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the Language and Conduct of the People of the United States with Patience; but I believe our Patience is almost exhausted.

Given under my Hand at the Castle of St. Louis in the City of Quebec, this Tenth day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(signed) DORCHESTER.[1]

By His Excellency's Command
(Signed) Herman Witsius Ryland

*Endorsed:* G
*In Lord Dorchester's to Mr. Dundas.*
*No. 18 of the 24 Febry. 1794.*

## FROM JOHN McGILL TO J. G. SIMCOE.

The introducing a certain circulating medium of Specie into the Colony would, I conceive, in all transactions with the Settlers, operate to the advantage of the Crown, by reducing the price of Supplies, and at the same time be much more beneficial and satisfactory to the Inhabitants.

It would be a great saving to the Crown, were the Settler's Produce purchased immediately of himself, such as flour, peas, wood, &c., without having recourse to the Merchant or Trader paying for the small quantities in Specie, and for the large, (if found expedient), in Government Bills, as a proof I was lately informed by a very able farmer that supposing flour was sold for 15/ per Cwt. Halifax Currency

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[1] Lord Dorchester's speech to the Indians on February 10, 1794, was printed in full in the New York Daily Gazette, 25th March, 1794, and in the Gazette of the United States of Philadelphia, of 26th March, 1794. On March 28, the latter newspaper contained the following note:—"From undoubted authority we understand that the late talk Lord Dorchester had with the Indians was conducted in a very secret manner. The matter was not known even in Quebec till some time after the departure of the Indians; when, on their returning to Montreal, they disclosed the matter to a friend, who took a copy of the said talk and from which several copies were made out.—*Diary.*"

Quebec
10 February 1794

Dorchesters reply to the Indians
of the Seven Villages of Lower
Canada

VI, 93-96

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Reply of His Excelly. Lord Dorchester to the Indians of the Seven Villages of lower Canada as Deputies from all the Nations who were at the Genl. Council held at the Miamis in the year 1793, except the Chawanos, Miamis & Loups. — — —

Children I have well considered your words & am now prepared to reply.

Children You have informed me that you are Deputed by the Seven Villages of lower Canada & by all the Nations of the upper Country who sent Deputies to the Genl. Council held at the Miamis, except the Chawanas, Miamis & Loups.

Children You remind me on their part of what passed at the Council fire held at Quebec just before my last departure for England, when I promised to represent their situation and wishes to the King their Father & expressed my hope that all the grievances they complained of on the part of the United States would soon be done away by a just & lasting peace.

Children I remember all very well: I remember that they pointed out to me the line of separation which they wished for between them & the States & with which they would be satisfied and make peace.

Children — I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States what was required by them. I hoped that I should have been able to bring you together and make you friends.

Children — I have waited long & listened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them

Children — I flattered myself with the hope that the line proposed in the year Eighty three, to seperate us from the United States, which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the peace was signed, would have been mended, or a new one drawn in an amicable manner. here also I have been disappointed

Children — Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains: and from the manner in which the people of the United States push on, and act, and talk on this side, and from what I learn from their conduct towards the sea, I shall not be surprized if we are at War with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the Warriors.

Children You ask for a passport to go to New York: a passport is useless in peace: it appears therefore that you expect we shall be at at War with the States before you return: you shall have a passport, that whether peace or War you may be well received by the Kings Warriors.

Children You talk of selling your Lands to the State of New York, I have told you that there is no line between them & us: I shall acknowledge no lands to be theirs which have been encroached on by them since the year 1783; they then broke the peace & as they kept it not on their part, it doth not bind on ours. —

Children They then destroyed their right of Preemption, therefore all their approaches towards us since that time, & all the purchases made by them, I consider as an infringement on the Kings rights: & when a line is drawn

between

4.4 42

between us, be it in peace or War, they must lose all their improvements & Houses on our side of it; those people must all be gone who do not obtain leave & become the Kings subjects. What belongs to the Indians will of course be confirmed & secured to them.

Children What further can I say to you? you are witnesses that on our parts we have acted in the most peaceable manner, & borne the language & conduct of the People of the United States with patience: but I believe our patience is almost exhausted.

Given under my hand at the
Castle of St. Lewis in the City of
Quebec this tenth day of February
in the year of our Lord One thousand
Seven hundred and ninety four

(Signed) Dorchester

By His Excelly's Command

(Signed) Herman Witsius Ryland

(True copy)

W Claus D.S.

# BY THIS DAY'S MAIL.

NEW-YORK, March 25.

[The following Reply of Lord Dorcheſter was handed by a correſpondent.]

REPLY of His Excellency Lord Dorcheſter, to the Indians of the Seven Villages of Lower Canada, as Deputies from all the Nations who were at the General Council, held at the Miami, in the year 1793, except the Chawouons, Miamis, and Loups.

Children,

I HAVE well conſidered your words, and am now prepared to reply.

Children,

You have informed me that you are deputed by the Seven Villages of Lower Canada, and by all the nations of the Upper Country, which ſent deputies to the general council held at the Miamies; except the Chawenons, Miamis, and Loups.

Children,

You remind me of what paſſed at the council fire, held at Quebec juſt before my laſt departure for England, when I promiſed to repreſent their ſituation and wiſhes to the king, their Father, and expreſſed my hope, that all the grievances complained of on the part of the United States, would be ſoon done away, by a juſt, and laſting peace.

Children,

I remember all very well; I remember that they pointed out to me the line of ſeparation, which they wiſhed for between them and the United States, and with which they would be ſatisfied, and make peace.

Children,

I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States, what was required of them, I hoped that I ſhould have been able to bring you together, and make you friends.

Children

I have waited long, and liſtened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them.

Children

I flattered myſelf with the hope that the line propoſed in the year 1783, to ſeparate us from the United States, which was immediately broken by themſelves, as ſoon as the peace was ſigned, would have been mended or a new one drawn in an amicable manner—here alſo, I have been diſappointed.

Children,

Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains, and from the manner which the people of the ſtates puſh on, and act, and talk on this ſide; and from what I learn of their conduct towards the ſea, I ſhall not be ſurpriſed if we are at war with them in the courſe of the preſent year; and if we are, a line muſt be then drawn by the Warriors.

Children,

You aſk for a paſſport to New-York—a paſſport is uſeleſs in peace; it appears therefore you expect a war with the ſtates before you return. You ſhall have a paſſport, that, whether peace or war, you ſhall be well received by the king's Warriors.

Children,

You talk of ſelling your lands to the ſtate of New-York. I have told you there is no line between them and us. I ſhall acknowledge no lands to be theirs, which have been encroached on by them ſince the year 1783. They have broke the peace; and as they kept it not on their part, it doth not bind on ours.

Children,

They have deſtroyed their right of preemption; therefore, all their approaches towards us ſince that time, and all purchaſes made by them, I conſider as an infringement on the king's rights; and when a line is drawn between us, be it peace or war, they muſt loſe all their improvements, and houſes on our ſide of it; the people muſt all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the king's ſubjects; what belongs to the Indians, will, of courſe, be ſecured to them.

Children,

What further can I ſay to you?—you are witneſſes that on our part, we have acted in the moſt peaceful manner, and borne the language of the United States with patience—but I believe our patience is almoſt exhauſted.

Given under my hand, at the
Caſtle of St. Lewis, in the
City of Quebec, 10th Feb.
1794.

DORCHESTER.

By his Excellency's command.

Buffalo Creek 10th. Feby. 1794.

The following are the proceedings of a Council ~~he~~ holden at this place by ſome of the principal Chiefs of the Cayuga and Onondaga Nations of Indians in consequence of their receiving a meſsage from the Governor of the State of New York. —

Genl. Chapin happened to be here and was desired to attend. The Fish Carrier a Cayuga Chief addreſsed him as follows with four strings of Wampum.

Br.

When you came here to the Council last fall you told us that the Governor of the State of New York wanted to purchase our Lands & that he had appointed commiſsioners to treat with us for them. After considering on the matter we told you that as it was late in the season and many of our men had gone out a hunting we wished to have the matter put of till ſpring and we ſent a Meſsage by you to the other Commiſsioners to inform them of the same. As you were one of the Commiſsioners & our Superintendant we made our minds easy but we were greatly diſappointed when we heard that ſome of our Lands had been purchaſed without our consent and our minds have been much diſtreſsed in consequence thereof.

The four strings of Wampum were given to Genl. Chapin.

Genl. Chapin's Answer

Brothers.

You have mentioned to me the uneasineſs that lay on your minds with reſpect to your lands which were purchased by the Commiſsioners. I shall now proceed to give you ſome information reſpecting the matter.

I delivered the meſsage to the Commiſsioners which you gave me last fall and informed them that you wished to have busineſs delayed till ſpring but notwithstanding they proceeded to purchaſe the land belonging to the Onondaga Nation.

Brothers — I was very ſorry to hear that the was done. When I was agoing to Ph I went to ſee the Governor of the Sta informed him what had taken place — to take the matter into conſideration — now ſent on a letter deſiring that a numb your Chiefs (not exceeding ten) would g down to Albany to converse with reſpect your lands.

The Governor's Letter was then read & interpret to the Indians by Mr Parish

The fish carrier's reply.

Br. The Meſsage which the Governor ~~has~~ ſent has taken into conſideration and has given us grea ſatiſfaction — it was what we wanted to hea makes our minds easy and I hope now we ſhall again united. He deſires us to ſet out immedi but he must wait with patience while we ſe to the Grand River for two of our principal men.

Br. We ſhall not be able to go ourſelves — We a old men and we have buſineſs of importa to transact (such as the buſineſs of the Uni States) which detains us here but we ſha ſend eight of our principal men to do the buſineſs for us.

Br. We deſire you as you are one of the Commiſsioner and our Superintendant tha you would riſe from your ſeat and go down to Albany with us.

Genl. Chapin again addreſsed them.

Brother

I am glad to hear that your minds are aga compoſed and that you are ſo well ſatiſfied wi the Meſsage which the Governor has ſent you. Yo are ſensible no doubt that there has been a grea deal of difficulty and diſpute relative to your lands. I now hope that those difficultie will all be removed.

You desired me to go down with you to Albany; but you must consider that the greater part of my time is taken in public busineſs and makes it difficult for me to attend – but if I cannot go myself, I will send my son

Brother,

I advise you to get away as soon as poſsible. Mr. Wimp will wait while you are ready to go – he will accompany you to Albany and furnish you with every thing neceſsary by the way. —

The Fish-carrier again replied

Br. We have heard the meſsage and what you have said with attention – We now return you our thanks for having explained the matter so well to us and removed the burden from our minds.

Canandargua March 4 – 1794

The Indians who were proceeding to Albany agreeable to the Governor's request, called on me and the following speech I received from them Clear Sky spoke as follows.

Br

You recollect at Buffaloe Creek we mentioned to you respecting our meeting you at Canandargua We have now arrived but the Fish Carrier who was then present and agreed to come was detained on account of lameneſs. —

Br. The Council we last held at Buffaloe Creek was of consequence and the busineſs we are now on is the same. At that Council a Meſsage came from the Governor desiring us to repair to Albany to settle some busineſs respecting our

84 Lands, which made it necessary
Grand River for some of our Chiefs fro
place. The Governor having sent f
Chiefs so that a proper understandin
might take place, we who are presen
have come forward together with
Mohawk to see what will be done and wh
contract will take place.

We received the Governor's Message and
glad to hear it, as we wish to see the Govern
and reveal our minds to him — As he ha
not before paid that attention to the princi
Chiefs which he ought, as he has been trad
with but few of the Indians living at Cayug
and Onondaga, which we consider as if we
but Children with whom he has traded, wh
were not properly entitled to dispose of t
Lands without our Consent — but has gone
confirmed his bargains with those friends neglec
the principal Chiefs who are the proper own
of the Land. —

Br:

You noticed last fall we understood the Gov
wished to purchase our lands but we declin
meeting on account of the Winter Season bei
so near approaching and would not so well acc
modate the business and desired it might b
postponed till Spring and we conceive the
Governor has wished to trade with a few w
reside on the land at Cayuga and Onondaga
without consulting the principal Chiefs
or proper owners and we consider him as
one who wishes to defraud us of our Land. —
We who are present are glad of this opportunity
to go and express our minds to the Governor
as he has always heard to those who we consider
Children and disannulled every other bargain
made by the Nations.

Br: I hope you have paid attention to what we
have

Council which muſt finally terminate this buſineſs muſt be holden at Buffaloe Creek, the place determined to decide all ſuch buſineſs, So that all the Chiefs and Six Nations may have a proper understanding of all that takes place and as this place is the place of our doing buſineſs, should take the Governor by the hand and invite him there. It is our determination to perſuade the Governor to rise from his seat and come into our Country at Buffaloe Creek the place of our doing buſineſs and there to determine the terms of our Bargain, as we mean this meeting to be the last reſpecting the lands. Former purchases made by the Governor has much disturbed our minds as he has traded with boys &c. — In future we mean to have the Governor come forward into our Country and make his bargains at Buffaloe Creek. The reaſon why we go to Albany is not because we expect to obtain preſents &c. Former bargains have made much difficulty and have broke the nations apart. We wish therefore that the Governor will come forward and make ſuch bargains as will give content to the whole, as we never have been to the Governor and offered our land to him and hope he will not endeavor to perſuade us to ſell our land at Albany.

Br. You recollect we mentioned to you at Buffaloe Creek to go with us to Albany, as you are appointed to overſee Indian Affairs, we look to you for advice and desire you will go to Albany with us and also your Interpreter and as Dr. Kharr is company with us & is well acquainted with the manner of treating the buſineſs reſpecting the Indians, we hope & believe that juſtice will be done to us and hope that you will prevail with the Governor to come into our Country to ſettle the buſineſs. The reaſon why we wish the Governor to come into our Country is that we may make a final ſettlement with regard to our Lands. —

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# Genl. Chapins Answer

Brother,

I am ſorry that Fish Carrier could not c
with you but am happy to ſee you that a
present. —

Br. You appear by your ſpeech to be a li
diſsatisfied at the Governors proceedings he
with reſpect to Your Lands. I have not bee
knowing to them in general and cannot anſwe
you in that reſpect but ſuppoſe he had done
what was right.

Br. You informed me it was not agreeable to y
minds for to ſell your lands laſt fall to the Commiſs
I communicated this information to them bu
notwithſtanding they proceeded & purchaſe
that of the Onondagoes.

Br. I ſaw the Governor and informed him i
was not agreeable to your minds what ha
taken place by the Commiſsioners — he then
ſent for you that matters might be rightly
underſtood and nothing would be conſidere
binding until he had heard your ter
reſpecting a ſale.

Br. The Governor conſiders you to b
the proper owners of the land as well as
thoſe living on the ſame. The lands are
your own and you have a right to ſell it
the Governor as he is the proper man
to ſell to and can receive your pay in
that place you may agree to with hi
And you are wiſe men and I doubt not bu
you will agree on terms that will acco
modate all parties —

Br. What I want of you is to be united
and become as one Nation and do every
thing in your power that will moſt conduce to
peace.

If you can make up your minds among you that are present to ſell your lands, I believe it would be beſt – however you muſt do that which you ſuppoſe to be beſt for the Indians in general

Brⁿ You mentioned to Mr. Whipple reſpecting ſupplies on the road to Albany – What is neceſsary will be furniſhed you and if you proceed I have not a doubt but every matter will be accommodated to your minds. –

Brⁿ You recollect I mentioned to you reſpecting going with you to Albany. I engaged to go with you or ſend my ſon. I ſhall proceed myſelf and also my Interpreter with you to Albany, as I always endeavor to aſsist you in any matter of consequence

[illegible]

Copy of Conferences
of Genl. Chapin with
the Cayugas & Onondagas
of Buffaloe Creek —

No. 3. —

The Speech of the Governor
to the Oneida, Onondago &
Cayuga Nations in the Assem-
bly Chamber at Albany 13
February 1794

Brothers of the Oneida & Onondago & Cayuga
Nations

I am happy to see you at the Coun
which I have kindled at this place - I thank
the Great Spirit for protecting you on your Journey and Conducting you hither in Safety

Brothers

Some days ago I met with
our Brethren the Cayugas - I was rejoiced to see
them, we had some conversation about our Af
and I trust to our Mutual Satisfaction -
Brothers - you may think it Strange that you
should have been so many days at this place without my kindling up a Council fire and Speakin
to you. but you will recollect. that the Cayuga
and Onondagos who live at the Greatest distance we
in their way here before the Invitation which I se
at the request of our Council had reached your Nations this Occasioned your Arrival Several Days
sooner than we expected you. and of Course we wer
not prepared to Speak to you - Brothers when
the Council of a Nation are very numerous as
you see ours are their deliberations are slow but
they are generally wise and Safe it is a long tim

before so many pipes can be brought to and the minds of so many Chiefs united in a opinion. this Brother will account for the delay which has taken place

Brothers

you know that it was customary with our Ancestors even when they had no business of Importance to transact, to meet together, smoke the pipe of peace and brighten the Chain of Friendship, Brothers I have but a few words to say to you at this time but they are strong they come from the heart and I am persuaded they will be pleasing and satisfactory

Brothers I am requested ~~from~~ by our Great Council, to assure you of the unalterable friendship of this State towards you. and of our firm determination to protect and secure you in the possession & Enjoyment of your reserved lands. according to the Agreements heretofore made with your respective Nations - I have also to Mention ~~to~~ ~~Mention~~ to you, that reports have Reach'd the Ears of some of our Chiefs. that you were not happy in your present situation that you were of opinion that some other disposition and Arrangement might be made with respect to your reserved Lands - More to your Advantage and which would make your pots boil better. Brothers I know you have never mentioned these things to me but our great Council thought it advisable to Invite you to this place to learn with certainty whether what they had heard were true or whether it was the Stories of the little birds you are therefore to Speak your minds freely and unreservedly to me on this Subject and I am requested by our great Council to Aſsure you that they will Cheerfully Aſsist in making any Arrangements respecting your Lands as Shall appear agreeable to your wishes and be Calculated to promote your Interest and happineſs

Brothers this is all I have to say at present it is of Importance to your Nations deliberate therefore and give me your Answer as early as poſsible I am Sensible it is neceſsary that you should return home to prepare for your Spring hunting and I would therefore wish to detain you here as short a time as poſsible

At a meeting of the Governor with the Chiefs and Warriors of the Cayuga Nation at Denni-tons Tavern at Albany 14 Feby 1794

Speech of Key
yuga Chief

Brother open your Ears, some days ago we met you here at this place we open'd our Minds and told you what we came to this place for - whatev we say we mean to stand to, we mean to Abide by every agreement we make we Suppose the land we live on to be our own, for that reason any thing we say respecting our Land we mea to stand to; you recollect what we said in regard to our land when we came to this plac and we mean to abide by that - Brothers continue to open your Ears - Brothers we Consider that the Eyes of the Great Spirit is always upon us, for that reason any thing that we say we mean to abide by, it would be a great difficulty to fall from any proposal that we make - Brothers you have now hear our Voice, we now Should be Glad to hear your minds upon what we have said to you -

The Governors Reply

Brothers I have listen'd attentivel to what you have now Said and understand y you well - you will remember tha Year when you came to New York & kin a Council fire there, that your visit wa occasioned by some fears, you entertained respecting our Agreement - you was apprehensive ~~that some~~ that some of our white people were conspiring together to take away the dish that was reserved for you - Brothers I told you that this was impossible, that the agreement was binding upon the white People as well as the Indians, for that agreement was made under the Eyes of the Great Spirit, and if either party attempted to break it we could not expect his Bleſsing - I told you that our Covenant was so firm and Strong that without the Consent of the Council of the white people, and the Indians, it could not be broken or altered in the smallest Article, no one man however great his power could do it - I desired you therefore to go home and to rest your minds in peace - that we had a Strong Arm, and if any of our White people attempted to take your dish or any part of it we would drive them from it - I warned you not to listen ~~to listen~~ to the Stories of the little

Birds that were always flying about to do mischief Brothers you find I have been as good as my word and nothing has disturbed you, I told you at the same time if any thing could be done to make you more happy you must apply where our Great Council were setting - that I had only power to do what they directed  Brothers when I met you here at Council a few nights ago I learned you had altered your minds - I discovered that you thought you had more lands than you could take Care of, and manage to advantage and that you wished some arrangements to be made respecting it, I understood you very distinctly  I know the land you wish to part with. I took a description down in writing  I laid before our Council every thing that had paſsed between us. I told them all you had said to me  In Consequence of which our Great Council requested me to mention what I told you last Night - you will find if you Understood it, that our Great Council are determined to protect you in your land your Dist is yours and it is intended for your sole Benefit, at the same time they also requested me to aſsure you that if any arrangement could be made as to your dist that would promote your Interest and happineſs they were ready to do it - But Brothers you will readily perceive that these are matters of the Utmost

Importance they not only Effect yo
and young Warriors they concern also yo
~~Wives~~ Women and children they cannot therefore
be done in a Short time Matters of such
Consequence require a great deal of delibera-
-tion Brothers it requires more time to
Accomplish this business than you can now
Spare I am too well acquainted with your
habits and business not to know that it is
time to prepare for your Spring hunting
whenever therefore you are ready to return home I
will furnish you with a Staff and Something
for your ~~wifes~~ women and Children in the mean time
you may be assured we will protect you and
no one shall do you any harm

Kanesquogarunk
Reply to the Governor

Brother

we have heard your
voice and perfectly understood it we return you
our most hearty thanks Brother that you
observed in your speech that the little dish
that remained to us was our own, that when
any one offered to disturb us you had a strong
Arm and would protect us we thank you
Brother that you told us that, ~~the~~ that dish
is our own Brother we are very glad to hear
you say that it is our own you told us, Brother
also that we might do with it what we pleased
Brother there is five ~~People~~ of the white ~~People~~ t

Thed

we would wish should remain on our Reservation - the reason why we ask this is because you told us it was our own - Brother continue to open your Ears. the people that we wish should live on our Reservatio one lives at Seaces, his name is Saml Bear another Joe Smith a third John Richardson - the other two we mentioned in the first Speech - we have not made any writings between us and John Richardson - Brothers we have been here some Considerable time in this town the young warriors are Impatient to get home we would wish to set off for home the day after to morrow - If our Brother agrees to what we have said Concerning our Reservation we leave it to them to Confirm the Bargain

The Governors Reply

Brothers

I presume you have no open'd your minds fully that I understand every thing that you have said - I shall communicate it to ou Great Council whose business it is to Consider of it and to do what is right - I told you and so did our Chiefs that your Land is your own it is so - but it is your own Secured by a Covenant between you and us that our people cannot take it from you without your Consent and our Great Council     Brothers the Covenan between us is Strong whenever the Chain began to Rust I brightend it and Rubbd whenever any of the white people attempt to break in upon your lands we flew like an Arrow to your Assistance Brothers your dish is not very large it soon may be made very Small if we do not take care of it if one white man get a Slice here another a Slice there the loaf is soon gone — Brothers it is our business as faithful brothers to take care of this for when your Land is gone there would be no body to take care of you, you give to one friend a Slice he promises to pay you money but he does not pay you, how are you to get it — you will say we will go to New York to our Brother and Complain it is a long Journey and will fatigue you much and Cost your Brothers more money than the dish is worth — Brothers I only mention these matters to shew you that we must take great care of you and that things must be done Secure that when any money is promised to you it must be paid our Great Council must take time to think of this matter

Brothers I know you are Good Warriors and good hunters better than our white people are, but you do not understand these other matters as well as our great Council they will Consider of them and do what is right and best for you

At a meeting of the Onondago
Nation with his Excellency the
Governor at Albany 15th
February 1794

Kaleechtoton's
Speech,

Brothers we are not uneasy in Respect to our Lands. Last fall two of your Chiefs were Sent from you I would not have agreed with them if I had any apprehensions that we should loose any part of it we supposed that they came from you and therefore we were safe in agreeing with them, now that agreement is finished and done with and we are Contented with it – our Brethren to the East and the west were often uneasy – and frequently went to Newyork but we always staid at home peaceably and never troubled you – but now we supposed it would be pleasing to you that we should come and see you as you were so near us therefore are we come and are glad to see you –

Brother I have done every thing in my power to keep all our agreements and perhaps this will be the last time that ever I shall meet with you there is my Son and if our Nation meets you again he will

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Speak to you - now Brothers the ag
on your part you have fulfilled and we
to abide by it on our part - I present you with theſe Strings of Wampun in confirmation of that agreement which we are determined to Support -

Now Brothers you see some of the principal men of our Nation - here is a meſsage from the Women that we have left at home - their wishes are that the path may be forever Kept open between us and that there may be no obstructions, these Strings I now present are from the Women the land belongs to them they are fully satisfied with the Agreement and they expreſs their wish - that the path may forever be Kept open between you and us

The Speech of Gatcontegachte:

Brother

We have now brought our pipes together you observe perhaps that some of our people have drank too much but Brothers poſseſs your minds in peace about that you see it stands on the table befo us - Brothers last fall two of your Chiefs came to our Castle and kindled the Council fire we recollect that the agreement at fort Stanwix was that the lands reserved to us was our own, that no more bargains could be made to take them from us - now Brothers we have already told you that we were Satisfied with the agreement made with your two Chiefs last fall - some little amendments however may be made to that bargain for our advantage and it is our wish that you will send men to do it next Summer it is about the boundaries only we want that our Reservation on the west Side of the Creek should extend to the Genesee Road which would enlarge it about a mile in length on that Side of the Creek, also to have the half mile on the west Side of the Creek enlarged so as to make it about one mile - Brothers by the agreement at Fort Stanwix a mile round the lake was reserved for your use and ours in common - the white people have settled on the East Side have three Salt works and have got a town there - now Brothers we are willing to have them remain on that Side if you will allow us to have the west Side for our Use and we hope you will Keep that side for us and desire your people not to Settle on it, there is none of your people on that Side as yet - with respect to our friend Webster we open'd our mind fully on that Subject last fall, we need not repeated it now - there are three other men who live among us - Viz - Asa Danforth - Patrick Campbell and Comfort Tyler we know their mind and wish to have them remain among us - and hope you will not remove them but let them have the preference of buying a small piece from you, we also wish that as Moses Dewitt is our Neighbour and friend; he with those we have mentioned before may have directions to take care of our affairs - Brothers by the agreement at Fort Stanwix we understood that we were to have a Mile on each side of the River at the Eel wire or fishing place since which we have heard this is not the Case which is Contrary to our expectation our uneasiness on this business is that this is almost the only support we have to keep us and our Women and Children alive in the Spring when our corn and provision is gone we then go there and draw our living from the fishing place

Brothers this is the first time we have troubled you and we hope you will hear our voice we must also mention Patrick Campbell he has assisted us with money and provisions on our way here we hope you will pay him

Brothers now we are met we will open our minds fully on every thing we have to say one of our Chiefs you remember was killed at the oswego falls the man who killed him you had taken up - and you sent him up to the German Flats and some of your chiefs to punish him we believed these chiefs were sent up by you and tho our people did not wish to have this man put to death yet we expected your Chiefs would have Spoke to us and taken the hatchet out of our head and wiped away the blood but they did not do it - the hatchet remains there yet and it is Sore

We have frequently sent Letters to our Br.rs to which we received No Answer. We suppose they were thrown in the fire before they reached you.

The Speech of Capt John

Now Brothers this day we are brightening chain of friendship which we hope will remain bright for ever you see our principal men setting here around you and you are sensible we never broke any agreement we made with you, you see the chiefs of the different tribes around you - our minds are firmly fixed we pay no Attention to the Stories of the little birds our Eyes and our minds are Constantly fixed on you. —

Brothers you have often told us that you would protect us and our children and the generation that is yet unborn - Brothers what we have been speaking now is firm and sure we wish to take you by the hand - and what is now said we hope may endure for ever - - this Brothers is what has long remained in our minds now we open them freely to you Brothers there is ~~men~~ four of our nation that are growing up that we have made chiefs - and we would wish to recommend them to you that you may know them - as our principel men are growing old - these are three other men which I now present to you the other is at home the one is named Unontatiake - the Second is named Guat Kantegeghte the other Karoyou - the one who is at home is Kalcataleyou we wish you to put marks upon their breasts that they may be known these men are now fixed on in future to transact our business, the necessity of informing you of this was so Strong on our minds that we sat out before we received your Message to present them to you - and to have you Accept of them ~~Brother~~

## The Governors Reply -

Brothers I have now hea what you had to Say to me I am happy to see you here and the more so as I see you but seldom and your visit arises as well from motives of friendship and affection as to transact business - Brothers from the first time I met you in Council you have always conducted yourself in a very friendly and orderly manner we made our agreements together like Brothers without any difficulty and I have always found you holding fast the Covenants Chain between us without listening to the Stories of the little birds

Brothers we have also always Kept [illegible]ment on our parts without suffering it to be violated in any particular — Brother two of our Chiefs were sent among you last fall by our great council the reason they were sent was because our Council had heard that some of the Nations were uneasy and wished to make some alterations in our agreement — we chose our chief chain drawer because you know him and another of our chief men — I am glad to hear you are Satisfied with the agreement they made with you and am particularly happy to find that our Sisters who are the owners of the land are pleased with this agreement I request you to tell the women that the path will allways be Kept open between us and that nothing shall be suffered to lay in the way to obstruct it — I have listend to what you have said respecting the Inlargement of your dish and altho I have not power of myself to alter the agreement I will lay your requests befor our Great Council — I have taken a particular discription of it in writing

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and I have no doubt but they will attend to you voice and be disposed to gratify you - I think your request is reasonable - with respect to our agreement about the Eel wire - I have left the papers in Newyork - it is of too much Importance to carry it with me when I go from home - but I will send for it, and will recommend to our Council to render you all the Satisfaction on this head, which shall be consistent with Justice and their friendship for you I will also mention to our Great Council your wishes as to your friends that live near you and will mention your desire to have them to superintend your affairs but this is business which requires deliberation - Brothers I have a word to say about the man who killed your Chief at Oswego falls when I heard of it - I sent men out after him to Canada and in every other direction - I had him taken at and paid five hundred Dollars to have him brought back he was put in Goal in this City and afterwards sent up to your Country to be tried and hanged - but Brothers you did not wish to have his life taken away

the Chiefs who went up to try im
power to speak to the relations of the m
who was killed they brought the murderer
to trial this was all they had power
to do Brothers I believe you
have sent letters that have been thrown
in the fire this has been the case with
me we live far apart and sometimes
those who carry letters get drunk and
let them fall out of their pockets and
sometimes they do wish not to deliver them
I am glad Brothers that you have had
this opportunity of opening your minds
to me freely I shall bear in mind
the names of your young chiefs and
will recommend to our Council to put
the marks on them you wish - I have
no doubt but our great Council will always
take care of you and your women
and children - In me you will always
find a friend - Brothers I know
it is time for you to be at home & to
prepare for your Spring hunting and
as soon as you can get ready to go
home I will give you a Staff and some-

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-thing to carry to our Sister

Copy Conference with
the Cayuga and Onondaga
Indians.

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At a Meeting of the Governo
with the Oneida Nation at the
Court Room in the City Hall
of the City of Albany 17th Feby 179

The Governor delivered the follo-
-wing Introductory observations

Brothers as the Cayuga and
Onondago Nations live at the greatest Distance
and have been here the longest I thought it advi-
siable to dispatch them first - Our Great Counci
are now sitting - much of my time is taken up
with them - I cannot therefore dispatch busi-
-ness with you as I could do if this was not
the Case

Capt Peter An Oneida delivered
the following Speech

Brothers open your Ears - Brothers we rej
ce that we have at this time almost at the clo
of the day brought our pipes together through
the assistance of the Great Spirit - Brother
you spoke to us a few days after we arrived at
this place, you told us to give you an answer as
quick as Convenient, as you observed we were
anxious to return home what we have now to say

we wish you to take into immediate
=ration, we expected Brothers that we
give an Answer the next day but we have
our minds easy - as we have deliberated on
the Subject here Just as if we were at
home - Brothers you told us that you
was happy to see the three nations the
Oneidas. Onondagos and Cayugas that
we were preserved on our Journey. and enabled to bring our pipes together - you also
observed to us that before your Meſsage
reached our Ears. the Cayugas and Onondagos had set out on their Journey for
this place - that they came unexpected
Now Brothers we have brought our pipes
together in order to brighten the chain
of friendship according to the Custom
of our fore fathers you also observed the other
day that it was perhaps the voice of the
little birds that we had heard - or the voice
of some of your Nation - now we have met
you here ourselves. Brothers our greatest
desire is to brighten the chain of friendship
you also observed if the voice that we heard
was from you. you would protect us, from
any that should Intrude on our Rights

Brothers you also desired us to open our minds freely in order to brighten the Chain of friendship an Keep our dish Clean we thank you for this advice. now we your Brothers of the Oneida Nation are going to speak to you we do not think it was the Voice of the little birds, we pay no attention to them. last fall you Sent two of your Chiefs to us we told them our minds freely of this, brothers you are Sensible because you Sent them. Now we are going to brighten the chain of friendship, Brothers as you observed to us in regard to the little birds we know nothing of it. you Sent two of you Chiefs t us and we heard their Voice and they heard ours. we are now here together Speaking to each other and we cannot be deceived - now Brother we are here face to face we tell you plainly tha we are not Inclined to sell or lease any of our Lands, and that was our voice to your Chiefs last fall - now Brothers we conclude with telling you that we thank you for observing that you mean to brighten the chain of friendshi and that we mean to lay our bones where our forefathers are laid - and to keep our Country for ou posterity, Now Brothers we have met you face to

face - we wish you to Confirm our
us - for one is pulling a piece here and an
there - and we Know it is in your power to
Confirm it to us

To which the Governor made
the following Reply,

Brothers I am happy that we are now face to face and that we hear the voice of each other so that it is impossible for the little birds to misrepresent what we ~~have~~ ~~to~~ say - Brothers when I met you in your own Country under the Great tree whose Branches covered us all we Conversed together about our mutual affairs and Interest - the father of the man who is now your Voice was then the voice of your Nation to me - he is gone to the world of Spirits and I hope is happy, at that time Brothers we entered into a Covenant it was understood that, that Covenant was to be permanent and lasting, It was to endure as long as the Sun shined or the water Continued to run, Brothers at that time it was well understood that if you Continued to keep your whole

Country it would be Impossible to keep the white people from it and that you would be Constantly in trouble after maturely deliberating on those matters it was agreed to reserve for you and your posterity a dish sufficiently large for them on which white people should not Settle this was Considered for our mutual advantage your chiefs and ours agreed to it Brothers from this agreement we have never departed, every thing we promised we have faithfully performed but Brothers you have now and then been much divided among yourselves some of your people have thought it their Interest to sell some of your lands some have thought best to Lease and others have thought it would be best to divide it, at least so it has been represented to us perhaps these ~~[illegible]~~ may have been the Stories of the little birds we did not know what to believe about it sometimes it was represented one way and Sometimes another it was like your Young warriors playing ball sometimes it flew one way sometimes another just when one Side seemed to gain the prize the other drove them back; so the little birds represented the Councils of your Nation and we could not know what to believe Induced our Great Council last year to two of their Chiefs among you to learn with Certainty your Situation if you really wished to Sell your land your Brothers the Great Council thought it best for you that they should buy it because you would be sure of your money if you wished to lease it we were afraid you would be Imposed on and as Brothers we thought it our duty to Interpose but Brothers we had never any Intention by this to violate the Covenant that we had made with you the dish that you reserved is your own, and you will find what I told you the other Evening to be true that our Great Council will protect you in the Enjoyment of it. all we wanted to Know was whether we could make any Arrangements to make your pots boil better or make you more happy If not I have nothing more to Say you cannot doubt but we have a great friendship for you we fought together against our common Enemy and we live on the same Island Brothers when you are ready to return home as I know your Spring hunting require your presence. I will furnish you with a Staff and a Small present for Your Women and Children

Capt Peter replied

Brothers you sent to us for ten of our Nation only there were more Who wished to come and see you A Van Eps brought five - and was at some expence we wish you to pay him or we must there were several more of our people who came in their own Sleighs this will Increase the expence we hope our Brothers will pay this also

The Governor observed as follows

Brothers - Just when I had finished speaking to you a paper was delivered to me by one of your People Stating their objections again the Lease granted to Peter Smith - this paper Says that upwards of fifty of your Nation agree in the Sentiments Stated in it ~~this paper~~

Now Brothers this must Convince you that it was not altogether the Stories of the little bird when I told y[illegible] not agreed in your Counc[illegible] some [illegible] driving the ball one way and some another I will lay this paper before our great Council and they will do what is right according to the treaty at Fort Stanwix Brothers If I should receive any paper from your people and not mention it my brothers might think I did not act Candidly. it is for this reason I mention my Receipt of this paper and tell you what I Intend to do with it you may rest aſsured that the Covenant on our part will never be broken

Capt Hendrick of the Mahiegan handed to the Govr A Petition which is annexed as is also the Speech of the Oneides above mentioned.

the Indians of the Oneida Nation by a leave of the Great council of the State had leave to Lease their Lands a part of them they have Leased to Peter Smith Twenty four Miles Long and four Miles broad for 200 Dollars a Year, which is a small Rent for so Great a Tract of Land as it will not give more than 2/ to each person in the Nation per Year their is a Number of us to the amount of 50 who have not signd nor consented to the Lease and who would wish to have the privilige to have their lands to themselves again, those who did not consent to Lease did forbid Peter Smith to Survey the Land but he would not Listen but sent a Surveyor to survey the Lands we went to the Surveyor told him to stop, he would not we then broke his chain and compass, on which he said he meant to go

200 home Brothers we now

the Great council will see Jus
tice to those who have not consent
to the Lease as well as the Nation
at large as we believe they are
convinced that they have done
wrong ~~[illegible]~~ and that the
have not Money Enough for
the Lease of so Great a Tract
Land. We therefore pray th
the Persons who sign this may
Justice done them, Brothers you
us that you would protect
depend on you for your Protect

Albany 1st Feby
1762

Jacob Atawanokta
Hendrick Tanaantagaw

and fifty Men More besides
Women & Children

To the Sachems and councillors of the Sta
w. York –

Brothers –

you are sitting round the great counci
Fire. in deliberating Publick affairs – for the welfare of
Citizens of this State – We desire you to listen to us –
while we speak to your ears we desire you to consider u
as brethren and Citizens of this State –

We acknowledge that you have taken kind notice
our nation – You have [illegible] a Law for securing our
That we may enjoy it – In that Law you also have granted us li
berty to lease our Lands for the term of ten years – which p
rivillege we have not us'd – for we find that it would be far b
for us to occupy our Lands our selves – and further whe
we look back in the days of our ancestors – and in our pre
day – in seeing the conduct of the Indians who use the Libe
f leasing Land – and the conduct of the White people w
have taken leases of the Indians – Then we are alarm
and having well acquainted with the inclination of som
wilful individals among us – We Unanimously agreed
use our endeavours to prevent impositions for the future –
in order to effected – We look to you brothers for assistance
Our request and Petition is – that you would hear us, and f
the benefit of our nation and children after us – You woul
take off that Liberty of leasing Land which you have g
us few years since – And we desire that our Minister
Liberty to enjoy a Small Lot to be called Minister Lot – and
he may also have Liberty to build an mill on the Lot – and
he may occupy the Lot long as he is living. but no longer
and that he may have liberty to sell his buildings to the
succeeded Minister or to us if case requires it –

And lastly we desire that you would add in the Law
may have liberty to buy Land from one another. and

04 Legislature to punish the person or persons
will bring Spirituous Liquors in our Town to sell—
and in so doing we will ever acknowledge your kin
ness! — We are your brethren and Petitioners —

In behalf of our nation
the Muhheconnuk —
or Stockbridge Tribe

Joseph Shauquethqueat
Joseph Quinney
John Quinney
David his X mark Nehthoonthuck
Hendrick Aupaumut
Jacob Naunauphtonk
John Metoxin

ew Stockbridge
ebruary 3d 1794

[illegible]

[illegible] with the

Orders Rel

At a meeting of the Governo
with the Cayuga Nation of Indians at Denniston's Tavern
Albany 18 February 1794

Key a Cayuga Chief
made the following Speech

Brothers open your Ears we thank the Great Spirit that he has preserved us in peace to bring our pipes once more together - Brothers we observed to you when we met here the other night that we had a part of our land which we wished you to take the Care of and pay us for it. Brothers at that time when we mentioned to you to take that part of our Reservation we expected an answer from you you have frequently observed to us Brothers that we should open our minds freely to you - it seems Brothers as if you had not taken that matter in to your Consideration we expected that you would have given us an answer - whether you wou take it or not, that we might give an answer to our people that are at home - Brothers

we wish you to Continue to op
Ears we wish you Brothers with y
Chiefs now present to give us an ans
whether you chuse to take it or not
Brothers Continue to open your Ears
now Brothers we have frequently since
we came to this place opened our
minds to you and told you what we
wanted we now wish you would open
your mind freely to us and give us your
answer Brothers we have also frequently
observed to you concerning five of your
white people who live on our reservation
two of these people Mr Paine and Mr
Gerhart these two we Insist shall
remain as to the other three you may
do as you please we have also handed
you some papers concerning these people
we would now wish your Direct answer
Brothers what we say to you now is
the voice of our whole Nation - agreed
on before we left home you see here
our principal Chiefs and the women

to whom the lands belong - we therefore wish that the two we Spoke of may remain - as for the other three we will leave it with you an Join in any thing you do - Brothers we wish you to pay particular attention to what we have to say here are Several of your chiefs - and a good many of ours and this is the voice of our whole Nation Brothers I have frequently met with you at your house at New York and talked wit you on this Subject you have promised me that you would protect us in our reservation now Brothers we hope that you will hold us fast with both hands and Continue to protect us. Brothers we wish you to pay particular attention to every thing I say - I pay particular attention to what you say - our land belongs to our women - you have said you woul do any thing in your power to make our pots boil better this we think will do it this ma Paine lives near us we wish he might live on our lands as long as he lives - Brothers we wish that you and your Chiefs here present would take into Consideration in yo to Mr Paine that he might have [illegible] according as we formerly mentioned he p[illegible]mises to build a i Mill that we should have our Grinding free forever he also promises to pay us 500 dollars as soon as we turn ourselves to go home if we can have the busineſs compleated now here and this is the reason why we are so anxious to have it finished Now Brothers we wish you to pay Attention concerning Mr Gerhardt this man has remained five Years with us and has been always ready to mend our Tomehawks Guns and Hoes he also was always ready to help us with victuals when we were hungry Brothers you have often heard from this man it was not the Stories of the little birds now we are here face to face it is the Voice of our women and the whole Nation Brothers we are not Strangers to one another we have Spoke to one another before and now Speak again we wish you to pay particular attention to what we have said Brothers you have told that we should be provided with a Blacksmith to mend our Guns - Tomahawk's &c but you have not Sent us one but we have found one. now Brothers you see us face to face our Chiefs are all here we wish you would sign the writing we gave you Concerning Gerhardt and also that Concerning Paine as we are now turning our backs and going home we have only one wor more to Say which is Concerning John Harris he is not moved off - we are not Satisfied to have him remain on the Reservation he has always talked with the Chiefs at Buffaloe Creek let them provide him with a Place he keeps a great deal of our property gets a great deal of money fo the Ferry and Never gives us any of it. Brothers we are Sensible of the agreements that you made with us at this place our Women now here and our chiefs were present at that time you reserved a certain part of our land for our own Use.

The Governors Answer

Brothers I have listend attentively to wha you have said and I heard and perfectly understand it. this you will be convinced of by my answer — Brothers I met you at this place and kindled a Council fire four or five Years ago some of you who are now present was at that Meeting, they will remember what passed between us at that time ~~I [illegible]~~ — they will recollect that we met to Consult on our mutual Concerns that the agreement ~~was~~ then made was to be binding and to last for ever you have a Copy of this agreement look at it and you will find what we three agreed upon, we were a great while together consulting on this business It was of Importance to you and your posterity the Sun Rose and Set many times while we were in Council I then told you that you had more land then you could take Care of — and that if your dis.t was too broad It would be difficult to keep the white people who were setling round you of it you wished to keep it much Larger I told you, you was wrong and wanted you to Sell the land you now offer, not that we wanted it we had land enough but because it would be best for you to part with it as the dish you wished to live on were Seperated from it by the waters Our Brothers and Sisters wished however to keep it they said the bones of their Ancestors were laid there and after you said this we mentioned no more About it. Brothe Small as your dish is after we made ~~they~~ the agreement you found our white people getting on it as soon as you Complained to me of this I sent some of our Chiefs and turned them off and pulled down their houses the papers you have now shewn me are my orders to our Chiefs for this purpose = but Brothers every now and then you take some white people to live on your land and afterwards complain to me and want them turne of - John Harris you now Complain of I never Sent to live on your Lands - you Invited him then yourselves - that has been often the case with others - we have always kept the agreement with you - Every thing we promised we have faithfully performed we have every Year paid you the money we promised you

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Brothers I desire you to pay particu attention to what I am now going to say last winter you came to NewYork to me our Brother who was then your Voice is dead but some of you now here were present you complained that some of your people at Buffaloe Creek was Selling your land to the white people you told me that you could not Spare any of your dish that it was small enough – I answered you that by the Covenant between us it could not be sold you told me that the white people came among you and they often took the advantage of you in your ungarded moments – that you was not fit to take Care of your lands you wanted me therefore to make the covenant Stronger so as to put it utterly out of your power to sell =[illegible] part of your Dish I told you to go home and remain in peace that no man could break the Covenant It was so strong already. that if any white people setled on your land my Arm was Strong and it could reach them and I would drive them off and protect you - you have found what I said to be true you remained ever since undisturbed - you have now come to see me again and if I had not seen you face to face I should have thought it wa the Stories of the little birds you now tell me that your dish is too large and you - want to part with that part that lies to the West Side of the lake - Brothers I have laid every thing you said to me at our last Meeting before our Great Council and they are now deliberating on this Subject but this is a Matter of Great Importance it Concerns your Women and Children and your children's children it ought not therefore to be determined on too suddenly - I have set down all that you said in writing and laid it before our Great Council no one man can alter ou Agreement it is so Strong your Business is too Important to be decided on in a day or in a Short time it took us more than twenty Suns to make this agreement it must take us therefore a longer time to deliberate on this matter then yo Spare to Stay here ~~and that I woul~~ I will send you an answer — Brothers you must not do business that Concerns your posterity too hastily — you have already changed your minds more than once — It may change again we must take care that you do not Change it to your disadvantage if when we Consider'd this matter we find it will be of Service to you we will take some of your dish Brothers the last Night I met you in Council I understood what you said Concerning the people Settled on your Reservation and have laid it before our Great Council but Brothers this matter must also be well considered of if our Great Council find it will be for your Interest ~~to you~~ to let these people have a dish they will do it — the Blacksmith promises very fair so does Mr Paine he is a very Good man — but Brothers John Harris was a very good man when he went to live among you ~~too~~ we must take Care to keep these men good, suppose the blacksmith should after having a dish secured to him refuse to mend our Siters hoes or the Waver's Tomahawks or Mr Paine should refuse to Grind your ~~the~~ Corn _ how could you make them do it - If they should refuse, it would cost you a long Journey to complain and me a great deal of money this has often happened, you therefore see I understand all you have said but these things cannot be done in a hurry - you must therefore prepare to go home rest your mind in peace and wait for an answer and when it comes it will be for your good we will give you a Staff to go home and Something for our sisters and whether you receive the money you expect from Mr Paine this Year or the Next it will make little difference remember Brothers if you part with your dish you can never get it back again - If I had complied with your request last Summer and made the agreement So strong that you

Could not part with your Dist

that you would be discontented for you now want to part with some of it this must convince you that we must take time to Consider well before we alter our old agreement or make a new ~~any~~ one

~~The Govr. having concluded~~ — they. mentioned

The Death of their Chief Steel Trap that they wanted something to drip up their Tears & recommended his Sister - widow and Children to the Bounty of the State. and Several other matters not material to the object of the Conferrence which ~~and~~ were therefore not taken down in writing

19th Dec 1794

Additional Conference

with the Cayugas.

## FROM JOSEPH CHEW TO THOMAS ASTON COFFIN.

MONTREAL, 20th Feby, 1794.

Dear Sir:

No Communications from the Upper Country have been Received by me for many months, Except Colonel McKee's letters of the 15th of Novr. & 13th of Decr. with John Watkins' information who had deserted from Mr. Wayne's Army, Copy of which was forwarded to you the day after they came to hand.

It has been the Constant Custom to Enter the Proceedings of all councils held with the Indians in the Superintendt. General's Office which was the case with what passed at Quebec in 1791 with the Western Deputation at the Time Lord Dorchester was going to England. I believe the above mentioned Letters from Colonel McKee was brought to Town by the Indians who went to Quebec, but as he made no mention of them and as I did not see them I am not sure of it, the Letters having been Left in the Evening when I happened to be at home.

I have heard that the Indians who went to Niagara have been dissatisfied with the presents delivered to them, but this is in a Way I cannot intirely depend upon. I am at a Loss for Colonel Butler's not sending me the Proceedings of the Councils at Buffaloe Creek in October, or a return of the Presents he Issued last year. I have wrote to him and pointedly desired this may be done.

The Quantity of Goods sent as Presents to the several Posts last Season were fully sufficient to satisfy the Indians had they been properly Issued, those at the Bay De Quinte are Very thankfull for what they had.

His Lordship may be assured that I have and shall Constantly forward Every Intelligence I may Receive Respecting Indian Affairs by the Earliest Opportunity.

I am, &c.

JOSEPH CHEW.

Letters were Received in Town yesterday from Capt. Porter at Kingston the 9th Inst. in which he says it was reported that there had been an Engagement between the Indians & Mr. Wayne's Army in Which the Americans had lost Eight hundred men, if a matter of this sort has taken Place we shall soon have the particulars.

Thos. Aston Coffin, Esqr.

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## FROM JOSEPH BRANT TO JOSEPH CHEW.

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Brant to Joseph Chew, Sec'y of Indian Affairs, not dated but from one Rec'd at the Same Time on his Private Business suppose it was Wrote the 20th Feby, 1794.

"I am not able to send you my Journal I Promised but you shall have it by a Party which I shall send down.

I cannot Close this without giving some news Respecting the Indians. we Parted from the Council last Summer seemingly divided Some insisting on the Old line, the rest of us wishing to have the Line that we laid before Lord Dorchester some time ago.

Last fall we met the American Agent at Buffaloe Creek and requested to have a positive answer. Since we have received half an Answer. They wish us to meet them in Council next summer. We are now going to Council Among our Selves Whether we shall meet them or not. how the matter will End I Cant Tell. this I will Assure you that I shall give you the Earliest information of the Business.

The reports from the Westward are that those Tribes that are for the old Line upon the Advancing of the American Army retreated from the Glaize and soon after sent an Embassy to the American General which would not be noticed unless the Whole Confederacy should send one."

a True Extract of
Capt. Brants Letter.
JOSEPH CHEW.
S.I.A.

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## FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

PHILADELPHIA, February 21st. 1794.

Sir,

From a review of your letter to my predecessor, on the 22d day of November, 1793, it appears that you had not then received such definite instructions relative to his communication of the 29th of May, 1792, as would enable you *immediately* to renew the discussion upon the subject of it.

Suspended as this negociation had been for so long a time, I have it in charge from the President of the United States, to repeat the enquiry whether any instructions have yet been received by you for pursuing those discussions? Permit me to hope for the honour of a reply at as early a moment as may be convenient.

I have the honour to be, &c.
EDMUND RANDOLPH.

P. S. I thank you for the communication of his Britannic Majesty's declaration which I have just received.

The Minister Plenipotentiary
of Great Britain.

(Printed in the Gazette of the United States, Philadelphia, 28 February, 1794.)

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## FROM GEORGE HAMMOND TO EDMUND RANDOLPH.

PHILADELPHIA, 21st. February, 1794.

Sir,

In answer to the enquiry contained in your letter of this date, I have the honour of informing you that I have not yet received the definite instructions that, as I have before assured, I expect on the subject of the discussion to which you allude.

I have the honour to be, &c.
GEO. HAMMOND.

The Secretary of State.

(Printed in the Gazette of the United States, Philadelphia 28 February, 1794.)

Canandarqua Febry. 25th. 1794.

Sir

Inclosed are the proceedings of a Council holden at Buffaloe Creek, the 7th of this instant.

There were present at the Council the principal Sachems Chiefs &c, of the Six Nations, together with one Shawane Indian, that attended the Council.

There were a number of the British from Upper Canada also, who attended the Council, agreable to the Indians request. (Vizt.) Major Littlehales, and others of the Indian department. I proceeded on business agreable to your direction. The Speach from the President was interpreted to them, and altho a little different from what they expected (yet was gratified in the same).

I also informed them respecting the supplies of Clothing &c forwarded them by the Presidents directions, which they received with much gratitude, and as a new token of his Fatherly desposition towards them, but I believe had not the same effect with those who they at present call their Brothers, the other side of the water.

They did not give me a direct answer to the

Presidents speech, as they wanted some time for several reasons. Some of their Chiefs were absent, and some of them in the Shawanoe Country, in order to find out the disposition of them towards the States &c. Captain Brant was present at the Council, and from every information I can obtain, the Six Nations together with the Chippawas will undoubtedly agree to hold a Treaty next Summer agreable to the Presidents request. — As soon as I receive their answer, will forward it without loss of time, which will probably be in one Month from the date.

I am
Sir
with sentiments of respect,
and esteem.
Your most Obedt
(signed) Israel Chapin

H. Knox Esqr

True Copy —
Jno Stagg Junr
Chief Clk W.D.

No. 5.
Canandargue - Feb: 25 - 1794

General Chapin -

Transmitting the proceedings of
the Council held at Buffaloe
Creek - 7 February 1794 -

N° 5.
Canandarqua - Feb: 25. 1794

General Chapin -

Transmitting the proceedings of
the Council held at Buffaloe
Creek - 7 February 1794 -

Copy of a Letter
from Genl Chapin
and proceedings of a
Council at Buffaloe Creek

25 Feby 1794.

N° 5.

Proceedings of the Council
of the Six Nations at
Buffalo Creek — held
— February 7th 1794 —

Copy.

you to and from the President of the United

with our proceedings, relative to a boundary line,

with his (the Presidents) answer thereto.

Brothers. (Addressed to the British)

We are glad to see you the Kings People here

as

# Proceedings of a Council holden at Buffaloe-Creek. February 7th 1794.

Present,

The principal Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors of the Mohawk, Cayuga, Seneka, Onoida, Delaware, and Tuskarora Nations of Indians.

(From the United States) General Chapin the Superintendant, Mr Colt, and Mr Parish, the Interpreters.

(From Upper Canada) Major Littlehales, Captain Bumbary and the Officers of the Indian department.

After going through the usual ceremonies of congratulation, Red Jacket a Seneka Chief spoke as follows.

Brothers, (Addressed to General Chapin)

We are happy that the Great Spirit has protected you to and from the President of the United States, with our proceedings, relative to a boundary line, and with his (the Presidents' answer thereto.

Brothers. (Addressed to the British)

We are glad to see you the Kings People here,

as

No 5.
Canandaigua - Feb. 25. 1794

as we sent for you to listen to the answer of the President of the President of the United States.

— Now, Brothers of the United States, proceed. —

" General Chapin returned the compliment to the Indians adding that he was glad, they had sent for the Kings People, to hear the speech about to be delivered; observing also that the sickneſs in Philadelphia, and Congreſs not being met, together had occasioned his delay.

General Chapin then read the Presidents Speech. After the Speech had been interpreted by Mr Parish, General Chapin said. —

"Brothers,

Having been absent from my family a greater part of the time for the last year, I hope to have an answer to the Presidents speech as soon as you can conveniently give one.

"Brothers,

When I was in Philadelphia, I requested your Father the President of the United States, to give each of your people, who attended the treaty last summer a suit of Clothes as a reward for their services. I likewise desired him to furnish your poor, and distreſsed people with some ammunition, and a few articles of Clothing, and it is with pleasure I can inform you, that those requests were readily granted.

I have procured the articles for you, and expect they will be shortly brought to my house.

Red Jacket replied. —

"Brothers, (Of the United States)

We have heared the speech which has been delivered to us, with great attention, and shall now remove the Council fire to our Castle, to take it into private consideration. —

Red Jacket then took the speech, and belt, and gave it to Major Littlehales, desiring him to peruse it attentively.

Major Littlehales then addreſsed himself to the Indians as follows; returning the strings of black and white wampum, which had been given him to attend the Council.

"Brothers,

Agreeably to your invitation, communicated to me, in the absence of the Governor from Niagara, (and for his information) soliciting my attendance, with some of the King your fathers Officers,

together

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together with the Officers of your own department, we immediately proceeded here, and thank the Great Spirit for bringing us safe to your Council fire.

February 9th 1794.

Present as before (vizt) The Principal Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors of the Six Nations, Red Jacket Speaker — Mr Parish Interpreter.

"Brothers,

We have taken your speech into consideration, and our eldest Brother, Captn Brant is to relate the result of our meeting in private council yesterday.

Captain Brant then spoke as follows, with nine strings of white and black Wampum.

"Brothers.

I now address myself to you Genl Chapin of the United States, and to you Major Littlehales in behalf of the King, and thank the Great Spirit for bringing us again together in Council, as what we are agoing to relate, we wish the world to know.

"Brothers.

You have both heard the meſsage we delivered to our Brothers of the United States, last fall, relative to a boundary line, and we expected a positive answer, from you Brothers of the United States, whether you would accept it or not.

"Brothers,

When we delivered the meſsage to you last fall, for the United States, we had first taken it into serious consideration. — We spoke the language of our hearts, and the Great Spirit knew our minds, All the Six Nations were of the same opinion, and we are well aſsured, that had the United States accepted our proposed boundary line, peace would have certainly taken place.

"Brothers,

The Speech you have brought, has given us great uneasineſs, we are greatly at loſs how to act; we expected a direct answer to our proposals for a boundary line, now we are much distreſsed that you have brought us but half an answer. — The kindling a Council fire at a distant place is what we are not prepared to give a reply to.

"Brothers,

No 5.
Canandaigua - Feb: 25. 1794

"Brothers,

Provided the United States had accepted our proposed boundary line, we should have sent immediately to our western Brethren, who know our sentiments, and we should have attended your Council, and confirmed it.

"Brothers,

Make your minds easy; but in consequence of the importance of your speech, we must have time to deliberate very seriously upon it. We cannot give you an immediate answer - We must have a general council of all the Chiefs - only a few are now present, and we should all be together. - The reason of so much counseling at different times, has proceeded from so small a number of our Sachems, and Chiefs being assembled, and this has been the principal cause of our present trouble.

"Brothers,

You General Chapin live near us - we have two months and a half to consider of your speech, and by that time we will give you a final answer. We pray the Great Spirit, that these difficulties may terminate to the happiness of both parties.

"Brothers,

You requested an answer as soon as was convenient, but in such very weighty busineſs, it is impoſsible to give one immediately. With regard to provision, there is plenty in your Country, and if we should agree to meet you, you need not be particular about what we shall consume, for we shall not expect any thing but Provision.

"Brothers,

We now conclude, and we pray the Great Spirit to protect you safe home, and we desire that you will bear it continually on your minds, that you will soon receive an answer.

"The Nine Strings of wampum delivered to Genl. Chapin."

The addreſs of Genl. Chapin to the Six Nations.—

"Brothers,

I thank the Great Spirit for preserving us and am happy that we are again met together on this important busineſs.— The answer that you have made to the Presidents speech has been taken down in writing.

"Brothers,

The buſineſs which has been laid before you, is of great importance, and it gives me great pleasure that you consider it so, and that you are agoing to call together all your Sachems, and Chiefs to consider upon it seriously.

"Brothers,

You may rest aſsured, that your father Genl. Washington wishes

N.o 5.
Canandaigua - Feb: 25. 1794

wishes for peace; and the reason he wishes for the prop
=ed treaty, is that all the Indian Nations may come, an
talk together in a most serious manner. — It is his desire,
that those that are at war, as well as the other Indian
Nations, may come and discuss the matter fairly, to fi
where the difficulty lies, that peace may be made. —
He is sensible that the Six Nations have been very
active in endeavouring to bring about a peace, and h
-hopes that their good works may be attended with
success.

"Brothers,

I shall now return to my seat, and wait patie
-ly for your final answer; and I earnestly hope
that all the Indian Nations may be agreed; and,
that matters may be settled in such a manner, as
will give satisfaction to the United States, and to
the Indian Nations.

True Copy.

Jno. Stagg Junr
Ch. Clerk. W.D.

No. 4. Message from the Secretary

Canandarqua February 25th 1794

Sir

Inclosed are the proceedings of a Council holden at Buffaloe Creek the 7th of this Instant. There were present at the Council the principal sachems Chiefs &c of the six Nations together with one Shawane Indian that attended the Council. There were a number of the British from Upper Canada also who attended the Council agreeable to the Indians request viz. Major Littlehales and others of the Indian department. I proceeded on business agreeable to your direction. The speech from the President was interpreted to them, and altho a little different from what they expected (yet was gratified in the same) I also informed them respecting the supplies of Clothing &c. forwarded them by the Presidents directions which they received with much gratitude and as a new token of his fatherly disposition towards them; but I believe had not the same effect with those who they at present call their brothers, the other side of the water. They did not give me a direct answer to the Presidents speech as they wanted some time for several reasons - Some of their Chiefs were absent and some of them in the Shawanoe Country in order to find out the disposition of them towards the States & Captain Brant was present at the Council and from every information I can obtain the Six Nations together with the

Chippewas will undoubtedly agree to hold a treaty next Summer agreeably to the Presidents request — As soon as I receive their anſwer will forward it without loſs of time which will propably be in one month from the date —

I am Sir
with sentiments of reſpect & eſteem
Your most obed. Servant
(signed) Israel Chapin —

H. Knox Esqr.

Proceedings of a Council holden at Buffaloe Creek February 7. 1794

Present. The principal sachems chiefs and Warriors of the Mohawk, Cayuga, Seneca, Oneida, Delaware and Tuskarora Nations of Indians. From the United States Genl. Chapin the Superintendant, Mr. Colt and Mr. Parish the Interpreter. (From Upper Canada) Major Littlehales, Capt. Bumbary and the Officers of the Indian department.

After going through the usual ceremonies of congratulation Red Jacket a Seneca Chief spoke as follows

Brothers (Addreſsed to Genl. Chapin

We,

[redacted]

We are happy that the Great Spirit has protected you to and from the President of the United States, with our proceedings, relative to a boundary line, and with his (the Presidents) answer thereto.

"Brothers." (addressed to the British)

We are glad to see you the Kings People here, as we sent for you to listen to the answer of the President of the United States.

— Now Brothers of the United States proceed. —

"Gen.l Chapin returned the compliment to the Indians, adding that he was glad they had sent for the Kings people to hear the speech about to be delivered; observing also that the sickness in Philadelphia, and Congress not being met together had occasioned his delay. —

Gen.l Chapin then read the Presidents speech —

After the Speech had been interpreted by M.r Parish, Gen.l Chapin said —

"Brothers.

Having been absent from my family a greater part of the time, in the last year, I hope to have an answer to the Presidents speech as soon as you can conveniently give one.

"Brothers.

When I was in Philadelphia, I requested of your Father the President of the United States to give

is almost exhausted.

give each of your people who attended the treaty last summer, a suit of Clothes as a reward for their services. I likewise desired him to furnish your poor and distressed people, with some ammunition and a few articles of clothing, and it is with pleasure I can inform you that those requests were readily granted. I have procured the articles for you, and expect they will shortly be brought to my house.

Red Jacket replied

"Brothers, (of the United States)

We have heared the speech which has been delivered to us, with great attention, and shall now remove the council fire to our Castle to take it into private consideration. —

Red Jacket then took the speech and belt and gave it to Major Littlehales desiring him to peruse it attentively.

Major Littlehales then addressed himself to the Indians as follows, returning the Strings of black and white Wampum, which had been given him to attend the Council.

"Brothers.

Agreably to your invitation, communicated to me in the absence of the Governor from Niagara, (and for his information) soliciting my attendance, with some of the King your Fathers Officers, together with the Officers of your own department; we immediately proceeded here, and thank the great Spirit for bringing us safe to your Council fire.

February 9th 1794.

Present as before (viz). The principal Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations.

Red Jacket speaker    Mr Parish Interpreter

Brothers.

We have taken your speech into consideration, and our eldest Brother Captain Brant is to relate the result of our meeting in private council yesterday.

Captn Brant then spoke as follows, with nine strings of white and black Wampum.

Brothers.

I now address myself to you Genl Chapin of the United States, and to you Major Littlehales, in behalf of the King, and thank the Great Spirit for bringing us again together in Council, as what we are agoing to relate, we wish the world to know. —

Brothers.

You have both heard the message we delivered to our Brothers of the United States last fall relative to a boundary line, and we expect a positive answer, from you Brothers of the United States whether you would accept it or not.

Brothers.

When we delivered the meſsage to you last fall for the United States we had first taken it into serious consideration. — We spoke the language of our hearts, and the Great Spirit knew our minds. — All the six nations were of the same opinion, and we are well aſsured that had the United States accepted our proposed boundary line peace would have certainly taken place.

"Brothers.

The speech you have brought has given us great uneasineſs, we are greatly at loſs how to act, we expected a direct answer to our proposals of a boundary line, now we are much distreſsed that you have brought us but half an answer. — The kindling a Council fire at a distant place is what we are not prepared to give a reply to.

"Brothers.

Provided the United States had accepted our proposed boundary line we should have sent immediately to our Western Brethren, who know our sentiments, and we should have attended your Council, and confirmed it.

"Brothers.

Make your minds easy; but in consequence of the importance of your speech, we must have time to deliberate very seriously upon it. We cannot give you an immediate answer — We must have a general Council of all the Chiefs — only a few are now present, and we should

all

[redacted]

all be together. — The reason of so much counselling at different times, has proceeded from so small a number of our Sachems, and Chiefs being aſsembled, and this has been the principal cause of the present trouble.

"Brothers.

You Genl. Chapin live near us — we have two months and a half to consider your speech; and by that time we will give you a final answer. We pray the Great Spirit that these difficulties may terminate to the happineſs of both parties.

"Brothers.

You requested an answer as soon as was convenient; but in such very weighty busineſs it is impoſsible to give one immediately. — With regard to provision there is plenty in your country, and if we should agree to meet you, you need not be particular about what we shall consume, for we shall not expect any thing but provision.

"Brothers.

We now conclude, and we pray the Great Spirit to protect you safe home, and we desire that you will bear it continually on your minds, that you will soon receive an answer.

The Nine Strings of Wampum delivered to Genl. Chapin.

"The Addreſs of Genl. Chapin to the Six Nations."

"Brothers.

I thank the Great Spirit for preserving us, and am happy that we are again met together on this important busineſs. — The answer that you have made to the Presidents speech has been taken down in writing.

Brothers.

The busineſs which has been laid before you is of great importance, and it gives me great pleasure that you consider it so, and that you are a going to call together all your Sachems, and Chiefs to consider upon it seriously.

Brothers.

You may rest aſsured that your Father, Genl. Washington wishes for peace; and the reason he wishes the proposed Treaty, is, that all the Indian Nations may come and talk together in a most serious manner. — It is his desire that those that are at war, as well as the other Indian Nations may come, and discuſs the matter fairly; to find where the difficulty lies, that peace may be made. He is sensible that the six Nations have been very active in endeavouring to bring about a peace, and he hopes that their good works may be attended with succeſs.

Brothers.

I shall now return to my seat, and wait patiently for your final answer: and I earnestly hope that all the Indian Nations may be agreed: and that matters may be settled in such a manner, as will give satisfaction to the United States, and to the Indian Nations

To our great Chief of the State of New York

Brother ~ you sent two of your Chiefs to us in Septr 1793. to ask of us for some of our Lands. We heard them and sold them as much of our Lands as we were willing to dispose of at that time and they paid us some Money and promised us some more which we was to have had the first of last June but it did not come and we want to know the reason. as we meant to stand to the agreement we made with your Chiefs—

Brother ~ We heard that you was Sick and unable to do business and that stopped us from coming down And we got our Brother Colbrath to do our business with you and let you know what we want—

Brother ~ When we sold our Lands to your Chiefs we told them that we expected our Brothers the white People that was on our Land to stay on it by their paying you for the Land—

Brother ~ It will be very bad for us to have the white People that we are acquainted with to go away and Strangers come that we cannot speak with for Cattle and Horses often get into our Corn and we go to our Brother Danforth and he sees us paid

Brother ~ We wish that our Brother Colbrath and Danforth may have orders to have some fences made around our Corn Ground—

Brother ~ We hope you will confirm the Land to our Friend Webster which we gave him

Brother ~ We send you the Names of our Brothers we wish to stay on our Lands with us. are Asa Danforth. Ephraim Webster, Comfort Tyler Sir Curtis. Reuben Patterson. & Daniel Earle Patrick Campbel. & John Brown—

Brother { As those Men understand
our Custom it will give us great sat
for them to live with us so as to keep Peace
us and Strangers—

Brother { We Wish the Money that you send to
may be left at Onondaga & we agree with
our Brothers at Buffaloe that they have a pa
of the Money we wish to have them come
receive it—

Brother { We wish to have the Salt Spring
the West side of the Onondaga Lake to be set
a part for our benefit & that on the Eas
side for the benefit of the White People

Korhichdotoe his X m
Capt John + his ma
Towantegthke his X ma
Capt John his X ma
Kanandelae his X ma
Capt Jones his X ma
Aunogea his X ma
Kynwea his X ma

Watertown
Feby 26th

20

To his Excellency George Clinton Esqr

New York

Canandarguea March 4th 1794 –

The Indians who were proceeding to Albany agreeable to the Govenors Request, Call'd on me, and the following Speach I received from them – Clear Sky Spoke as follows –

Brother. You recollect at Buffaloe Creek we mentioned to You respecting our meeting you at Canandarguea, we now have arrived. but Fish Carryer who was then present and agreed to Cum, was Detained on account of Lameneſs.

Br. The Council we last held at Buffaloe Creek, was of Consequence, and the buſineſs we are now on is the same – At that Council a Meſsage came from the Govenor Desireing us to Repair to Albany, to ſettle some buſineſs Respecting our Lands, which made it Neceſsary to Send to Grand River for some of our Chiefs from that place – The Govenor having Sent for our Chiefs so that a proper underſtanding might take place, we Who are present have come forward together with one Mohawk – to se what will be done & what Contract will take place.

We Recd. the Govenors meſsage, and was glad to hear it; as we wish to se the Govenor and reveal our mind to Him. As he has not before pd. that attention to the principal Chiefs which he ought, as he has been trading with but few of the Indians living at Cayuga and Onadago. which we Consider as it were but Children. with whome he has traded. which was not properly intitled to diſpose of the Lands without our Consent –

But has Generally Confirmed his bargains with those few and Neglected the principal Chiefs who are the proper owners of the Land. Br. You recollect last fall we understood the Govnor wish'd to purchase our Lands, but we declined meeting on acount of the Winter Season being so near approaching, and would not so well acomadate the business. & Desired it might be postponed untill Spring - and we concieve the Govnor has wished to trade with a few who reside on the Lands at Cayuga & Onadago, without Consulting the principal Chiefs, or proper owners. and we consider him as one who wishes to defraud us of our Lands

We who are present are glad of this opportunity to go and express our minds to the Govnor, as he has always heard to those who we consider Children and disannulled every other bargain made by the Nations.

Brother - I hope You have paid attention to what we have said.

The council which must finally terminate this business, must be holden at Buffalo Creek the place Determined to decide all such business, so that that all the Chiefs and Six Nations may have a proper understanding of all that takes place, and as the afforesaid place is the place of our doing business. Shall take the Govnor by the Hand and invite him there. It is our Determination to persuade the Govnor to rise from His seat, and cum into our Country at Buffalo Creek the place of our doing business, and there to determine the Terms of our Bargain. As we mean this meeting to be the last respecting the lands - Former purchases made by the Govnor has much disturbed our minds, as he has traded with Boys &c in futture we mean to have the Govnor cum forward into our Country and make his

Bargains at Buffaloe-Creek. The Reason why we go to Albany is not because we expect to Obtain presents &c. Former bargains have made much difficulty and has broke the Nations apart; we wish therefore that the Govinor will cum forward and make such Bargains as will give content to the whole as we never have been to the Govinor and offered our lands to him. and hope he will not indeavor to presuade us to sell our lands at Albany.

Br. You recollect we mentioned to You at Buffaloe Creek to go with us to Albany as You being appointed to oversee Indian Affairs we look to you for advice, and Desire You will go to Albany with us & also your Interpreter, and as Doctor Kerr is Company with us and is well acquainted with the manner of Treating the business respecting Indians, we hope and belive, that Justice will be done to us. And hope You will prevail with the Govinor to cum into our Country to settle the business.

The reason why we wish the Govinor to cum into our Country is that we may make a final Settlement with regard to our lands.

Speach Delivered by
Clear Sky.
March 4th 1794

Canandarqua March 4th 1794

In answer to Clear Sky — as follows —

Brothers — I am sorry that Fish Carrier could not attend with You but am happy to see You that are present.

Brs You appear by your ſpeech to be a little diſsatisfied at the Govenors proceedings heretofore with reſpect to Your Lands. I have not been knowing to them in general and cannot answer You in that Reſpect but ſuppoſe he had done what was right.

Brs You inform'd me it was not agreeable to Your minds for to ſell your Lands last fall to the Commiſsinors. I communicated this information to them but notwithſtanding they proceeded & and purchased that of the Onadagoes.

Brs I saw the Govenor & inform'd him it was not agreeable to Your mind what had takin place by the Commiſsinors, he then ſent for You that matters might be rightly underſtood and nothing would be considred binding untill he had heard your Terms respecting a sail.

Brs The Govenor considers You to be the proper owners of the Land as well as those living on the ſame — The lands are Your own and You have a rite to ſell it to the Govenor as he is the proper man to ſell to. And can receive Your pay in that place You may agree to with him. And You are wise men and I doubt not but You will agree on Terms

that

Will accomadate all parties - Brothers What I want of You is to be United and become as one Nation and do every thing in Your power that will most conduse to peace.

Brothers - If you can make up your minds among You that are present to sell your lands I believe it would be best, however You must do that which You suppose to be best for the Indians in general.

Brs — You mentioned to Mr. Wemple respecting supplys on the road to Albany what is Neceſsary will be furnished You and if you proceed I have not a doubt but every matter will be accomadated to your minds.

Brs — You recollect I mentioned to you respecting going with You to Alby, I engaged to go with you or send my ſon, I shall proceed my ſelf and alſo my Interpreter with You to Albany, As I allways endeavor to Aſsist You in aney matter of Consequence.

Speaich in Answer
to Clear Sky.
March 4th 1794.

# I

## Albany 13th - March 1794. —

At a meeting of the Governor with the Cayugas and Onondagas from Buffalo Creek and the Grand River,

The little Cayuga Chief ſpoke as follows,

Brother,

We are glad to see you at the Council Fi which you have kindled at this place. We thank the Great Spirit for having protected us and brought us together. Som of us were at Buffalo Creek when we receive your meſsage - others at Grand River - We thought it advisable to ſend for them The distance is great and we were prevente by storms from meeting you as soon as Some of our Brethren who have been with you and have returned home. —

Brother,

As it has been the custom of our forefathe and the rules they followed we wish to keep up - your leading characters are frequently dropping off - it is the case wit others - I can scarcely refrain from tears when I look at you - I will endeavor to wipe the tears from your eyes, open you ears, and clear your throat that you ma see and hear us and ſpeak to us with a ſtrong voice - This has been customary with our fore-fathers when they met - Brother this is all we have to ſay at present. —

To which the Governor replied

Brothers -

I am happy to see you at the Council Fire and I join with you in thanks to the Great Spirit for conducting you here in safety and health. Although the path is open and clear, yet the distance is great and the weather has been bad —

Brs It was a custom with our fore-fathers even when they had no particular business to meet together and converse upon their mutual interests. When our great Council invited your Nation to this place, the place where our fathers used to meet, their object was to brighten the Chain of friendship an to know whatever was necessary to promote your happiness - I have informed them that you have arrived - I now meet to take you by the hand and as soon as the Great Council have deliberated I shall proceed with you to business.

Albany 15 March 1794.

The Governor being prevented by indisposition from meeting the Cayugas and Onondagas from Buffalo Creek and the Grand Riv now in this City who had signified a desi to confer with him this morning reques his Secretary together with John Taylor Esqr to attend and receive their communications, which being announced to the said Indians,

The Little Cayuga Chief rose and spoke as follows ______

Brothers - Attention —

Upon our return home last fall from the great Council Fire kindled at Miami, we were informed that the Government of this State wished to treat with the Indians for their lands. When we heard this request, we desired it might be postponed till next Spring.

About the middle of this Winter, we received a Message requesting us to attend the Great Council Fire at this place. Upon which it was considered by the principal Chiefs in the general Council of the Six Nations and it was agreed that deputies from the Onondagas and Cayugas should be appointed to attend this Council Fire.

We have great Councils among ourselves. Let those who wish to treat with us send Commissioners to our Council Fire which is generally held at Buffalo Creek. When the Deputies were thus appointed to attend your Council Fire, they were instructed by the Head Chiefs to request that Commissioners should be appointed by the government of the State to attend a Council at Buffalo Creek which would give satisfaction to our Chiefs & Warriors their Women and Children. —

The small Councils that have been held for several years back have created great dissatisfaction. I present these strings to lead the Commissioners by the hand to Buffalo Creek.

(Six Strings of Wampum!

Brothers.

Do not in opposition to this request

allud

alledge that you are thronged with business. The were three Commissioners last spring to conf with us — Let Commissioners be again appointed to meet us at Buffaloe creek about the middle of the following April.

We wish that Mr. John Harris should also attend with them.

At our Council at Buffaloe Creek it was agreed to request Genl. Chapin and his Interpreter and Mr. John Harris and also Dr. Ker of the British to attend with us. In compliance with which they are now here.

Brothers,

This is the Message we had from our Head Sachems. We request that it may receive as early a consideration as possible by the Great Council, that we may have a speedy answer and return home. —

Albany 17 March 1794

At a meeting of the Governor with the said Indians — from Buffaloe Creek and the Grand River —

The Governor addressed them as follows

Brothers

thers

My health did not permit me to meet you on Saturday. I sent my Secretary to hear what you had to communicate — He took it down in writing and delivered it to me — I have read it and understand it.

Brothers,

It would take more time than I can at present spare to relate all that has paſsed between your Nations and me since the clos of the late War. It is neceſsary however to remind you that as soon as peace was reſtore I kindled a Council Fire at Fort Stanwix and invited you to meet me at it. The Oneidas an very reſpectable deputations of all your other Nations aſsembled at that place. We shoo hands and embraced each other as Brothers. We wiped away the blood that had been shed in the War — We condoled each other for our mutual loſses and dried up ~~for~~ our tears. I pulled up the briars and brambles that had grown up in the path between u and removed every obstruction in the wa that we might renew our former friendly intercourse. We revived the antient covenan which had existed between our fore-fathers We brightened the chain of friendship. I invited you to return to your lands and enjoy your Country and aſsured you of our protection and good will — I explained to you our Constitution and Laws and ſhewed you that we had taken great pains to preſerv for you your lands and that to prevent you bei being defraudded that no person could purchas of you without the consent of our government. We spent many days together, remin each other of our former customs which we determined to abide by and then parted mutually satisfied with this happy meeting

Brothers,

Notwithstanding this, it was not long before we heard that you was treating with some of our young people for the of almost the whole of your Country and tha you had actually entered into some agreemen with them concerning it. This was so contrary to our laws and former customs and wha had been so lately agreed upon between us, and might be productive of so much mischief, that it became our duty to interfere and prevent it. I accordingly kindle another Council Fire at Fort Stanwix and invited you all to attend in order to rectify this error — Some of you, the Oneidas and Onondagas only attended — We had explanations with each other in that friend manner that becomes brothers when any misunderstanding arises between them — Your people saw that they had done wrong They were sorry for it and disannulled it an we then entered into a new and strong covenant never to be altered or violated — It wa well understood — it was pleasing to both parties — it was to last forever.

The winter following the Cayugas who remained in their own Country met me at a Council Fire t this place and made a similar covenant with

me and I then hoped that every thing wa
ially adjusted to general satisfaction - but
it was not long before I was informed that
ſome of your Nations who had left their Count
and resided at Buffaloe Creek were not contente
with theſe agreements because they were not
present at their completion. Theſe Counc
Fires were kindled at the places where our
Anceſtors usually aſsembled to transact public
buſineſs - I invited you all to attend - I could
do no more - I could not force you to meet.
I did every thing that was proper or neceſsary
on my part. Notwithstanding being actuated
by an earnest desire of promoting harmony
among you, which I considered eſsential to
your happineſs, I determined to kindle
another Council Fire at Fort Stanwix whi
I did about three or four years ago and at
which the Fish Carrier and all the princip
Chiefs of your Nations together with Capt.
Brandt and a number of our brethren of
the Mohawks attended. On this occasion,
Brothers, you may very well remember tha
we conversed upon our former transactio
- that after perfectly understanding them, they
were solemnly ratified and confirmed by
your Chiefs in the presence of Capt. Brand
and all the Nations then present - that we
signed and sealed them and each party
took a Copy that what had been done migh
not be forgotten even by our Posterity. This
covenant ſo perfectly understood and so
solemnly ratified, I had reason to expect
would be faithfully observed by all parties.
On our ſide it has been kept without the
least deviation - Every thing we promised, we
have faithfully performed and shall continue to
do

do so. It was however not long before we hea
that you were treating with some of your
Young Men at New Town Point and ha
leased to them the lands reserved for you
use. This Brothers was so contrary to our
Agreements and ſo repugnant to our forme
customs and to our laws, that we could no
consent to it and the lease was according
declared to be void by the President of th
United States. We were ſoon after informe
that this gave you ſome diſsatisfaction bec
you wished to sell or lease your lands. Genl.
Chapin who is now present mentioned it to
me laſt year and I communicated it to our
Great Council then sitting in New York;
Upon which they appointed three Com-
miſsioners, one of whom was Genl. Chapin,
to confer with you on this subject in ord
that your minds might be made easy
Theſe men went to your Country laſt fal
on this buſineſs but it ſeems you did not
listen to their voice for they did not find
you there.

Brothers,

You must be sensible that this thoug
a short is a true detail of every transactio
that has taken place between us and I
conceive it proper to remind you of it
to remove any improper impreſsions whic
the stories of the little Birds may have made
on your minds. These birds are the Emiſsaries
which designing men generally employ to
create ſtrife between brothers and promot
their own interested views. Our governmen
have never listened to the stories of the little birds.

They

at your Ancient seat Speak differently. they say that you have left your Country and now want to Sell the Land th they live on. and have taken care of. Brothers. I do not meddle with your disputes. I wish to reconcile you to each other. and do equal Justice to both parties. it w for this purpose. I formerly Kindled a second council fi at Fort Stanwix some of you were there I recollect yo Faces. and you know the pains I took to reconcile yo to each other and do you equal Justice. it was with th View also. that I now sent for your principal Chiefs w were authorized to Transact your business. my Messag was to your Nation. and I desired the Nation to Notify each other. in order that Harmony might be restored among you. Brothers.

If your Chiefs had attended we cou have conversed together upon our business Face to Face like men and have unbosomed ourselves to each othe Truly. and would have explained the different Transactions that has taken place between us. I have done this now to you and I appeal to you, whether any thing that I have related is not Strictly True. Your Chief at a great distance says that we want to defraud you. now we are face to face I call upon you to point out a

Single Instance in which we have not acted fairly openly and honestly with you as Brothers should do with each other or in which we have failed to fulfil our agreements with you Speak freely Brothers this is the best way to preserve Friendship because Brothers if you can Convince us that we have ~~done~~ done wrong in any Instance it is in our power to Correct it. and we wish to do it

Brothers. we never desired to buy your reserved Lands, it was our duty to Protect you in the enjoyment of them according to the Covenant between us this we have always been ready to do. but your friend General Chapin said that you was discontented. that you wanted to sell or Lease your Lands and this Induced our Great Council to send me among you to Confer with you on the Subject. He was one of them He is now here present I call upon him to mention whether this is not true. our Commissioners Sent Messages to you to meet them at a Council fire that they were about to kindle in your country. you did not listen to their Voice it seems you could not conveniently attend they could only Invite you, they could not force you to it. they accordingly met your Brothers who live upon the Land. and confered with them. this they did not Consider

SEC

Consider as Injuring you, and I doubt not but that they would be able to explain their Conduct in the most Satisfactory manner, if your Chiefs who were now Invited to attend here were present to hear them -

Brothers I have now done I expect that you will answer me freely and unreservedly this is the best way to preserve Friendship, it best becomes men and Warriors - We should keep Nothing disagreeable upon our minds we should disclose it all to each other -

Answer of the Little Cayuga Chief -

Brother you requested us to mention the time and place when you have wronged us, and the particular Instances, as you consider yourself a Friend, we will Tell you -

What we mean is that we wanted Your Commissioners to postpone the business last Year, as we were not ready, but they came on like Strong headed men, and Treated with Boys at Onondago - The Annual payments are made to the Indians residing there also, who wrong the Majority of them

Propery. when we speak of you we only mean the Ma
You sent among us. we have buried the Bargains with
The Onondagoes. as well as those we made with your
Young Men, we hope there will be a New Bargain
made, to the satisfaction of the Nation.

The Governor Replied

Brothers. as to the
annual payments you know they are by our
agreement with you to be made at Fort Stanwi
on a Certain day. and it has always been do
we pay them to those of your Nation who attend
we cannot pay them to you if you do not atte
to receive them, if you did you would get Yo
full proportion. and if there is any thing wrong in this it
is your own fault and not ours.

Brothers. I shall now lay before
our great Council all that has passed betwe
us. and mention to them the anxious desire yo
have expressed to me of having your business dis
patched so that you may Immediately return th
and as soon as I receive their Answer I will
Communicate it to You

HC

Conferences with
The Cayuga and
Onondaga Indians.
No. 4
1794

Proceedings at an Indian Council held at Kingston
March 18th 1794-

Present
Capt Porter - Ens: Frasier 60th Regt -
Ens: Mayne Queens Rangers.

Capt John, Mohawk Speaker-

Father- We have requested to meet you here this morning and we are happy to see you present. - - - ——

Father. Our ears have been stopped a long time and being a poor people out of the way have not those opportunities of obtaining information as you have by News Papers and other means. - - - - - - - -

Father. We have heard flying Reports that you British have made Peace with the United States- We have also heard that your Forts on their side the Water are to be ceded to them and that they will shortly settle on the opposite bank of this water.

Father We likewise heare that the Six Nation

Indians have made a Treaty with the people of the U States- we wish to hear Father if these things are true in order that we may be prepared what to say at a Council of the 6 Nations to which we expect to be called ~~to~~ in the ensuing Spring -

Father- The People of the United States are coming very near us- Father. They may drive your people out of this countrey if so you have another countrey to take shelter in- we shall be glad to know Father what is to become of us.

Father during ye last war when the 6 Nations fled into Canada Some of the English secured themselves in Garrisons others went to Great Britain, and left them to shift for themselves the best way they could Perhaps this may be the case again-

Father If this should be the case I shall be ashamed to hold up my head- Upon my leaving their countrey in the year 1775 at a meeting of the Six Nations at Albany they told me I had better remain in it as one day all the English would be driven out of America -

Father - This is all we have at present to say to you we wish for an answer as soon as convenient.

Capt Porter then spoke.

Brothers We have heard all you have said and have attended to it and as soon as we have submitted the purport of your Speech to our Father the Governor we will give you an answer

Richard Porter
Capt. 60 Regt Comg

Wm Fraser
Ensign 60th Regt

Wm Mayne Ens: QRs

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Kingston

Ricelake Indians and

Mohawks

employed by Genl. Haldimand, in the intercourse he held with the Inhabitants of Vermont.

In respect to the Message from Egushwai to Captn. Brant, he does not conceive it to have been expressed in those terms that Mr. Allen informed me he had delivered it; at the same time Brant says that being at that time very ill, he might not pay it the attention requisite. I have the honor to be, &c.,

J. G. Simcoe.

Rt. Honble. Lord Dorchester.

## GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE'S SPEECH TO THE SIX NATIONS.

To all the Sachems, Chiefs & Warriors of the Six Nations.

Brothers:

We have all to lament the unfortunate death of Captain Bigtree who put an end to his existence about two months since. I made every enquiry into the cause of his death, and ordered thirteen of my warriors to examine the Body, and give me their opinion in writing under their hands & seal, which I now send to you by our friend Mr. Rosecrantz.

A few days after his arrival three Delawares arrived at this Cantonment with a flag & message from the hostile Indians proposing to me to fix a time & place for holding a treaty in order to agree upon the terms on which peace should be made. I now send you a copy of that message together with my answer which will be delivered to you by Mr. Rosecrantz.

Captain Bigtree was present & heard the message from the hostile Indians to me, and my answer to that message.

I then made this short speech to the Delaware Messengers:

Nephews: I call you, because you have always acknowledged the Six Nations your uncles. I am pleased to find that your pride is lowered & that you begin to come to your reason, you were too proud last summer to listen to the Commissioners of the thirteen fires & your uncles.

I will only just inform you that the voice of the Thirteen fires is the voice of the Six Nations, therefore tell your chiefs & warriors to listen to the voice of their great chiefs. Tell them immediately to comply with his demands & deliver up all Prisoners within the course of thirty days, and not to neglect if they wish to see their children grow up to be men and women.

That same night Captain Bigtree had some angry talk with the Delawares, whether he ate and drank with them afterwards, or whether they gave him something which put him out of his reason afterwards I cannot tell, but certain it is that from that time to the moment of his Death he was melancholy & deranged untill the last moment of his death when stabbing himself with his own knife.

Brothers: I have now told you every thing that has taken place & all that was said to and with the hostile Indians, since which I have not seen or heard any thing further from them, except that they murder our People & steal our Horses whenever they have an opportunity, so that all prospect of peace is now done away. I have therefore every reason to believe that the only object the hostile Indians had in view was to Reconnoitre our Situation & to see our numbers & to gain time to collect their Warriors from their different hunting camps in order to fight us & continue the war.

Brothers: I was informed by Captain Bigtree that many of your people had died last Summer in consequence of something you had eat, when at the Council with the hostile Indians at the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake & that my friend & Brother, the New Arrow is among the dead; and that my good friend Captain O'Bale was also near dying for which my heart has been sorry. This mode of making war is cowardly & base and Captain Bigtree was determined to have revenge had he lived—this they will know & are glad that he is dead.

Brothers: I have sent cloathing for the wife & daughter of Captain Bigtree by Mr. Rosecrantz and a Suit of mourning to his two brothers & a Rifle to each.

I have also ordered the commanding officer of Fort Franklin to build a house for them & to give them plenty of Provisions & everything they may want & to provide & take care of them.

ANTHONY WAYNE.
Major General & Commander in Chief of the Legion of the United States.

Greenville, 26th March 1794.

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## FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GEORGE CLINTON.

(*Private.*)

PHILADELPHIA, 31 March, 1794.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 20th instant, with its enclosures, came duly to hand, for which you have my particular thanks. As there are those, who affect to believe that Great Britain has no hostile intention towards this country, it is not surprising that there should be found among them characters who pronounce the speech of Lord Dorchester to the Indians to be spurious. No doubt, however, remains in my mind, of its authenticity. But, as it is important to be satisfied (so far as the nature of the thing will admit) of the fact, I would thank you for such information as you are enabled to give of this matter.

How far the disappointments, experienced by the combined powers in Europe, may have wrought a change in the political conduct of Great Britain towards this country, I shall not take upon me to decide. That it has worn a very hostile appearance latterly, if it has not been so uniformly, no one, I conceive, will be hardy enough to deny; and that Lord Dorchester has spoken the sentiments of the British cabinet, at the period he was instructed, I am as ready to believe. But, foiled as that ministry has been, whether it may not have changed its tone, as it respects us, is problematical. This, however, ought not to relax such inquiries on our part, as might enable us, if matters should come to extremities, to act promptly and with vigor.

Among these inquiries it appears important to me to know the present state of things in Upper and Lower Canada, that is, the composition of the inhabitants, especially in Upper Canada, how they stand affected to their government, and what part they would be disposed to act, if a rupture between this country and Great Britain should take place; the proximity of our settlements, from the northwestern to the northeastern part of the State of New York, with the Lake Ontario and the River St. Lawrence, the strength thereof, and of their neighbors on the other side of the line, regulars and militia, especially about Niagara and Oswego.

As you have, I am certain, a pretty accurate knowledge of many of these matters yourself, and have the means, from your acquaintance with characters, on whose adroitness and integrity you can rely, bordering on the British settlements, to obtain information from others, you would oblige me very much by such communications as relate to the above, or any other points that you may conceive worthy of attention.

*Ford, 12, pp. 409-10.*

To all the Sachems Chiefs & Warriors of
the Six Nations

Brothers

We have all to lament the Unfortunate Death of Capt Big Tree, who put an end to his own existance about two months since

I made a very strict enquiry into the Cause of his Death & order'd thirteen of my Warriors to examine the body & to give me their Opinion in Writing under their hands & Seals which I now send to you by our friend Mr Rosecrants

I also send you a Copy of the talk he deliver'd to me upon his arrival at this place.

A few days after he deliver'd this speech three Delaware Indians arrived at this Cantonment with a Flag and a message from the Hostile Indians — proposing to me to fix upon a time & place for holding a treaty in order to agree upon the terms upon which peace shou'd be made — I now send you a Copy of that Message together with my Answer of which will be deliver'd & interpreted to you by Mr Rosecrantz —

Captain Big Tree was present & heard the Message from the Hostile Indians to me & my Answer to that Message — he then rose and make this short speech to the Delaware Messenger

Nephews

I call you nephews because you have always acknowledged us the Six Nations as your Uncles:

I am pleased to find that your pride is lowered, & that you begin to come to your reason — You were too proud & bad last summer, to listen to the Commissioners of the fifteen fires — or to your Uncles

I will only just inform, that the Voice of the Fifteen fires, is the voice of the Six Nations — therefore tell all your Chiefs & Warriors to listen to the Voice of this Great Chief — tell them to comply ~~with~~ immediately with with his demand, & to deliver up all their prisoners — within the the course of thirty days, & not to neglect it

If they wish to see their Children grow up to be Men & Women."

That same night Capt Big Tree had an angry talk with the Delawares — whether he had eat or drank with them afterwards or whether they gave him something that put him out of his reason — I can not tell But certain it is, that from that time to the moment of his Death he was Melancholy & deranged — until the fatal moment that he stabbed himself with his own knife

Brothers

I have now told you every thing that has taken place & all that was said to & with the Hostile Indians — since which I have not seen or heard anything further from them except that they continue to Murder our people & steal our Horses when ever they have an Opportunity — so that all prospect of peace is now done away — I have therefore every reason to believe that the Only object, the Hostile Indians had in view was to Reconnoitre our Situation & to see our Numbers and to gain time to Collect their warriors from their different hunting grounds in order to better & to Continue the War ~~& to fight us~~

Brothers

I was informed by Capt Big Tree that many of your people died last summer in consequence of something that you had eat when at the Council with the Hostile Indians at the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake & that my friend & Brother the New Arrow is among the dead — & that my good friend Captn O Beal was also near dying — & for which my heart has been very sorry — This mode of taking men ~~off~~ is Cowardly & base — & Captn Big Tree was determined to have revenge had he lived: this they well knew — & they now know and are glad that he is dead — ~~but I~~ ~~would~~ not that there are a great Number of your people ~~who have~~ lost Friends — that ~~[illegible] and that [illegible] they will avenge their Death~~

Brother

Brothers

I have sent Clothing for the Wife & Daughter of Capt Big Tree by Mr Rosecrantz & a Rifle for

I have also ordered the Commanding Officer at Fort Franklin to build a house for them & to give them plenty of provisions & every thing they want – & to provide for & take care of them

If any of your Warriors wish to join this army, they shall be plentifully supplied with every thing they want & receive a sincere Welcome from

Anty Wayne
Major General & Commander
in Chief of the Legion of the U.S.

Greeneville
26th of March 1794

Speech.—
to
Six nations

26. march 1794.